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MEMORIAL HISTORY

OF THE

CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE YEAR 1895

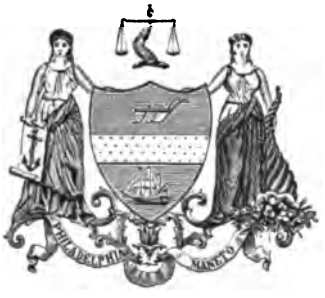
EDITED BY

JOHN RUSSELL YOUNG

VOLUME I

NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY

1681–1895



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THIS VOLUME OF THE

MEMORIAL HISTORY OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

IS DEDICATED TO THE

HONORABLE ROBERT T. LINCOLN, OF ILLINOIS

WITH THE FRIENDSHIP AND ESTEEM

OF THE EDITOR

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In that delightful land which is washed by the Delaware's waters,
Guarding in sylvan shades the name of Penn the apostle,
Stands on the banks of its beautiful stream the city he founded,
There all the air is balm, and the peach is the emblem of beauty,
And the streets still re-echo the names of the trees of the forest,
As if they fain would appease the Dryads whose haunts they molested.

—Longfellow.

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PREFACE.

ALTHOUGH the annals of Philadelphia have for generations been conspicuous in the chronicles of the nation, and have been written with accuracy and eloquence, the "Memorial History," now submitted to the public in these volumes, could appear at no more fitting time than in these closing years of the Nineteenth Century.

The "Memorial History of New York" holds a standard place in our literature. Its publishers have accepted the present undertaking, and will follow the lines laid down in that sumptuous work.

Guided by that experience, the present history will have features distinct from those in the New York publication. The first volume, which now goes from the press, will be a consecutive narrative of Philadelphia from the earliest to the present time. The second volume will embrace special chapters from writers of learning and eminence, illustrating in detail the rise of the city, what has been done towards free municipal government, the contributions of Philadelphia to literature, art, religion, finance, and those vast industrial enterprises which command the attention and admiration of the world.

There is no study more instructive than that of the building of a city,—for the city is an epitome of national thought and ambition. The chronicles from which have been drawn the sources of this narrative, show that the highest phase of American achievement is expressed in the development of Philadelphia. While we note the splendor, the triumphs, perhaps, likewise the limitations of American character—we see the same principle of religious freedom which came with Penn, the magnanimous philosophy of Franklin, the philanthropy of Girard, the financial foresight of Biddle—the achievements of those captains of industry who are winning victories of peace which add to the renown of the age.

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The third volume will be what is called "The Family History of Philadelphia." It will present, as far as can be attained, a chronological and genealogical table of every representative family who has resided in Philadelphia since the arrival of Penn. It is proposed to embrace whoever may have attained distinction in any walk of life—professional men, citizens in business, soldiers, those who have received civic and political honors. Great pains have been taken to make this thorough. Available archives, such as are found in our public libraries, historical societies, court registers, church records, have been carefully studied, to the end that the volume may possess entire accuracy. The editor has received from private sources valuable information, and whatever may contribute to a complete history of the families of those who have made Philadelphia, will be gratefully received.

As it is our aim to present in detail whatever has been done by Philadelphians towards the renown of their city, the editor respectfully expresses his gratitude to the many friends who have given him counsel and encouragement in the preparation of this work. In a succeeding volume, when the results of their labors are before the public, it will be a duty to give special recognition to those who have aided in this compilation. At present, however, acknowledgment must be made to the fidelity, research and ability shown by Howard M. Jenkins in the preparation of the present volume. To his scholarship, sympathy, breadth of treatment, and profound knowledge of Philadelphia, the reader will be indebted for a fascinating narrative.

Apart from the personal and biographical considerations inseparable from this history, it will be our aim to show that Philadelphia has never forfeited her true place in American annals—the place so long awarded by the general assent of mankind. We shall seek to find warrant for whatever her proudest sons may claim in her behalf. It will be shown, not alone what her citizens did in the colonial and revolutionary days, but also in the civil war. Hasty criticism, inspired by some paltry sentiment of self-deprecation, now and then mourns the departure of the glory of Philadelphia. Political supremacy, it is said, has gone to Washington; commercial supremacy to New York; business supremacy, perhaps, to Chicago. These, how-

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ever, are supremacies that might be called evanescent. They come and go. At best they can be regarded as processes of advancement, and especially as far as the American commonwealth is concerned, ages are yet to be woven in the loom of Time.

In the wayward and prodigious growth of the republic, the problem of metropolitan supremacy must be regarded as in its incipiency. A famous American statesman prophesied at the close of the war, that the continental metropolis of America would be on the site of the city of Mexico. It was reasoned that none of our American seaboard cities, without an extraordinary, perhaps impossible, increase of armament, could resist, or even survive, a war with a great naval power. Our ancestors, in their wisdom, especially those who founded Philadelphia, builded for protection, and especially as against foemen from the sea. London, Paris, Vienna, Rome, Jerusalem, Peking, Berlin, for instance, were inland, and beyond the reach of a navy. From that point of view, Philadelphia, whatever the fluctuations of commerce, or the oscillations of municipal supremacy, is first among the American cities, beyond the reach of any naval power, and again, as in the past, may be a bulwark of the Republic. Washington has seen the invader's torch, and the successful defence of New York against the armaments of two, or perhaps three of the European naval powers, is not within the scope of our immediate resources, or the possibilities of military science.

Philadelphia, therefore, among cities, maintains the dominant position which would serve, and perhaps save, the nation in a time of trial. Whatever the mutations of material change the moral supremacy will endure. Her patriotic sentiment not alone governed the Revolution, but gave force and fire to the Civil War. To this city our fathers came to take counsel for freedom. Here the Declaration of Independence was written and made known. Here the Constitution was framed. In Philadelphia Washington and Jay, Hamilton and Franklin, guided the young Republic through the anxious hours of trembling infancy. In those days the eyes of the world turned towards Philadelphia because of her patriotism and courage.

Nor has that heritage passed away. The old spirit was likewise awakened in our own days when graver troubles supervened.

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First in advocacy of the Revolution, Philadelphia was foremost in support of the Union—the one city that never gave the cause a faltering hand. Philadelphia was the centre of the invaluable railway systems which made possible successful war. In her ship-yards was built the larger part of that extemporaneous navy which saved us from foreign intervention and the recognition of the Southern Confederacy. Here was found the financial genius which safe-guarded our armies. And the devotion of Philadelphia to the traditions of the war, is seen in the fact that, although a generation has passed, her political sympathies are as fixed and inexorable as when the issue was the Union and Emancipation.

This must not imply a political thought, as the purpose of this work is entirely outside of politics, but rather to emphasize the dominant position of Philadelphia among the cities of the United States. She is called the City of Homes. Those who love her may well call her The American City. She not alone guards the sanctuaries of the past and cherishes the memories of the great days, but is never untrue to their teachings.

JOHN RUSSELL YOUNG.

PHILADELPHIA, May, 1895.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO VOLUME I.

THE design of this volume has been to present a simple and straightforward narrative of the life of the City. This plan, with the limitation of space, has forbid lingering, even at places of particular interest, and it has equally forbid much descent into details at any point. Some of the minor data which appeared especially to illustrate the main text have been given in foot-notes, but in the main all minute study has been left to separate chapters in other volumes.

The general arrangement of the narrative is naturally in the order of time, and as far as possible this has been adhered to throughout. It is not, however, a series of annals: the endeavor of the author has been to make the story continuous and consistent, following down from the springs the main current of those events and conditions which made up the city's vital experience. One result of this endeavor has been the necessity of regarding, at all times, and especially in the Colonial period, those exterior influences which affected, and at times controlled, the city's course. Philadelphia was planted and watched over from abroad, and for nearly a full century was directly subject to foreign authority and control. The nature of its experiences, and their causes, are not to be understood, therefore, without continual intelligent reference to the course of affairs in Europe. The experiences of life, here, cut off from the Old World, would have been in many ways totally different, but united to it as they were, they reflected down to—and even for years after—the severance of the tie, every great European movement.

The author has not thought it necessary or even desirable to dwell upon the discoveries and explorations by white men along the Atlantic Coast, nor upon the settlements made on the Delaware elsewhere than at Philadelphia. The history of the City begins with Penn's grant of the Province, and simplicity in the narrative appeared to require that its opening should not be delayed or encumbered by a mass of earlier details.

It may be said, perhaps, that considering the present circumstances of the City the attention bestowed upon its beginnings is relatively too great. But it must be considered, in connection, that if we are to describe the early days at all, and with exactness, we necessarily must deal with small things, and speak of them minutely. It is also true that the early periods in our history are now the most readily dealt with. Their historical records have been industriously collected, and patiently considered, and the historian who is not making a special study of his own, relating to a single epoch, but arranging rather a readable resumé of many men's work, covering three centuries, finds the material of the time of Penn more complete, better arranged, and more confidently to be judged, than those relating to many nearer years. As we approach our own time, the scantiness of the digested material becomes still more marked, at the same moment that the events and conditions to be described become enormously enlarged. It is obvious, as to these, that we can now only sketch their broad outline, leaving it to those who will come later to give the picture its right perspective, and its appropriate enrichment of detail.

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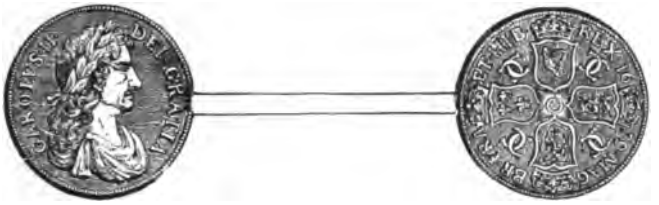

CHAPTER I

1609–1682

EXPLORERS, PIONEERS, SURVEYORS

THE ocean gate of Philadelphia is reached by the mariner at the Delaware Capes. Opened to the knowledge of white men by the historic voyage of Hudson in 1609, ships from Europe had been passing in and ascending the broad bay and noble river for nearly three-quarters of a century before the great city on the west bank, whose history it is proposed to give in these volumes, had been planned or suggested. After Hudson's brief visit to the mouth of the Bay—by which its existence became known to the seamen of Western Europe—it is possible that in 1616 Hendrickson, the Dutch scout from Manhattan, had sailed in the little *Onrust*—the first ship built by Europeans in North America—as high up as the mouth of the Schuylkill, and thus had been the first white man to visit the place where Philadelphia now stands; it is certain that in 1623 or '24, Mey, following up his visit of 1614 to the lower Bay, had come within the waters which washed the city's front. It is certain also that in 1632, DeVries, the humane but not fortunate explorer and colonist, whose fame is forever connected with the Delaware by his ill-fated settlement at Swanendael, by Cape Henlopen, had ascended the river to this place, and had brought his ship for a time within one of the little creeks on the west side of the river, whose courses now are covered by the city.[1]

Thus the ocean gate had been found and opened, and the way inward to the place where the city now rises made known to those who were in time to become its builders.

[1] The flag of the Dutch Republic, fully recognized at last in 1609, after forty years of deadly war, covered all these early visitors from Europe, and that nation deserves all the credit for the enterprises which they represented. Hudson's English blood was employed for his voyage of 1609 in the Dutch service. Mey, who gave the names to the Capes of the Delaware, in 1614,—his own to the eastern one,—and who built in 1623-4 Fort Nassau (near Gloucester, N. J.), was a Dutchman, commanding, in 1614, the ship *Fortune*, of Hoorn. Hendrickson was "of Munnickendam," as described in his report of 1616 to the States General. And the gallant De Vries was "a bold and skillful seaman," of Hoorn, also.

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These events long preceded the day when the city was begun. Who first among white men set foot upon the place is not known. The beginnings of a settled occupancy of any part of the site are obscure. It may be true, though it is very questionable, that as the Dutch afterward claimed in their controversies with the Swedes over the possession of the country, they had acquired, by purchase from the Indians, as early as 1633, the site of a trading-house, afterward called Fort Beversrede, located on the Schuylkill, within the present limits of the city. But it is much nearer sure that the first white men who lived in any settled fashion within the limits of Philadelphia were the garrison which Printz, the Swedish governor of the Delaware, placed in the little fort, Korsholm, at the mouth of the Schuylkill, on the west side, probably in 1644, possibly the preceding year. The fort was in charge of Lieutenant Måns Kling, and his companions were "seven or eight colonists." These men began the Swedish occupancy of the Schuylkill—a prize especially struggled for in the period between 1640 and 1650 by the Swedes and Dutch, and coveted even by the English at New Haven.[1]

HENRY HUDSON.

[1] The facts in regard to the earliest beginnings of white occupancy within the limits of Philadelphia are encumbered by elements of confusion, obscurity, and dispute. Some of the most careful of the historical writers concerning the subject are not always consistent with themselves, and most of them vary in important particulars from each other. But this much may be said:

(1) In 1648, the Dutch, endeavoring to show a good claim to the Schuylkill region, earlier than that of the Swedes (who came to the country in 1638), asserted that their agent at Fort Nassau, Arendt Corssen, had bought, in 1633, of the Indians, land on the Schuylkill, upon which, subsequently, Fort Beversrede had been built. The purchase may have been made, but it is doubtful. That occupancy followed earlier than 1648 is uncertain also, though Andreas Hudde, the Dutch agent, in his report, when describing events in April of that year, says he continued the erection of a building (unquestionably Beversrede), and surrounded it with palisades, "because the Swedes had destroyed before the house which the [Dutch West India] Company possessed on Schuylkill, and built a fort in its place," thus indicating the existence of a trading-house, there or near, earlier than 1648.

(2) In 1640 a ship from New Haven, Conn., representing the adventure of Governor Eaton and others, called "the Delaware Company," commanded by Captain Turner, came to the Delaware, and, as was claimed on behalf of these parties, bought of the Indians, not only land on the east side of the river, but also a tract "at Passyunk," within the Philadelphia limits. Besides this claim of purchase at Passyunk, there are suggestions by various historical authorities that it was followed, in 1640 or soon after, by the erection there of a "trading-house," which the Dutch broke up, say in 1642. Substance is imparted to the latter part of the story by the instructions given at Manhattan, in May 1642, to Van Ilpendam, the Dutch agent at Fort Nassau (Albany Records, II., 162, cited Hazard, 61), but even so the whole episode is so obscure, and must have been so brief, giving it full allowance, that we may dismiss it.

(3) It is unquestionable that Printz, immediately upon his arrival, in 1643, began the building of forts, to command not only the Delaware, but the Schuylkill. That which he placed at the mouth of the latter river, and which he called Korsholm, or New Korsholm, identified by Dr. Smith as on Province Island, is ascribed to 1643. (Hazard's Annals; G. B. Keen's New Sweden in Winsor's History of America). This was within the limits of Philadelphia. That at Passyunk, to command the Dutch Beversrede, was built in September, 1648, as appears from the report of Boyer to Stuyvesant. (Alb. Rec., V., 71, cited Hazard, 104). And Boyer's statement is so circumstantial in its details as to suggest that the blockading of Beversrede

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But these were pioneer efforts—movements of discovery and exploration, or attempts to secure an Indian traffic. In themselves they signified little as to the permanent settlement which was to follow, and nothing at all as to the building of towns and cities. The thought of Philadelphia was not yet formed. Its history begins with the history of Pennsylvania. The City, like the State, is the child of William Penn's broad plans, and both date their beginnings from the day King Charles gave his signature to the grant of the Colony. Though the Dutch had occupied the east bank of the Delaware in 1623—reaching across the Jerseys to their settlements on the Hudson—and, in 1638, the Swedes had come to the west bank, at Christina (Wilmington), to establish their New World enterprise, little was done to settle Pennsylvania before 1681. Upward from the Swedish hamlet on the Christina, excepting the beginnings made at Upland, this shore of the river was still a wilderness, practically unbroken, when Penn received his grant. The Swedes were few; the Dutch scattered amongst them, were not more numerous; the English who had reached New Jersey first, were just beginning to cross over; and though, as ships toiled up the river toward Burlington—whose birth preceded by four years that of Philadelphia—a little clearing might now and then be seen upon the shore, with its cabin fire sending a wreath of smoke upward through the trees, these were as yet only slender beginnings. In 1677 the whole district which the Swedes called Tacony, embracing all that is now Philadelphia and perhaps something more, could count in its return to the court at Upland only 65 males between sixteen and sixty years of age, signifying a total population of possibly one hundred and fifty persons. And in the next year, when at the beginning of winter the ship *Shield*, from England, passed by the Indian place called Coaquanock, now near the centre of the city's front, on her way up to Burlington, her captain found it an uncut forest, with the trees rising from the water's edge. This was well remarked and long remembered, for as the ship came close in, and then went about,

DAVID PIETERSEN DE VRIES.

ascribed to 1643 by Hazard, and Ferris, and others, has been confounded with this definitely fixed occurrence five years later.

(1) Whether Beversrede was west or east of the Schuylkill has been a subject of dispute Ferris, (Original Settlements on the Delaware) thought it stood on the west side, by "Bartram's Garden" Westcott says: "Where Beversrede fort was erected is not known." But Dr. Smith (History of Delaware County) is confident it stood on the east side, on the Passyunk lands, half a mile or so above the modern Penrose Ferry bridge.

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some of the rigging touched the branches of a tree, and one of the company, dimly divining the future, cried out: "*Here is a fine place for a town.*" [1]

The respective claims of European nations to the sovereignty of the Delaware had come down in 1680 to that which was founded on superior force. The Dutch had "discovered" the river to Europe's knowledge, and had begun the occupancy of its east bank; the Swedes, coming later, but with a more definite purpose of colonization, had taken the west bank. Both professed to have acquired, at one time or another, title from the Indians. But the triumphant though bloodless expedition of Stuyvesant against Risingh, in 1655, and the capture of Fort Christina,[2] had extinguished the colonial enterprise of Sweden in America, and ended, after a brief seventeen years, the lofty plans of Gustavus and Oxenstiern; while again, in 1664, the subjugation of the Dutch, both on the Hudson and Delaware, by the English, confirmed finally by the treaty of 1674, had given the rule of the whole region to the King of England, and made his signature the source of title to its soil.

The while, around the globe's four quarters, I did steer.
I, on the open helmet, bore a silver sphere.

ARMS OF DE VRIES.

It was on the 4th of March, 1680–81, that the grant by Charles the Second to William Penn, of the region which now forms the State of Pennsylvania, was finally made. "Thine I have," says Penn in his letter of the following day,[3] to his merchant friend in Dublin,

[1] Proud, I., 150.

[2] Now within the city of Wilmington, Delaware.

[3] The grant is dated "att Westminster, the fourth day of March, in the three and thirtieth year of our reigne." The year was, by the "Old Style" of the Julian calendar, not 1681, as is usually printed, but 1680, for the new year began March 25. (England did not adopt New Style, the Gregorian Calendar, until 1752, and in all dates referring to Philadelphia's early history this is a fact carefully to be remembered.) The charter, as signed by the King, was, as it itself states, "By Writt of Privy Seale," and this seal bears the date of the 28th of February. The great seal appears to have been affixed on the 4th of March. (Certified copies, procured from London, 1878, are in the collections of the Hist. So. of Pa.)

Where is the charter of Pennsylvania signed by Charles II? It has been for half a century lost. The charter preserved in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, at Harrisburg, and by many supposed to be the original, is a copy. As first of the title papers to the possession of the soil of Pennsylvania, the original was kept by the Penn Family, in England, but was brought to Philadelphia, to be used by their agents here, about 1810, and in 1844 was in the custody of Hon. John Cadwalader, their counsel. In that year, as appears from a letter written by him to Thomas C. Hambly, Esq., of York, Pa., it was sent, with other documents, to Mr. Hambly, for use in a suit concerning land titles, and no more is now known concerning it. Fac-similes of the copy preserved at Harrisburg have been added to Pennsyl-

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Robert Turner, "and for my business here know that after many waitings, watchings, solicitations, and disputes in council, this day my country was confirmed to me under the great seal of England. . . . It is a clear and just thing, and my God, that has given it to me through many difficulties, will I believe bless it and make it the seed of a nation."

The country thus granted him was indeed a splendid gift. No monarch perhaps had ever conveyed away, in form and in fact, the title to so rich a dominion. Nature had bestowed upon it not only the ordinary wealth of soil and mine, but special deposits of fuel and ore, such as no other State of the future Union possessed. A grand forest clothed the whole surface, from the Delaware to the lakes. The waters were fresh and pure, the air—as Penn said—sweet. The climate was temperate—not so mild as Virginia, but far more so than the bleak coasts northeastward. Here were lands fitted for the wheat of the Old World, and here the maize of the New grew in perfection. To be the great city of this great middle colony was the estate in store for Philadelphia.

Gvstavvs Adolphvs

It is true that there was and long had been, within the region thus signed away by the king at London, a native people—men who had lived upon, and in some sense possessed, the soil of Pennsylvania for more centuries perhaps than those in which the ancestors of Charles Stuart had held their court upon the banks of the Thames. These people must have known well the site of Philadelphia. They must have fished in its creeks, hunted through its woods, and launched their canoes on its two pleasant rivers. They had names for all its places, and old tradition and association had doubtless made these familiar if not precious.

These Indians, found here when the white men came to the site of Philadelphia, in the early years of the Seventeenth Century, were tribes of the Lenâpé, afterward commonly known as the Delawares. In the present narrative, which by the limitation of space must needs be concise, we can speak of them but briefly. Their origin is unknown. They kept no records, built no monuments, and preserved but few traditions. They were partly hunters and fishermen,

vania Archives, second series, 1878; and Duke of Yorke's Book of Laws, 1879. (Cf article by William Brooke Rawle, on the Original Charter, Pennsylvania Magazine, xvi., 86.)

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yet partly tillers of the soil, and they had some rude skill of manufacture. Without any domestic animal but a poor sort of dog, they were likewise without metals, or the knowledge how to smelt and work metallic ores. To them the enormous hidden wealth of Pennsylvania lay as useless as if it had not existed.

The Lenâpé were straight, of middle height and colored a reddish-brown—"well built, and of singular proportion," said Penn, when he made their acquaintance. "They tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin . . . their eye is little and black . . . I have seen as comely European-like faces among them, of both sexes, as upon your side the sea." They married young, but their families were not large. Polygamy was known among them, but not common.

Belonging to the great family, the Algonkin, which held the whole Atlantic coast between Labrador and Florida, these Lenâpé of the Delaware were divided into three sub-tribes, the Minsi, the Unami, and the Unalachtigo. It was the Unami, the central tribe, whose *totem* was the turtle, whom Penn and those who preceded him met upon the site of Philadelphia. These were the Indians who, possibly for ages, had given the place its human activity and interest. But they had made little mark upon it. They had not, so far as is now known, even an "Indian town" here. They had not felled the trees. The place, when the whites built their first trading-houses and "forts," was still in a state of nature, and even in 1680, as has already been said, was scarcely marked by axe or disturbed by implement of culture.

We get, indeed, until the visit of Penn, and the full description which he gives,[1] only the most vague and meagre allusions to any Indians who seem to be connected with the site of Philadelphia. The claim of the Dutch to have purchased the place of Fort Beversrede from them, is one of the first, if not actually the earliest. When in 1648 the date of 1633 was assigned to this purchase, seven "sachems," Mattahoorn and others, claimed that they were "chiefs

[1] See the abundant details and graphic description, in his letter, August 16, 1683, to the Free Society of Traders, in full in Proud, Janney, etc. For an exact and analytical study of the Lenâpé, including their conditions earlier than Penn's time, see D. G. Brinton's The Lenâpé and their Legends. Cf. also Heckewelder's Indian Nations.

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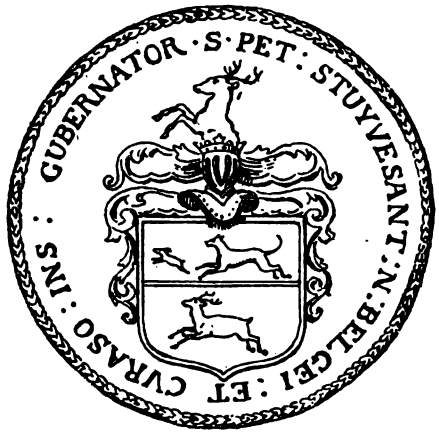
over the portions of the tracts of land lying about and on the Schuylkill, called Armenverius," and that they had conveyed to Corssen, the Dutch agent, "the Schuylkill and adjoining land."[1] This Mattahoorn (his name is variously spelled in our English histories, and doubtless is well-removed, even in sound, from that which he gave himself), rises into view as almost the only one of his race who can now be identified with the Philadelphia of that day. He claimed to be an important chief, and besides being first named in the proceedings of 1648 with the Dutch, alleged that in 1638, when Minuit brought the first Swedes to the Christina, he was living near by, and sold to Minuit, for a "kettle and other small articles," enough land "to put up a house," and make a tobacco field. Whether Mattahoorn was one of the sachems from whom Minuit is said to have bought later, for the Swedes, "all the land on the western side of the river, from the point called Cape Henlopen up to the fall called Santickan," is not now to be learned.[2]



SEAL OF PETER STUYVESANT.

He appears in the account given by Campanius of the Indian council held in 1645, perhaps at Marcus Hook, to consider whether there should not be a general destruction of the Swedish settlers. He is here called "Father Mattahorn," and leads the council; and while his main function in it seems to have been to "collect the sense of the meeting"—illustrating the democratic system of the Indians—he was evidently not inclined to violent measures, and united cheerfully with the decision in favor of peace. Considering all the evidence, we may not unsafely designate Mattahoorn as the principal chief among the Lenâpé, in the region of Philadelphia, in the period of its first occu-

[1] "Armenverius" needs no special attention as a geographical name. On the Dutch map of Roggeveen (which is plainly incorrect in its location of the Swedish forts of 1643, but has been treated generally with respect), the name is placed on the *east* side of the Delaware, by Fort Nassau.

[2] See the statement as to this alleged purchase, in Acrelius, who says: "Posts were driven into the ground as landmarks, which were still seen in their places, sixty years afterwards. A deed was drawn up for the land thus purchased. This was written in Dutch, because no Swede was yet able to interpret the language of the heathen. The Indians subscribed their hands and marks. The writing was sent home to Sweden, to be preserved in the royal archives."

This claim of purchase would cover the country from the mouth of the Bay to Trenton Falls. But the Dutch claim of purchase on the Schuylkill in 1633 would precede it, if verified. Credit is given the Swedish purchase by the American writers on this subject, including Dr. Smith (History of Delaware County); Vincent (History of Delaware); Keen (New Sweden, in Winsor). Andrew Rudman, the provost of the Swedish churches, who came over in 1697, speaks of the Indian deed as being "preserved in the archives, when I was at Stockholm," and of Kling's map he says: "This I also saw in the archives before my departure, and Mr. Auren made a small copy of it which we brought with us." (Clay's Annals of the Swedes, 17.) In the instructions to Printz, by the Swedish government, 1642, the purchase is described with precision.

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NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF NEW SWEDEN BY PURCHASE FROM INDIANS BY HOLLENDER, 1640. RECOGNISED IN INSTRUCTIONS TO PRINTZ, 1642
(PENNSYLVANIA)
(DELAWARE)
(MARYLAND)
Menejackse, Lindes Schylen Kil (Schuylkill River)
Penichpacka (Pennypack) Creek
Kinshung or Pemapaican (Mill or Cobby) Creek
Tenakon (Darby) Creek
(Ridley Creek)
(Crum Creek)
Upland (Chester) Creek
Mosciopanacka
Minkinder Kill
Printz Hall
Printz Park
Printzdorp
Printz Dorp
Printz Hall Creek
Mecherichanes Creek
Rodiers (Red Clay) Creek
Christinaharnes
Christina River
Christina Creek
Fort Christina Built by Printz 1638 (Wilmington)
Schuylkill Square
Minquas Trail
Minquas Creek
Dutch Fort Casimir 1651
Tasinsink, Sandhook or Dutch Fort Casimir 1651
Fort Trinity Built by Printz 1638
Old Swedes Church
Christina Creek
Swedes Ford
Swedes Run
Swedes Mill
Swedes Mill Creek
Swedes Run
Swedes Ford
Swedes Ford Creek
Swedes Run
Swedes Ford
Swedes Ford Creek
Swedes Run
Swedes Ford
Swedes Ford

pancy by the whites. As to any others of his race, in that day, they are but dim outlines, without names to be remembered—if pronounced—flitting amid the shadows of the forest.

The plans of Penn included from the first the building of a city. The thought of it was announced almost as early as that of his colony. Even the name for it, derived probably from the ancient Philadelphia in Asia Minor, to whose church, as John records, he was directed to write, had been in the founder's mind. The instructions to his commissioners, whom he sent out in the September following the grant, directed them particularly to examine the rivers and creeks, "*in order to settle a great town!*" And in his letter to Thomas Lloyd, in 1684, from on board ship, as he was departing for England, after his first visit here, he breaks out in an apostrophe to the infant city: "And thou Philadelphia . . . *named before thou wert born*," etc.

No time was lost by the new Proprietary in taking steps to settle and build. Doubtless he had thought much over his plans during the long period of "waitings, watchings, and solicitings," and had matured them as far as his knowledge and experience would permit. On the 2nd of April he procured from the King a declaration, to be proclaimed in Pennsylvania, in which Charles notified his subjects "to yield all due obedience" to their new governor. On the same day Penn completed and dated a series of "Instructions" for the deputy whom he had selected to represent him in the Colony, and two days later he signed a commission for this deputy, his cousin William Markham,[1] authorizing him to act for him in Pennsylvania—to appoint a Council; to proclaim the King's declaration; to read to the people a letter which Penn had prepared;[2] to settle with the Colony's

[1] Markham, though he held a prominent place in the affairs of Pennsylvania for more than twenty years, is not well known to us. He was a first cousin of William Penn, being a son, it is concluded, of a sister of Admiral Penn. He was known as Captain Markham, in 1681 (later, about 1693, Colonel), and it has been surmised that he had been a soldier in the armies under Cromwell. This seems unlikely, both because he appeared as a decided churchman in Philadelphia, and because it would have made him, in 1681, an elderly man. Watson (Annals, I., 43), speaks of him as "but 21 years of age when he arrived," but he was doubtless older than this. Keith (Prov. Councillors), says he "was a man grown before the death of the Lord Protector," 1657. He acted as Penn's deputy, from June, 1681, to Penn's arrival in October, 1682, again (in the "Lower Counties," now Delaware), from March, 1691, to April, 1693; again, as Fletcher's deputy, from April, 1693, to March, 1695; and finally as Penn's deputy from March, 1695, to December, 1699. He made, in July, 1682, the first purchase of land from the Indians, under Penn's proprietorship. Finally, he died in Philadelphia, June 12, 1704. James Logan, in a letter of that date, says: "Poor, honest Colonel Markham this morning ended a miserable life by a seasonable release in a fit of his old distemper that seized his vitals." And in a later letter (to Penn). Logan says: "He died of one of his usual fits, and was buried very honorably, like a soldier, with a militia, etc. The old gentleman made a will, but has left his own daughter very little, though with him." (The "militia" referred to were presumably the "three good companies," under Capt. Roche, Capt. Finney, and Capt. Lowther, organized about this time in apprehension of danger from the French.) He was probably buried, as he was a churchman, and had occupied places of so much distinction, within Christ Church. He had been twice married, and left one daughter Ann, who had married James Brown, a member of the Assembly from Kent County, Delaware, accused in 1699 of complicity with the "pirate Avery," and sent to England. Of Ann's three children, two sons died without issue before December 19, 1726, and a daughter, Joanna, was living as late as 1774, receiving a pension from the Penn family. (Cf. Keith's Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania).

[2] Penn's letter to the settlers, besides its other merits, has also that of brevity. He says: "My Friends:—I wish you all happiness here and hereafter. These

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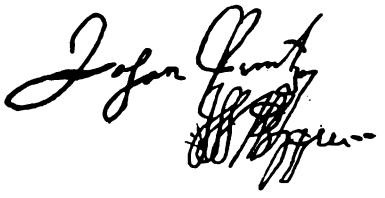
neighbors the location of their boundaries; and to create courts, appoint officers and generally organize a system of law and order.



Markham must have sailed promptly for Pennsylvania. Landing perhaps at Boston,[1] he reached New York somewhat earlier than the 21st of June, for on that date Captain Anthony Brockholls, the acting governor,[2] who assuredly would take due time to examine the important papers Markham brought, gave him a letter to the settlers within the Pennsylvania limits, notifying them of the grant to Penn, and directing them to yield due submission to his deputy.[3] With this added to his other evidences of authority Markham no doubt pushed on to his government in the closing days of June, crossing the

are to let you know that it hath pleased God, in his providence, to cast you within my lot and care. It is a business that, though I never undertook before, yet God hath given me an understanding of my duty, and an honest mind to do it uprightly. I hope you will not be troubled at your change, and the King's choice, for you are now fixed at the mercy of no governor that comes to make his fortune great; you shall be governed by laws of your own making, and live a free, and if you will, a sober and industrious people. I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person. God has furnished me with a better resolution, and has given me his grace to keep it. In short, whatever sober and free men can reasonably desire for the security and improvement of their own happiness, I shall heartily comply with and in five months resolve, if it please God, to see you. In the meantime pray submit to the commands of my deputy, so far as they are consistent with the law, and pay him those dues (that formerly you paid to the order of the Governor of New York) for my use and benefit; and so I wish God to direct you in the way of righteousness, and therein prosper you and your children after you.

"I am your true friend, WM. PENN.

"London, 8th of the month called April, 1681."

[1] His commission is found on record there in the Colonial record-books.

[2] In the absence of Sir Edmund Andros, who had sailed for England some time before.

[3] BY THE COMMANDER AND COUNCILL

Whereas his magtie hath ben Graciously pleased by Letters Pattents bearing date ye 4th day of march Laest to give and Grant to Will: Penn Esqr: all ye tract of Land in america now called by ye name of Pensilvania formerly under ye Protection and Govermt to his Royll highnesse, as ye same is bounded on ye East by Delowar River from twelve miles distance northwards of New Castle Toune unto ye: three and forthieth degree of northerne Lattitude if ye sd River doth extend so farr northward [but if the said river shall not extend so far northward] then by ye said River so farr as itt doth Extend and from the head of ye sd River ye Eastern bounds to bee determined by a meridian Lyne to bee drawn from ye head of ye sd river unto ye sd three and forthieth degree ye same to Extend westward five degrees in Longitude to bee computed from ye sd Eastern bounds, and to bee bounded on ye north by ye beginning of ye three and forthieth degree of northern Lattitude & on ye South by a Circle drawn att twelve miles distance from New Castle northwards and westwards unto ye beginning of ye forthieth degree of northern Lattitude and then by a straight Lyne westwards to ye Limit of Longitude aforementioned wth all powers preheminencies & Jurisdictions necessary for ye governmt of a province as by ye sd Letters Pattents doth at Large apear, wch wth his magties Gracious Letter Directed to ye Inhabitants and Planters wthin ye sd Limits and a commission from ye sd Will: Penn to ye bearer thereof Will: Marckham Esqr to bee his Deputy Governor of ye sd Province, have ben produced and shown to us and are Enterred upon Record in ye office of Records for this province, and by us highly approved of as his magties Royll will and pleasure. Therefore thought fitt to Intimate ye same to you to prevent any doubt or trouble that might arize and to give you or thankes for yor good Services done in yor severall offices and stations during ye tyme you remained under his Royll highnesse Governmt Expecting noe further account then that you readdily submit and yeeld all due obedience to ye sd Lettrs Pattents according to ye true Intent and meaning thereof in ye prformance and Injoyment of wch wee wiesh you all happinesse

New Yorke 21st June 1681.

ANTHONY BROCKHOLLS.

To ye severall Justices of ye peace magistraets and other officers Inhabiting wthin ye bounds and Limits above-mentioned now called Pensilvania

By ordr in Councill etc.

John West Cl. Counc:

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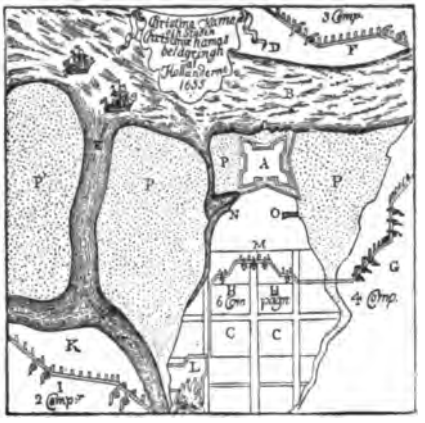
Delaware, we may feel sure, at Burlington, as George Fox had done nine years before,[1] and proceeding downward to the Schuylkill through the then wooded country which now has become the populous outlying wards of the city.

The seat of justice for the people within the Duke of York's territories on the Delaware, north of the county of New Castle, was the Court of Upland. To the magistrates who composed this primitive tribunal Markham doubtless presented himself, with his documents. The Court had been sitting only a few days before, June 14th, "att Kingsesse" (Kingsessing), on the west side of the Schuylkill, almost on the line of what is now Delaware county, but within the present limits of Philadelphia, and had, in its own plain way, dealt out justice, and administered laws, concerning land titles, property lines, swamp pasturage, road and other taxes, the inheritance of estates, the maintenance of ministry, the marking of hogs, the illicit sale of rum to the Indians, and a wide range of other subjects. There had been present three justices, all Swedish settlers, Otto Ernest Cock, Israel Helm, and Lawrence or Lasse Cock, who with Henry Jones and George Browne, had been commissioned, in May, 1680, by Governor Andros, "to be Justices of the Peace in the jurisdiction of the Upland Court or County in Delaware river and Dependencies." The letter of Governor Brockholls appears entered at large upon the record of the Court, and closes the period of its action under the authority of the Duke of York.[3]



STUYVESANT'S SIEGE OF FORT CHRISTINA.[2]

Following his instructions from Penn, Markham summoned a council of nine persons—the first in the Colony of Pennsylvania—

[1] George Fox's account discloses the unsettled state of the country, in 1672. He says: "We went to Middletown harbor [New Jersey], in order to take our long journey next morning through the woods towards Maryland, having hired Indians for our guides. I determined to pass through the woods on the other side of Delaware Bay [*i. e.*, Pennsylvania], that we might head the creeks and rivers as much as possible. The 5th of the seventh month we set forward, passed through many Indian towns, and over some rivers and bogs. When we had rid about forty miles, we made a fire at night and lay by it . . . Next day we traveled fifty miles, as we computed, and at night finding an old house, which the Indians had forced the people to leave [this was Peter Jegou's, now Burlington, N. J.], we made a fire and lay there, at the head of Delaware Bay. The next day we swam our horses over a river [the Delaware], about a mile, at twice, first to an island called Upper Dinidock [opposite Burlington], and then to the mainland, having hired Indians to help us over in their canoes. This day we cou'd reach but about thirty miles, and came to a Swede's house, where we got a little straw and lay that night." This "Swede's house" must have been on or near the site of Philadelphia. Fox then rode on southward to New Castle. (George Fox's Journal, II., 130.)

[2] Reduced fac-simile of Lindstrom's plan. A, Fort Christina.—B, Christina Creek.—C, Town of Christina Ham.—D, Tennykong Land.—E, Fish Kill (Brandywine Creek).—F, G, H, I, Forces of Stuyvesant.

[3] Record of Upland Court, 195.

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and they qualified as members on the 3d of August. The two Swedes, Otto Ernest and Lasse Cock, who had been members of the Upland Court, were among the nine, and the others were English settlers, who in the years just preceding had come in and taken up land—Robert Wade, Morgan Drewet, William Woodmanson, William Warner, Thomas Fairman, James Sandilands, and William Clayton. The first of these, Robert Wade, of Upland, has the distinction of being the first Quaker settler in Pennsylvania. Drewet, Woodmanson, Fairman, and Clayton were also Friends; Warner had served under Cromwell, and Sandilands, a churchman, had been a soldier in the service of the Duke of York. At least three of the nine were settled within the present limits of Philadelphia: Lasse Cock at Passyunk, Warner on the west side of the Schuylkill, at Blockley, and Fairman on the Delaware, at Shackamaxon.[1]

[1] See details concerning these members of the first Council in Smith's Delaware County; Westcott's Philadelphia; Keen's Descendants of Joran Kyn; the Record of Upland Court, etc.

Robert Wade had come with Fenwick's company to Salem, N. J., in the *Griffin*, in 1675, and crossing the river had bought land at Upland (Chester), which had belonged to Mistress Papegoya, daughter of the Swedish governor, Printz. William Edmundson, the preacher, visited him there that same year, and held a meeting at his house, the first Quaker meeting in Pennsylvania. Wade's hospitable home, "Essex House," may have been the mansion of Mrs. Papegoya. Morgan Drewet was a Friend, and lived in 1681 at Marcus Hook. He had come to the Delaware with the first Burlington company, in 1677, in the *Kent*, in which ship, also, came William Woodmanson, who lived near Upland, at a place named by him "Harold," where at his house a Friends' meeting was settled as early as 1682. William Clayton, who had taken up land at Marcus Hook, in 1678-9, was another immigrant in the *Kent*, and a Friend.

James Sandilands was a prominent man at Upland; he had been a soldier in the service of the Duke of York, and received his discharge in 1669. As early as 1665 he is mentioned as receiving a patent for land, and Dr. Smith calls him "the earliest European inhabitant of Upland, not a Swede or a Dutchman"; it is not improbable that the same could be said of him with reference to the whole Colony. He was a churchman, and the mural tablet to him and his wife, preserved in St. Paul's church at Chester, is a fine example of such work, besides being the earliest in Pennsylvania. (See the engraving of it, frontispiece to Record of Upland Court.)

Thomas Fairman will be further alluded to in the main text. He was an Englishman, a Friend, a surveyor by occupation, a large purchaser, later, of lands under Penn's title, and probably had been one of the Burlington settlers. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of John Kinsey, of Hertfordshire, England, who was deceased before March 30, 1678, as he is so stated in a deed by Lasse Cock to Elizabeth Kinsey, of that date, for 300 acres of land at Shackamaxon, with a house or houses apparently built on it. (Upland Court, p. 115.) It was probably on this land that Fairman's house, considered the largest and best then built, stood, when Penn arrived, and near which the great Indian treaty is believed to have been held. Fairman had been granted land by the Upland Court, March 12, 1678, below Neshaminy creek, and again, elsewhere, 200 acres, June 8, 1680. He was no doubt a resident of Shackamaxon, when appointed to the Council by Markham.

William Warner was a land owner and resident at Blockley, on the west side of the Schuylkill, an Englishman, who, it is said, had served under Cromwell.

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An important duty prescribed by Penn to Markham, in his commission, was "to settle boundaries between me and my neighbors." The neighbor with whom this settlement was sure to be difficult was the proprietor of the Maryland colony, Charles Calvert, Lord Baltimore, successor to his father, Cecil Calvert, who in 1632 had received the grant of Maryland from Charles the First. Neither the eastern nor the northern limit of that grant had in 1680 been determined. It was professed later by the Maryland proprietaries that the Swedish and Dutch settlements on the Delaware lay within it; yet the Lords Baltimore had suffered them to be made without protest or objection,

and except in a single instance (1659, twenty-one years after Minuit's arrival at Christina), had never even made the pretense of a claim upon their allegiance. They had passed from the Swedish control to the Dutch, and from that to the English, and in 1680, when the grant to Penn was drawn, government over them was exercised by the Duke of York without challenge or dispute from any quarter.

In the grant to Lord Baltimore, in 1632, its northern limit was inaccurately defined. There were no maps of the Maryland region but that of Captain John Smith; but it was supposed that the 40th degree of north latitude crossed Delaware Bay. Baltimore was granted the region from Watkins' Point, on Chesapeake Bay, upward "*unto that part of the bay of Delaware, on the north, which lyeth under the fortieth degree of latitude.*" These specifications we now know to be incompatible, unless it was intended to mean, by "the fortieth degree," the area enclosed between the 39th and 40th parallels, and not the geographical line which bounds this area on the north. The 40th parallel does not touch Delaware Bay, but crosses the river far above.[1] But as the language of the grant shows the impression at London in 1632 was different, and it was intended to convey to Baltimore the unplanted ("hactenas inculta") territory east of the Potomac, from Watkins' Point upward as far as the point on Dela-

He was from Draycot, in the parish of Blockley, in Worcestershire, and by his will (made 1703, proved 1706), disposed of property there. It was he who gave the name Blockley to the old township. He bought a considerable tract of land there of the Indians, the title to which the Upland Court confirmed to him. He is mentioned in the Court records, April 3, 1678, as taking up 100 acres of land, and probably came here about that time, as his name does not appear in the "Tydable" List of 1677.

Otto Ernest Cock was one of the Justices of the Upland Court at least as early as 1676, and may be regarded as, in 1681, the most prominent of the Swedish settlers. In 1678 he lived at Tinicum; in 1696 at Marcus Hook; "at one time in Kingsessing" (Smith). He was living in 1697, when Rev. Andrew Rudman made a list of members of the Gloria Dei (Swedish Lutheran) church at Wicaco. Lasse (or Lacy, Laurens, Lawrence) Cock, was a younger man than Otto Ernest. Mr. Rudman's list gives his birth, March 21, 1646. (Pa. Mag., III., 224.) He was returned, in 1684, as having 550 acres of land, of which 30 were improved. (Pa. Mag., VII., 106.) He died in 1700.

[1] The 40th degree passes through the city of Philadelphia. It strikes the Delaware "about the Port Richmond Depot of the Reading Railroad Company." (Westcott.—Independence Hall is 39° 57′ 7.5″ north latitude.

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Wherus wee whose hands and Seals are herevnto
sett are Chosen by Wm Markham (agent to
Wm Penn Esq. Proprietor of ye Province of Pensilvania
to be of the Councell for ye province, doe hereby
bind our selves by our hand & Seals that wee neither
act nor advise nor Consent, unto any thing that
shall not be according to our own Consciences the
best for ye true and well Government of the sd
Province and Likewise to Keep secret all ye votes
and acts of ye sd Councell unless Such as by the
Generall Consent of us are to be Published, Dated
at Upland ye third day of August 1682

Robt Ward Tho: Fairman Morgan Drewet

James Sandelands

the mark
W W
Wm Woodmanse

Will Clayton Otho Ernst Lorff

Wm Welsh Wm Haige

ye mark L of
Lacy Cock

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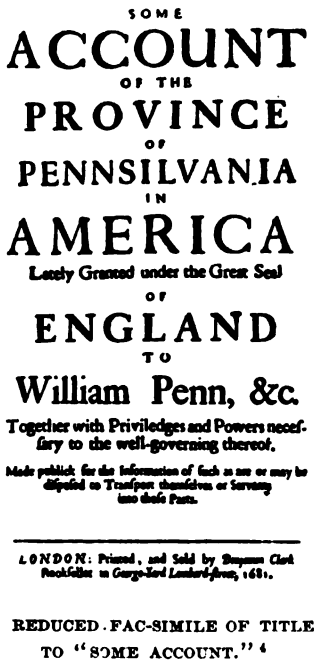
ware Bay where the 40th degree crossed it. This was considered to be two degrees—from the 38th to the 40th—of sixty miles each, as the computation then was made.[1]

Markham was provided by Penn, not only with a polite letter from himself to Lord Baltimore, but with another from the King, wherein Charles civilly notified the Maryland proprietor of the grant he had made to Penn, and commanded him to appoint, "with all convenient speed," a person or persons to meet Penn's agents and determine the location of the boundary.[2]

"Towards the latter end of August," after organizing his Council, Markham set off for Maryland with his letters, which he presented to Lord Baltimore, who read them with due respect. "But, by reason of the great heats then in August, Capt. Markham happened to fall dangerously ill," and so lay "for the space of three weeks and better," at Lord Baltimore's house. In September he had recovered sufficiently to return home, after making arrangements for a meeting with Baltimore on the 16th of October, to take an observation and ascertain the location of the 40th degree, for which purpose he was to send to Colonel Lewis Morris, at New York, to borrow "a Sextile of Six or Seaven foote Radies, that being y^e^ only fitt Instrument y^t^ could be heard of."[3]


SOME
ACCOUNT
OF THE
PROVINCE
OF
PENNSILVANIA
IN
AMERICA
Lately Granted under the Great Seal
OF
ENGLAND
TO
William Penn, &c.
Together with Priviledges and Powers neceſſary to the well-governing thereof.
Made publick for the Information of ſuch as are or may be diſpoſed to Tranſport themſelves or Servants into thoſe Parts.
LONDON: Printed, and Sold by Benjamin Clark Bookſeller in George-Yard Lombard-ſtreet, 1681.

REDUCED FAC-SIMILE OF TITLE TO "SOME ACCOUNT."[4]

No meeting, however, occurred this year. Markham was delayed in his voyage up the Chesapeake, and wrote September 25, from the "Head of the Bay," stating the fact, and asking for more time to send for the instrument. Then having "gott home," he fell ill again —"very ill," he says—and presently wrote a second letter, asking that the whole matter be postponed till spring. On his part, Lord Baltimore had also written, October 8, saying he "could not come upp that year for fear of y^e^ ffrost," and the two letters crossed each other on the way. The location of the 40th degree therefore remained unsettled, and perhaps unknown, until 1682.

[1] Until Newton's calculations, in the very year of Penn's arrival, 1682, confirming those of Picard, the French astronomer, a little earlier, 60 miles, instead of 69.5, had been assigned in England to a degree, and in the letter sent by the king to Lord Baltimore, Aug. 19, 1682, he expressly commands him to determine the northern bounds of Maryland "by an admeasurement [from Watkins' Point north] of the two degrees granted in your Patent, according to the usual computation of Sixty English miles to a Degree." (Pa. Mag., VI., 424.)

[2] Letter in full. (Pa. Mag., VI., 414.)

[3] Baltimore's "Narrative," in the State Paper Office, London. (Pa. Mag., VI., 416.)

[4] From Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America.

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Before his departure for Maryland, Markham had reconstituted the Upland Court, and continued it in its function of administering justice. It met again at the time to which it had adjourned, September 13, but at Upland, instead of Kingsessing. The new judges included five members of the Provincial Council, Clayton, Warner, Wade, and the two Cocks, with William Biles, Robert Lucas, Swan Swanson, and Andreas Bankson—the last two Swedish settlers within the Philadelphia limits. The "Duke's Laws," which had been the code in force upon the Delaware since 1668, were abrogated under the instructions brought by Markham, and all was to be done "according to the good laws of England." All alleged offenses were therefore submitted to a jury, which had not been uniformly done in the old Court. The business, however, was rapidly dispatched; nine cases were tried, sixteen withdrawn. Markham did not appear, of course, at this session of the Court, being then ill in Maryland, but when it again met, on the last day of November, he presided, and James Sandilands and Thomas Fairman also attended as justices.

James.

It was now the beginning of winter. It had been nine months since the grant to Penn. Very little change in the situation on the Delaware, other than that apparent in the Upland Court, had yet occurred. Trade to the Delaware had not been greater than in previous years. Only one ship is certainly known to have arrived earlier than this with passengers for Pennsylvania, the *John and Sarah*, Henry Smith master, from London, but a second was approaching the Delaware Capes, the *Bristol Factor*, from Bristol, Roger Drew master. On the 11th of December she came up to Upland, "where," says Proud, "the passengers, seeing some houses, went on shore, at Robert Wade's landing, near the lower side of Chester Creek, and the river having froze up that night, the passengers remained there all winter."[1]

[1] Proud, I., 193.—Hazard (Annals, p. 526), names two other ships as arriving in 1681, the *New Adventure*, Dagger master, and the *Henry and Ann*.—James Claypoole to Arthur Cotten, London, 7th mo. (Sept.) 24, 1681: "There is a ship going to Pensilvania from Bristoll, and Wm. Pen is gone thither to take leave of ye friends, and there is another ship going thither from hence, and may be ready in a fortnight, but Wm. Pen goes not till spring." (Pa. Magazine, X., 189.) The Bristol ship was no doubt the *Bristol Factor*. She had

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In these nine months Penn had been busy in England. His great desire was to go himself to his colony, at the earliest possible time, but the development of his plans detained him. Besides the commission to Markham, and his instructions, he had drawn up a paper, "Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania"—an advertisement, in fact, of the new colony. It is a quaint document, in Penn's own style, presenting many interesting statements of fact, with as many more economic, social, and political observations and suggestions. He devotes the opening portion to an argument that colonies and "plantations" are not a drain upon, but a support to the mother country, making new markets for her products, and enlarging the employment of her seamen and tradesmen. Then he insists that there are many people at home who would be bettered in their condition by going out to a new country, and his analysis of the reasons for this, showing the social conditions in England at that day, is acute and doubtless very near the truth. Next he proceeds to give "Something of the Place." "It lies," he says, "600 miles nearer the sun than England, . . . about the latitude of Naples, in Italy, or Montpelier, in France . . . For navigation it is said to have two conveniences; the one by lying nine-score miles upon Delaware River; that is to say, about three-score and ten miles before we come to the falls, where a vessel of two hundred tons may sail, and above the falls, for sloops and boats, as I am informed, to the extent of the patent. The other convenience is through Chesapeak-Bay." Then he mentions the natural products of the country, the timber, the wild animals, fish, etc. "The commodities," he says, "that the country is thought to be capable of, are silk, flax, hemp, wine, sider, wood, madder, liquorish, tobacco, potashes and iron, and it does actually produce hides, tallow, pipe-staves, beef, pork, sheep, wool, corn—as wheat, barley, ry—and also furs—as your peltree, mincks, racoons, martens, and such like store of furs which is to be found among the Indians, that are profitable commodities in Europe." "The way of trading in these countries," he proceeds, "is this: They send to the southern plantations corn, beef, pork, fish, and pipe-staves, and take their growth and bring for England, and return with English goods to their own country. Their furs they bring for England, and either sell them here or carry them out again to other parts of Europe, where they will yield a better price; and for those that will follow mer-

a long passage, and arrived after the *John and Sarah*. The latter left London, "in October." The *Amity*, which Proud says (I., 193) sailed in 1681, did not do so until the next spring. James Claypoole to Joseph Grove, London, 2d mo. (April) 20, 1682: "My eldest Sonne is goeing away this week in the *Amity*, Richard Diamond, for Pennsylvania, to bee an Assistant to Wm. Penn's surveighor." (Pa. Mag., X., 198.) A letter dated next day says he has been at Gravesend to see his son off. (Hazard. 567.) It is evident from this that the *Amity* was not "blown off to the West Indies," as Proud asserts, in the fall or winter of 1681. His error has been extensively copied and repeated. It is probable the *Bristol Factor* went by the West Indies and touched there. Her late arrival (Dec. 11, O. S., was Dec. 21 in reality, being nearly Christmas), may have been due to being "blown off" on the way.

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chandise and navigation there is, in Pennsylvania, conveniency and timber sufficient for shipping."

The next division of the paper explains the sort of government proposed, the essential point being that "no law can be made or money raised, but by the people's consent." Then it sets forth the manner in which he proposes to dispose of the land—by sale, with a "quit-rent," by rent at a penny per acre, and by allowance to masters who take over servants. Then it specifies the "persons that Providence seems to have most fitted for plantations"—industrious husbandmen "that are hardly able (with extreme labor) to maintain their families and portion their children," at home; laborious handicraftsmen of like situation; "ingenious spirits," who at home, are "low in the world," and "much clogged and oppressed about a livelyhood;" younger brothers, of small inheritance, who must, in England, hang upon the "elder brother's table and charity;" and lastly, "men of universal spirits," capable of building a new structure of society, and desirous "to promote good discipline and just government among a plain and well-intending people."

DUKE OF YORK MEDAL.

Finally he explains how the colonists should equip themselves, and how they should proceed. He warns them "they must look for a winter before a summer comes, and must be willing to be two or three years without some of the conveniences they enjoy at home." "And yet," he adds, "I would needs say that America is another thing than it was at the first plantation of Virginia and New England; for there is better accommodation, and English provisions are to be had at easier rates."

A summary of this practical document[1] cannot do justice to its contents, which simply but effectively set forth the attractions of the new colony. It must have been prepared promptly upon the grant of the charter, for on the 12th of April Penn wrote Robert Turner and others that he had sent them a copy of it. He says that "many are drawn forth to be concerned with me . . . This I can say, that I had an opening of joy as to these parts, in the year 1661, at Oxford, twenty years since . . . For the matters of liberty and privilege I purpose . . . to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief; that the will of one man may not hinder the good of an whole country."[2]

[1] There is no date, but it has the imprint: "London. Printed and sold by Benjamin Clark, bookseller, in George Yard, Lombard street, 1681."—The whole is given in Westcott.

[2] Letter in full, Memoirs Hist. So. Pa., I., 210.

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Another important paper was prepared later. This is entitled: "Certain Conditions and Concessions agreed upon by William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, and those who are the adventurers and purchasers in the said Province, the 11th of July, one thousand six hundred and eighty-one." It contains twenty sections, is signed by Penn first, and then by "Hugh Chamberlen, R. Murray, Harbert Springet, Humphrey South, Thomas Barker, Samuel Jobson, John Joseph Moore, William Powell, Richard Davie, Griffith Jones, Hugh Lambe, Thomas Farrinborough, and John Goodson"—a list, two or three names excepted, with which our subsequent narrative will have little to do. They seem to have been a group gathered at the launching of the new ship, who did not themselves proceed upon the voyage.

A summary of all these "Conditions and Concessions" need not be here given. Five of them were provisions for just treatment of the Indians. Twelve related to the allotment, location, etc., of land. One applied the laws of England concerning minor offenses to the colony, another required the marking of cattle and other live stock; another, with a wise prevision of the future of forestry,[1] provided that for every five acres cleared, one should be left its trees—"especially to preserve oak and mulberries for shipping and silk." Two others regulated the manner in which persons might come to and leave the colony, requiring ship-masters to report their passengers, and persons intending to depart to give notice "in the market place, three weeks before."

First and foremost in the whole scheme, however, were provisions relating to the intended city. Without as yet assigning it a name, Penn roughly outlined its plan, in the first two sections of this document. Under the caption already given, the opening words are these:

"1. That so soon as it pleaseth God that the abovesaid persons arrive there, a certain quantity of land or ground plat *shall be laid out for a large town or city*, in the most convenient place upon the river for health and navigation; and every purchaser and adventurer shall, by lot, have so much land therein as will answer to the proportion which he hath bought or taken up upon rent: but it is to be noted that the surveyors shall consider what roads or highways will be necessary to the cities, towns, or through the lands. Great roads from city to city, not to contain less than forty feet in breadth, shall be first laid out and declared to be for highways, before the dividend of acres be laid out for the purchaser; and the like observation to be had for the streets in the towns and cities, that there may be convenient roads and streets preserved, not to be encroached upon by any planter or builder, that none may build irregularly to the damage of another."[2]

[1] Proud, writing 1776–80, at a time when the forest area of Pennsylvania was not yet seriously invaded, says of this provision that it "shews the provident care and knowledge of the proprietary in a matter whose continued neglect will doubtless in future be found more important to the country than has been imagined." (Hist. Penna., I., 192.)

[2] In full in Appendix to Proud, Vol. II.

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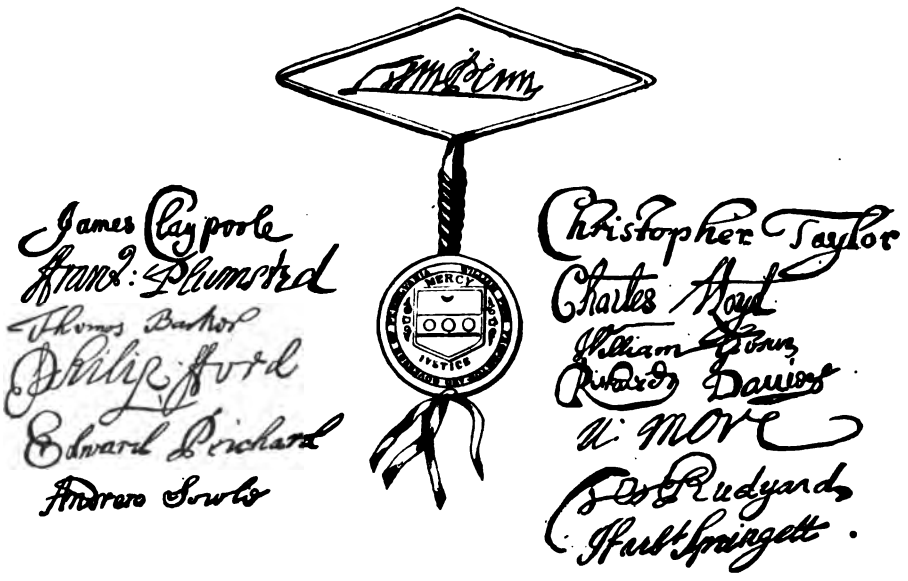
The "Conditions and Concessions," as we have seen, have the date July 11; six weeks later Penn had returned to London from a trip to the west of England, and wrote (August 25) to his friend James Harrison that "as to my voyage, it is not likely to be so quick



SEAL AND SIGNATURES TO FRAME OF GOVERNMENT.

as I hoped." He explains that none of the colonists upon whose going his own movements depend "can get rid of their concerns here till spring." "Besides," he adds, "many flock in to be concerned with me. I am like to have many from France, some from Holland, and, I hear, some Scotch will go." It is in this letter that he expresses his wish that "an example may be set to the nations," and says "that there may be room there, though not here, for such *an holy experiment*." In a postscript he says: "A ship goes with commissioners suddenly, in five weeks, to lay out the first and best land to the first adventurers." Ten days later he writes to Robert Turner: "I did refuse a great temptation last Second-day, which was £6,000, and pay the Indians for six shares, and make the purchasers a company, to have wholly to itself the Indian trade from south to north between Susquehanna and Delaware rivers, paying me 2½ per cent. acknowledgment or rent; but as the Lord gave it me . . . I would not . . . act unworthy of his providence, and so defile what came to me clean." [1]

[1] Memoirs, Hist. So. Pa., I., 212.—James Claypoole to Samuel Clarridge, London 10th 7th mo. (Sept.) 1681: "William Penn does not intend for Pennsylvania till next spring, and then 'tis like will be many people ready to goe from England, Scotland and Ireland: he is offered great things 6000 ℔ for a Monopoly in Trade, wch he refuses: and for Islands and pticular places great sums of money, but he designes to doe things

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The Commissioners whose intended departure Penn mentions in the letter to Harrison were William Crispin, John Bezar, and Nathaniel Allen. (A short time later William Haige was also commissioned.) They sailed in one of the two ships which left in the autumn, but Crispin died on the way.[1] For their guidance Penn had drawn up a series of instructions, in seventeen paragraphs, dated the 30th of September, and these form a document of the highest interest and importance in relation to the beginnings of Philadelphia. The suggestion of the city's plan, which forms the first clause of the "Conditions and Concessions," now appears carefully elaborated. Of the seventeen sections of the Instructions twelve relate to the "great town" which Penn had so definitely in mind, and one of them contains the famous direction to place the houses in the middle of the lots, "that it may be *a green country town*, which will never be burnt and always be wholesome."[2]

The principal clauses relating to the city are as follows:[3]

"2d. That having taken what care you can for the people's good, in the respects abovesaid, let the rivers and creeks be sounded on my side of Delaware River, especially Upland, in order to settle a great town, and be sure to make your choice where it is most navigable, high, dry and healthy; that is, where most ships may best ride, of deepest draught of water, if possible to load or unload at the bank or key side, without boating and lightering of it. It would do well if the river coming into that creek be navigable, at least for boats, up into the country, and that the situation be high, at least dry and sound, and not swampy, which is best known by digging up two or three earths, and seeing the bottom.

equally betweene all partyes. . . I try'd him about thy proposalls to take 100 ℔ for 5000 acres, and abate ye quitt Rent, wch. he refused." (Pa. Mag., X., 189.)

[1] Proud says (I., 193): "Among the passengers in these ships [*John and Sarah*, and *Bristol Factor*] were John Otter, Nathaniel Allen, and William Lovett, with their families." Davis, (Hist. Bucks Co., 144), explicitly says that "Nathaniel Allen arrived from Bristol, December, 1681, . . . and landed at Robert Wade's, Chester creek." Bezar was probably with him. The absence of any mention of Haige's coming suggests that he may have been already in Pennsylvania.

William Crispin, who died on the voyage (at Barbadoes, according to tradition; the ship may have touched there), was highly esteemed by Penn, and is said to have been his first cousin (the son of his mother's sister), to have served under Admiral Penn, in the West Indies (in the attack on Hispaniola, etc.), and to have received from Cromwell a forfeited estate on the Shannon, near Limerick, Ireland. A letter from Penn to Markham, dated at London, Oct. 18, 1681, says: "With this comes instructions and concessions, with some company . . . I have sent my cosen William Crispin to be thy assistant, as by Commission will appear. His skill, experience, Industry and integrity are well known to me, particularly in Court Keeping, etc., so, yt is my will and pleasure that he be as Chief Justice to keep ye Seal, ye Courts and Sessions . . . pray be very respectful to my Cosen Crispin, he is a man my father had great confidence in and vallue for." (Pa. Mag., VI., 464).

Nathaniel Allen took up land in Bucks (Bensalem) on the west side of the Neshaminy, and died there 1692. He "held the office of Crown-inspector of wooden measures." (Davis, 144). He was one of the grand jury at Upland Court, Sept 12, 1682, "the first grand jury that ever sat in Pennsylvania." (Smith, 136).

John Bezar did not long survive. He settled at Marcus Hook, and died there, 1684. He was a Friend, a preacher, and had been active in England, where he had spoken in the "steeple-house" (parish church) at Marlborough, and had been imprisoned, whipped and set in the stocks. (Smith.)

William Haige appears to have been a practical surveyor and a man of energetic qualities. Lord Baltimore said that in an interview on the boundary he "seem'd to Governe more than Markham." He was surveying here in the spring of 1682, according to Baltimore, and by the same authority, he was "a quaker and much employed by Mr. Penn." The commission by which he was associated with the other three is dated Oct. 25, 1681, and is recorded in the Land Office at Harrisburg. (Hazard, 637).

[2] As he wrote this he doubtless had vividly in mind two impressive events of his own time, the "Great Plague," and the "Great Fire of London, 1664-5 and 1666."

[3] The whole in full, Memoirs Hist. So. Pa.., II., part 1, p. 215.

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"3d. Such a place being found out, for navigation, healthy situation, and good soil for provision, lay out ten thousand acres contiguous to it in the best manner you can, as the bounds and extent of the liberties of the said town.

"4th. The proportion in the said town is to be thus: Every share, or five thousand acres, shall have an hundred acres of land out of that ten thousand acres. If more than one be concerned in the share, as it may easily fall out, then they to agree of the dividing the same, as they shall think fit, still keeping to proportion, as if one hundred pounds will have an hundred acres, five pounds will have five acres.

"6th. If it should happen that the most convenient place for this great town should be already taken up, in greater quantity of land than is consistent with the town-plot, and that land not already improved, you must use your utmost skill to persuade them to part with so much as will be necessary, that so necessary and good a design be not spoiled; that is, where they have ten acres by the water side, to abate five, and to take five more backward, and so proportionably, because that, by the settlement of this town, the remaining five, in two or three years' time, will be worth twice as much as those ten before, yea, what they take backward for their water-side land, will, in a little more time, be really more valuable than all their ten forward was before; urging my regard to them if they will not break this great and good contrivance, and in my name promise them what gratuity or privilege you think fit, as having a new grant at their old rent; nay, half their quit rent abated, yea, make them as free as purchasers, rather than disappoint my mind in this township; though herein be as sparing as ever you can, and urge the weak bottom of their grant, the Duke of York having never had a grant from the king, &c. Be impartially just and courteous to all, that is both pleasing to the Lord, and wise in itself.

"7th. If you gain your point in this respect (of which be very careful), fall to dividing as before, according to shares; then subdivide, in which observe that you must narrower spread by the water side, and run backward more or less, according to the compass you have by the water side, to bring in the hundred share for their proportion in the said ten thousand acres.

"11th. Let no islands be disposed of to anybody, but all things remain as they were in that respect till I come.

"12th. Be sure to settle the figure of the town so as that the streets hereafter may be uniform down to the water from the country bounds; let the place for the storehouse be on the middle of the key, which will yet serve for market and state-houses too. This may be ordered when I come, only let the houses built be in a line, or upon a line, as much as may be.

"13th. Pitch upon the very middle of the plat where the town or line of houses is to be laid or run, facing the harbor and great river, for the situation of my house, and let it be not the tenth part of the town, as the conditions say, viz: that out of every hundred thousand acres shall be reserved to me ten, but I shall be contented with less than a thirtieth part, to-wit: three hundred acres, whereas several will have two by purchasing two shares, that is, ten thousand acres, and it may be fitting for me to exceed a little.

"14th. The distance of each house from the creek or harbor should be, in my judgment, a measured quarter of a mile, at least two hundred paces, because of building hereafter streets downwards to the harbor.

"15th. Let every house be placed, if the person pleases, in the middle of its plat, as to the breadth way of it, that so there may be ground on each side for gardens or orchards, or fields, that it may be a green country town, which will never be burnt, and always be wholesome."

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By the Commissioners Penn sent a letter to the Indians, inviting their confidence and friendship. "There is," he says, "one great God and Power that hath made the world and all things therein, to whom you and I and all people owe their being and well-being and to whom you and I must one day give an account . . . This great God has written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love, and to help, and to do good to one another." He explains his good intentions toward them. "I desire," he says, "to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just and peaceable life; and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall in all things behave themselves accordingly . . . I shall shortly come to you myself, at which time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters." [1]

Of Penn's activities for his colony and its city there is little more to be said under the year 1681. Preparations for a large movement the next year went on in England. Ships were chartered at Bristol and London. "William Penn," says Claypoole, November 29, "is extraordinary busy about his new country, and purchasers present daily." The charter of the Free Society of Traders, which we shall refer to presently, was preparing, and the "Frame of Government," begun earlier, in consultation with Algernon Sydney, was still under consideration.

On the Delaware the winter, as we have seen, set in suddenly. The tradition is that it continued very cold. It is unlikely that the commissioners could do much, until spring, with their surveys.[2] Markham was busy with the civil administration. Sessions of the court were held at Upland, November 30, and March 14, and there were trials, civil and criminal, before juries. The sale of rum to the Indians must have been promptly forbidden by Markham, after his arrival in the summer, for on October 18 a petition of four Indians of "Pesienk," was presented to the Governor and Council, concerning it. The petitioners said that as "the selling of strong liquors was prohibited in Pennsylvania, and not at New Castle, we find it a greater ill-convenience than before, our Indians going down to New Castle, and there buying rum, and making them more debauched than before." They therefore asked that the prohibition might be taken off, and "rum and strong liquors" be sold "as formerly, until it be prohibited at New Castle, and in that government by Delaware." [3] This paper of the Passyunk natives, written

[1] Letter in full, Proud, I., 195. The original is referred to by Hazard, 1850, as having been read, "a few years ago," before the Penn Society. "It was written on paper, with ruled lines, and in a more formal hand than usual." (Hazard, 532.)

[2] Cf., however, the statement in Penn's letter, in the summer of 1683, in which he says the weather, this first winter, was exceptionally mild.

[3] Memoirs Hist. So. Pa., III., part 2, 206. It must be kept in mind that Penn and his Deputy had as yet no jurisdiction in Delaware, which remained under the Duke of York, until November, 1682.

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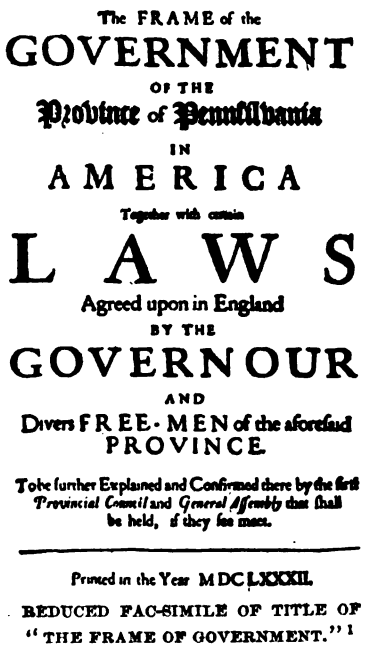
of course by a white man, is subscribed by the rudely-drawn "marks" of the four—an uncertain figure for Nanna Seka, a tortoise for Keka Kappan, a bird for Jong Goras, and a snake for Espon Ape. It may serve as the opening of a long and ugly chapter in our history, corresponding to that in every other American settlement—the destruction of the Indians by drunkenness. Often afterwards they begged that the rum be kept away from them; this petition, unique in its opposite tenor, betrays the white man's voice.


The FRAME of the
GOVERNMENT
OF THE
Province of Pennsilvania
IN
AMERICA
Together with certain
LAWS
Agreed upon in England
BY THE
GOVERNOUR
AND
Divers FREE-MEN of the aforesaid
PROVINCE.
To be further Explained and Confirmed there by the first Provincial Council and General Assembly that shall be held, if they see meet.
Printed in the Year MDCLXXXII.

REDUCED FAC-SIMILE OF TITLE OF "THE FRAME OF GOVERNMENT."[1]

With the opening of spring, and the passage of New Year's day (March 25, Julian Calendar), the activities on the Delaware were renewed, and the important year 1682 began to unfold its record. Philadelphia, so far only talked of, was now to be located and laid out. The account made up against Penn by Thomas Fairman, for services rendered, and settled finally in 1713, suggests the progress of the work. Fairman's first item of charge is in 1682, for "taking the courses and the soundings of the channel of Delaware, seven weeks with Capt. Markham, £10." Then, "To victuals and drink put on board the shallop at sundry times, £3." Then, "To my attendance as [at?] first commission, conjunct with Wm. Hague, Nat. Allen, and John Beazor," no charge. Then, "To my taking the courses of Schuylkill, etc., for sounding and placing Philadelphia upon Delaware River, etc., £6." Then, "To for my own hands, [sic] with provisions and drams, £1 8s." And, "To Lodging Capt. Markham and Wm. Hague in my house, with diet and liquors for treats, £7."[2]

The boundary question revived also with the spring weather. Haige, the Commissioner, a practical surveyor, made observations "att the head of the Bay," which no doubt gave him cause of uneasiness as to the location of the 40th parallel. Later he "came to Lord Baltimore's house on Patuxent," where, in reply to close questions,

[1] From Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America.

[2] This account, which, with items additional to those above, makes £426 10s. 6d., is acknowledged, December 10, 1713, to be fully discharged by "certain valuable considerations" granted to Fairman by Penn and his Commissioners of Property. It is recorded in Deed Book D, p. 13, in the Recorder's Office, Philadelphia, and is cited in full in Westcott. In the Penn and Logan Correspondence, I., 49, is a letter of Fairman to Penn, undated, representing his extended services and alleging an inadequate recompense.

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he admitted his observations were not satisfactory, but said his instrument "was so Small that there could be no Certainty." Correspondence between Lord Baltimore and Markham followed, and in June, without notice, as Markham declared, the former sent commissioners to have a meeting and determine the latitude. At Augustine Herman's plantation, Bohemia Manor, on the east shore of the Chesapeake, they made observations. Proceeding then to Newcastle they found lying there a sloop from New York with Colonel Morris's valuable instrument aboard. Markham had found it necessary to go himself for it, and give security to the owner for its safe return. He was now coming overland to Newcastle, and the sloop had preceded him. The Maryland commissioners, eager to settle the question, did not wait, but "with some difficulty and many entreaties," got the instrument from the master, and "in a very Clear day, being on the 27th of June, 1682, they found the Latitude of the place of observation, which was in the Towne, to be thirty-nine degrees, forty odd minutes."[1]

Markham had no doubt advised Penn of the probable location of the boundary, and it appears that the latter had sent over an instrument for taking observations. In the autumn, September 24th—but a few weeks before Penn's arrival—Markham and Lord Baltimore met at Upland, and remained in conference two days. The latter, according to Haige's account, was "accompanied with Coll: Corsie, Major Seawell, Major Sawyer, and 4 of his owne Commisrs and forty men Armed with Carbines, pistolls, and Swords"—a formidable array, truly. They had come from New Castle, and lay the night of the 23d at Robert Wade's at Upland—which it seems was Markham's usual lodging-place. The 24th was the first day of the week, which Markham regarded "not a day of business," but Baltimore requested the use of the instruments. That sent by Penn was said not to be in order, but the one lent by Colonel Morris was "brought forth by one Richard Noble, a Quaker, who sett the same up, and it being a very Clear day observation was taken therewith by the said Noble, as likewise by those Artists the Lord Baltimore had with him, and they all agreed that ye Latitude of Upland was by that Sextile of Col. Morris in 39 degrees, 47 minutes, and five seconds."[2]

The discussions which thereupon followed are entertaining, read at the distance of two hundred years, and will be found fully stated in the papers filed by the two parties at London. Upon ascertaining

[1] Baltimore's "Narrative."—Markham was very indignant. He says the Commissioners "Did by ye means of the Dutch Inhabitants of ye Towne procure the Master (he being a Dutch man) to bring it on shoare, and there they used it . . . a Confidence I never mett the like to dare to touch an Instrument that was to be used by the Contrarie parties, and so privately that no ffriend of ours was by." He adds that he reached Newcastle the next day, but found the Commissioners gone, and then sent Haige to Augustine Herman's, but they had left there before his arrival.

[2] Baltimore's "Narrative."

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the latitude of Upland, Lord Baltimore formally claimed that place, and northward to the 40th degree. He desired, says Haige's account, "to goe further up the river," to fix that parallel, "wherever it was to be found." To this Markham objected, producing the Pennsylvania grant "under the great seale of England," and showing that the King granted to Penn, "from 12 miles distance Northward of New Castle Towne." Baltimore said he had no interest at all in what grant Mr. Penn had received—his interest was in what the King had long before granted him. To which Markham replied fairly enough that it was not for him to suppose the King had made a mistake in the Pennsylvania grant, but that if Baltimore thought he had, it was to the King he should appeal. Then the Marylanders triumphantly demanded to know how it was possible to run the 12-miles circle with Newcastle as the centre, and reach the 40th degree—a question certainly which no one could well answer, since it was not possible—but Markham here again produced the Penn patent and essayed a reply, which brought forth from the Maryland party a jeering comment that "His Majesty must have long compasses," to which Markham once more rejoined "he hoped they would not limmett His Majesty's Compasses!" And so on.[1]

Requiring from Markham a written statement, which he gave, why he would not allow Lord Baltimore to go farther northward, the latter, on the afternoon of the 25th, proceeded with his retinue to the landing, "in order to take Boate," and he then publicly announced his claims to the country up to the 40th parallel. After which his boats proceeded out of the creek and downward to Newcastle,[2] where he says he vainly waited two days for Markham to join him and take more observations.

The truth was, it was now plain to all that a circle drawn twelve miles north from Newcastle would not touch the fortieth degree by many miles, and that the southern boundary of Pennsylvania as thus defined was a geographic impossibility.[3] Baltimore was as much delighted, no doubt, as Markham was dismayed, and his proposal to go on upward until they found the desired parallel was an irritating gibe. The fortieth degree was in fact so far north that if it should be the boundary Maryland would not only take in Upland, but would extend far upward into what was claimed to be, and now is, Pennsylvania. Penn's hold upon the Bay, so much desired, would be lost. Even the site of the city, at Coaquanock, would fall to Lord Baltimore. All that Markham could do was

[1] Haige's statement in Markham's reply to Baltimore.

[2] Landing on the way at Marcus Hook, as Markham reported, and going "ffrom house to house prohibiteing the inhabitants to pay any more quitt rents to Mr. Penn, telling them that the land was his."

[3] See the limits of the grant to Penn, stated in Brockholls's letter, foot-note, p. 10.

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to insist on the validity of the twelve-miles circle, and hold his ground until Penn came. This he did. When Baltimore, at the Upland landing-place, said, "I own here about twelve miles to the southward of the degree of forty, which is my North Bounds, as the same is Mr. Penn's South Bounds," it was hard for a plain soldier to make any effective response except that his orders ran to the contrary.

Thus the famous controversy which for nearly a century embroiled the two colonies opened to view. Not until 1767 was the line of Mason and Dixon fully run, and then the Penns' proprietorship was within a few years of extinction, and the last Lord Baltimore was fast approaching his death-bed.

ARMS OF WILLIAM PENN.

To follow up the boundary subject we have left other events of the spring and early summer behind. In England Penn's winter labors began to appear at the end of March. The charter for the Free Society of Traders was signed by him on the last day of the old year, and on the next day, March 25, the "Articles, Settlement and Offices" of the corporation were signed in London, by Nicholas More, James Claypoole, and Philip Ford. These three, with "William Sherloe, of London, merchant; Edward Pierce, of London, leather seller; John Symcock and Thomas Brassey, of Cheshire, yeomen; Thomas Barker, of London, wine cooper; and Edward Brookes, of London," were the corporators.[1]

To this Company, which had been planned and discussed in London, throughout the year 1681, and of which great results were expected, Penn granted extraordinary powers—which, it may be at once stated, never came into use. Twenty thousand acres of land had been granted it on the 22d and 24th of March, and some of this, 8,612 acres, was afterward located in Bucks county, where, upon Holme's Map, it appears as "Society Land." The intent was to form the 20,000 acres into an English manor, to be called "The Manor of Frank," which should hold its "court-baron," and "court-leet and view of frank-pledge." Large privileges of trade were granted, and James Claypoole, who was elected treasurer at the general meeting in London, in May, 1682, sets forth in his letters the extensive plans of the Company, including a glass manufactory, with a "house" and "divers offices and warehouses" in "ye Capitoll Citty." Many of those interested in the new colony probably became subscribers to the stock, which had reached £10,000 in June, 1682. The whole

[1] See charter, in full, Hazard, 541; "Articles, Settlements and Offices," in fac-simile, Pa. Mag., V., 37.

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undertaking seems to have broken down, though why is not exactly stated. It had been planned on too great a scale, probably, for so limited a field of action, and the manorial reservations and courts were ill adapted to the democratic society in the woods on the Delaware in 1682. Nicholas More, elected President of the Society, came over in the autumn, and Claypoole, the treasurer, followed the next year. So late as August, 1683, the company was supposed to be still in vigorous life, for Penn then addressed to it at London his long and interesting letter descriptive of Pennsylvania.[1]

More important than the charter to the trading company was the preparation and issue of the "Frame of Government," and the acquisition from the Duke of York of his territory on the west shore of Delaware Bay. These labors occupied Penn during the spring and summer. The "Frame of Government" is a written constitution, a "charter of liberties," for Pennsylvania. It was signed by Penn on the 25th of April. He opens with "The Preface," a statement of his views concerning government, deriving its right to exist from the manifest designs of the Creator. "It seems to me," he says, "a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institution and end." He declines, for reasons given, to say which is the best model, but he declares that "any government is free to the people under it, whatever be the power, where the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws; and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion." He concludes that "governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments; let men be good and the government cannot be bad"—a reversal of certain modern theories—"but if men be bad, let the government be ever so good, they will endeavor to warp and spoil it"—which indeed is likely to be the experience of humanity to the end. "I know some say," he continues, repeating and emphasizing his thought, "let us have good laws, and no matter for the men that execute them; but let them consider that though good laws do well, good men do better; for good laws may want good men, and be abolished or evaded by ill men; but good men will never want good laws, nor suffer ill ones. That, therefore, which makes a good constitution must keep it, namely men of wisdom and virtue, qualities that because they descend not with worldly inheritances must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth." The constitution, and the laws under it, he declares,

[1] Nicholas More was a London physician. Penn appears to have esteemed him. He came in the *Geoffrey*, a new ship, which made a remarkable voyage, 29 days, and arrived quickly after the *Welcome*. He immediately took a prominent part in affairs, became Speaker of the Assembly, and subsequently chief-justice, then was engaged in a long quarrel with the Assembly, and died in 1687, at his home, "Green Spring," near Somerton, now in the 23d Ward of Philadelphia. He had obtained, in 1684, a patent for nearly 10,000 acres of land, forming the "Manor of Moreland," and covering a large part of Moreland township—both that part in Philadelphia, and the part cut off by the erection of Montgomery county, 1784. (Martindale's Byberra and Moreland; Bean's Hist. Mont. Co.; Pa. Mag., V., 159.)

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have been framed "to the great end of all government, namely, to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power . . . for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery."

After this preface he proceeds to "declare, grant, and confirm" the "liberties, franchises, and properties" which are to be "held, enjoyed, and kept by the freemen, planters, and inhabitants of the said province of Pennsylvania, for ever." They are stated in thirty-four articles. They provide for the election of a provincial council, and define its powers, in connection with the governor; for the annual election of a general assembly, which shall have the right to approve or reject such legislation as the governor and council shall propose; for the establishment of courts, voting by ballot, the appointment of the first judges, treasurers, recorders, etc., by the governor, and for various matters of detail.

THE "LETITIA HOUSE," NOW IN FAIRMOUNT PARK.

This charter was followed by the declaration, May 5, of a series of enactments under it, stated in the caption as "agreed upon in England by the Governor and divers freemen of the aforesaid province. To be further explained and confirmed there by the first Provincial Council, that shall be held, if they see meet." They are in forty pāragraphs, most of them making but a few lines. The first declared a confirmation of the "Frame." The second defined who should be "freemen" of the province, capable of voting for and being elected to the Council or the General Assembly, namely (1) purchasers of 100 or more acres of land; (2) persons who had paid their passage and taken up 100 acres, at a penny an acre, (rent), and had ten acres in cultivation; (3) persons who had been servants, or bondsmen, now free, who had taken up 50 acres, and had 20 in cultivation; and finally (4) "every inhabitant, artificer, or other resident in the said province that pays scot and lot to the government." The other thirty-eight sections form a compact code of broad and liberal legislation. They provide that the elections shall be free and uncorrupted, that taxation shall be by law, the courts shall be open, and justice not "sold, denied, or delayed;" they fix a simple

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procedure in the courts, direct trial by jury and moderate fees, that "all prisons shall be workhouses," that bail shall be taken, unless for capital offences; that persons wrongfully imprisoned shall have remedy by damages, that prisons "shall be free, as to fees, food, and lodging," etc. All children, of the age of twelve, are to be taught "some useful trade or skill, to the end none may be idle." Sundry general provisions are made: concerning wills, title to land by seven years' quiet possession, the recording of charters, gifts, grants, and conveyances; forgeries or defacements of legal papers, the registry of wills, marriages, births, deaths, etc.; the testimony of witnesses, and other matters. Two of the clauses refer to a religious qualification for officers of the government, and to the free exercise of religion. Finally "all other matters and things," not provided for in the code, which should concern "the public justice, peace, or safety," were referred "to the order, prudence, and determination of the governor and freemen in provincial council and general assembly."[1]

To the acquisition of the "Lower Counties" from the Duke of York, Penn next addressed himself. He particularly desired their possession, in view of the controversy with Baltimore, in order that he might be assured of free navigation of the Bay. The negotiations with the Duke were successfully ended in August, a short time before the *Welcome* sailed. On August 20 he executed a release or quit-claim deed to Penn for all the right and title he might have in the Pennsylvania grant. Two days later he executed two "deeds of feoffment," one for the town of Newcastle and the land within a circle drawn twelve miles around it, the other for the whole of the Duke's territory on Delaware river and bay, beginning twelve miles south of Newcastle "and extending south to the Whorekills, otherwise called Cape Henlopen." In each case the Duke appointed John Moll and Ephraim Herman, of Newcastle, his attorneys "to deliver quiet and peaceable possession and seisin" to Penn. For the Newcastle circle Penn was to pay a yearly rent of five shillings, "at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel;" for the lower tract he was to pay one-half the "rents, issues, and profits," and to hold it "as of [the Duke's] castle at New York, in free and common soccage, yielding and paying thereafter yearly and every year . . . one rose at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, if demanded."

The labors of Markham this year have been in part recited. But one of the most important of them preceded his perplexing interviews with Lord Baltimore. This was the purchase of land from the Indians at Pennsbury—the first made under Penn's rule. The deed is dated on the 15th of July, and is made by Idquahon and thirteen

[1] The "Frame and Laws" are in full in Proud's History, II., Appendix; in Hazard's Annals 558; and elsewhere. Penn's own copy is in the Library of the Historical So. of Penna.

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other "Indian sachamakers." It conveys to Penn the land on the Delaware, "beginning at a certain white oak in the land now in the tenure of John Wood, and by him called the Graystones, over against the Falls of Delaware river," upward "to a corner-marked spruce tree with the letter P, at the foot of a mountain," then "along by the ledge of the mountains to a corner white oak, marked with the letter P, standing by an Indian path that leads to an Indian town called Plawicky, and near the head of a creek called Towsissink, and from thence west to the creek called Neshamony's creek," then down to the river, and up it to John Wood's white-oak—with the islands in the river, Mattinicunk, Sepassnick's and Oreckton's.

This purchase, says Davis, is easily followed in the description. It begins at Morrisville; the upper corner on the river is just above the mouth of Knowles' Creek, in Upper Makefield; Towsissink is a branch of Lahaska Creek. The line strikes the Neshaminy "half a mile below chain bridge." The purchase included all of four townships, and parts of three others, in the lower end of Bucks county. The manor of Pennsbury lay within it. The purchase articles given the Indians make an extended list: it includes wampum, white blankets, "strowdwaters," "duffields," kettles, guns, coats, shirts, stockings, hoes, axes, barrels of powder, bars of lead, knives, glasses, pairs of shoes, copper boxes, tobacco tongs, barrels of pipes, scissors, combs, red lead, awls, fish-hooks, needles, shot, beads, saws, drawing-knives, ankers of tobacco, ankers of rum, cider, and beer, and 300 guilders of money—this last item showing that Dutch coin continued to be the legal-tender of the Indian traffic. Altogether the separate articles, not counting the beads, the shot, or the fish-hooks, made over a thousand, and must have dazzled the eyes of the red men.

To replace William Crispin as surveyor-general, Penn had commissioned Thomas Holme, who sailed in the *Amity*, from London, on the 23d of April.[1] He reached Philadelphia late in June. He found, no doubt, that the site of Philadelphia had been fixed. The work of Markham and the Commissioners, begun as soon as the spring weather permitted, had progressed before his arrival to the point of determining that the city would be laid out on the elevated ground between the Delaware and the Schuylkill, at the place called Coaquanock.[2] By the 14th of July, James Claypoole, in London, appears to have been advised of the location; on that date he writes: "I have 100 acres where our Capitall Citty is to be upon ye River

[1] Holme was called "Captain," and was of Waterford, Ireland. He is said to have been a midshipman in Admiral Penn's expedition to the West Indies. "A very honest, ingenious, worthy man," Claypoole calls him. His commission is dated April 18, 1682. He was a member of the first Provincial Assembly, at Chester, in December, 1682, and subsequently of the Council, and did a large work in surveying and mapping the city and province. He died 1695.

[2] See the memoranda already cited, of Fairman's charges to Penn, for surveying, sounding the river, etc., "for placing Philadelphia," p. 24, *ante*.

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near Schoolkill and Peeter Cook's [Cock's]. There I intend to plant & build my first house."

Holme entered promptly on his duties as surveyor-general. From the intimations in the letter of Edward Jones, cited below, it seems that the time of himself and his assistants was much occupied with the country purchasers, and surveys of their land. Penn had sent with him another friendly letter to the Indians, and this, as a memorandum upon it says, he read to them "by an interpreter," some time in August. As to the city, he found, as no doubt Markham and the Commissioners had fully learned before his arrival, that it was not practicable, if desirable, to secure the great tract of 10,000 acres which Penn designated in his instructions a year before; they contented themselves, therefore, with the plot of about 1280 acres which for one hundred and seventy-two years composed the "city proper" of Philadelphia. The plan of this must have been fully prepared by September, for on the 19th of that month there was a "drawing" for lots, following presumably the instructions given by Penn to the Commissioners, though when he arrived he appears to have disapproved and annulled its results.

The plan of the city, drawn by Holme, and made familiar by many reproductions and republications, shows it as first laid out. Some changes were made later, but this exhibits Philadelphia substantially as it was fixed upon then, as it was defined in the charter of 1701, and as it continued to be, until, in 1854, the whole of Philadelphia county was consolidated with it.[1] A copy of the plan was sent to England by Penn, in 1683, accompanying his letter to the Free Society of Traders, and it showed with sufficient accuracy the general arrangement of the city. The description of it,[2] ascribed to Holme, says: "The city, as the model shows, consists of a large Front-street, on each river, and a High-street, near the middle, from river to river, of one hundred feet broad; and a Broad-street, in the middle of the city, from side to side, of the like breadth. In the centre of the city is a square of ten acres; at each angle to build houses for public affairs. There is also in each quarter of the city, a square of eight acres, to be for the like uses, as Moorfields, in London; and eight streets, besides the said High-street, that run from river to river, or from Front to Front; and twenty streets besides the Broad-street, and two Front-streets, that run across the city, from side to side; all these streets are fifty feet broad."

[1] "A Portraiture of the City of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania in America. By Thomas Holme, Surveyor-General. Sold by Andrew Sowle, in Shoreditch, London." The chief variations of this from the settled plan are that it shows the Centre Square between the 11th and 12th streets from the Delaware, instead of the 13th and 15th; Logan and Rittenhouse squares, between the 16th and 18th streets, instead of the 18th and 20th; Dock creek is represented as emptying into the Delaware between Spruce and Pine sts.; and the front on the Schuylkill is made nearly straight, whereas it is considerably curved.

[2] Proud, I., 244.

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The square of ten acres in the centre, Oldmixon says, was designed "for the state-house, market-house, school-house, and chief meeting-house of the Quakers." Upon it the Public Buildings of the city are now erected.

The city thus extended from the Delaware to the Schuylkill, and from Vine street to Cedar (now South) street, covering thus the narrowed part of the peninsula which the two rivers here form. It was a comparatively level spot, rising from the tide-level to about fifty feet, covered by woods, drained by half a dozen creeks of modest volume, and underlaid with the clays and gravels deposited ages before by the waters of the sea which then covered the place. From river to river on Market street the distance is called 2.15 miles; from Vine street to South is a little more than one mile. Very nearly as to each dimension, Philadelphia was two miles long and one mile wide, and it was so commonly described.

To secure the plot, an exchange had to be made with some of the Swedish owners, as Penn had anticipated. The Swansons of Wicaco held title, under two of the Duke's surveys, one of 1664 and another of 1681, to a great part of the Delaware front of the city; but this they were induced to surrender for land west of the Schuylkill. Peter Cock, who held along the Schuylkill front, made a similar exchange.[1] Lots were located during the summer months, and even earlier. One on the west side of Front street between Chestnut and Walnut, was surveyed to Christopher Taylor, April 3, which was more than two months before the arrival of Holme, indicating that he confirmed when he came the city plot which Markham and the Commissioners had already prepared. On the west side of Front, between Sassafras (Race) and Vine, one was surveyed to John Bezar, August 10; on the north-west corner of Second and Spruce, one to Richard Marsh, August 1; and on the south side of Walnut, east of Third, one to John Luffe, October 13, all these being before the arrival of Penn.[2]

Of the houses actually built, or building, in 1682, we have little definite knowledge. Those on Dock creek, at the Blue Anchor landing, will be mentioned later. One more notable and interesting was the Letitia House, built on the large lot reserved on the Commissioners' plot for Penn, and afterward conveyed to his daughter Letitia.[3] This is now standing in Fairmount Park, having been removed there from its original place in 1883. The Letitia House is a modest brick structure, two stories high. It is said to have been the first dwelling in Philadelphia with a cellar. If begun in the

[1] The patent, May 3, 1704, by William Penn to Benjamin Chambers for 200 acres, west of the Schuylkill, recites that it is a portion of a tract laid out for Peter Cock, "In lieu of 100 acres of land formerly located by the said Peter upon some part of the land whereon the city of Philadelphia now stands, which was surrendered to me by the said Peter."

[2] Reed, cited by Westcott.

[3] It extended from Front to Second, and from Market halfway to Chestnut St. The house stood near the centre.

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summer or autumn of 1682, it does not seem to have been completed that year, for the evidence is strong that Fairman's house at Shackamaxon was occupied by the Governor as his residence, when in Philadelphia, until 1683.

We get some view of the situation at Philadelphia, at the end of August, from the letter of Edward Jones, who had arrived from Liverpool, on the 13th of that month, in the *Lion*, John Compton master. Edward Jones represented a Welsh company of purchasers from Penn, some of whom came in this ship and some later; they were early settlers upon the great "Welsh Tract," the Merions and adjoining townships. Writing on the 26th of August to John ap Thomas, in Wales, he says:

"We are short of our expectation by reason that y^e^ town is not to be builded at Upland, neither would y^e^ Master bring us any further, though it is navigable for ships of greater burthen than ours. Y^e^ name of town lots is called now Wicoco; here is a crowd of people striving for y^e^ country land, for y^e^ town lot is not divided, & therefore we are enforced to take up y^e^ Country lots. . . . The end of each lot will be on a river large or larger than the Dye [Dee] at Bala: it is called Skool Kill River. . . . The people generally are Swede, which are not very well acquainted. We are amongst the English, which sent us both venison and new milk, & the Indians brought venison to our door for sixpence y^e^ quarter. . . . There are stones to be had enough at the falls of the Skool Kill, that is where we are to settle, & water enough for mills, but thou must bring Millstones and y^e^ irons that belong to it, for Smiths are dear. Iron is about two and thirty or fourty shillings per hundred; Steel about 1s. 6d. p. 1. Y^e^ best way is to make y^e^ picken axes when you come over, for they cannot be made in England, for one man will work with y^m^ as much as two men with ours. Grindle stones yield good profit here; ordinary workmen hath 1s. 6d. a day. Carpenters 3 or four shillings a day; here are sheep, but dear, about twenty shillings a piece. I cannot understand how they can be carried from England. . . Taylors hath 5s. & 6s. a day. . . . I would have you bring salt for y^e^ present use; here is coarse salt, sometimes two measures of salt for one of wheat, and sometimes very dear. Six penny & eight penny nails are most in use, horse shoes are in no use. . . good large shoes [for human creatures] are dear; lead in small bars is vendible, but guns are cheap enough."[1]

A picture is thus drawn of trade and industry in the new city, and we get also from Edward Jones's brief allusion the definite impression that he, and doubtless others, had expected the new city to be located at Upland, and had arranged with their captain for a voyage to that place. Meantime, as we have described, the surveyor-general and his assistants were busy upon their surveys. For the city their days were filled with details of streets and alleys, lines and levels, front and rear lots, public squares and landings, while Markham bought land of the Indians at Pennsbury, or exchanged diplomacy and defiance with Lord Baltimore at Upland. The Delaware and Schuylkill were enlivened by new ships, and now that the

[1] "John ap Thomas and His Friends" by Dr. James J. Levick, Pa. Mag., IV., 301

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city was located and plotted builders were busy. Philadelphia was rising at the river side, shadowed by the Coaquanock woods, when Penn in England had brought his preparations to the point of departure, and the *Welcome*, lifting her anchor in the Thames, spread her sails for the West.

NOTE ON THE ORIGIN OF THE CITY'S NAME.

When and how the name Philadelphia first suggested itself to Penn can only be conjectured. No records are left to establish with certainty whence he took the name; but, as stated above, the probabilities point to the two passages in the New Testament (Revelations, i, 11 and iii, 7) as its immediate source. In these verses is mentioned the city of Philadelphia in the province of Lydia, Asia Minor, as the seat of an early Christian congregation. As is well known from the old geographers, this city was so named by Attalos II. Philadelphos, who, in 159 B.C., became ruler of the neighboring city of Pergamos. To perpetuate his name, this King bestowed upon a city in Pamphylia the name of Attaleia, and, upon the Lydian city, that of Philadelpheia.

As appears from his countless citations, Penn's acquaintance with the Scriptures was extremely full and accurate. He was familiar with the names of the seven churches in Asia Minor, as appears from his "Address to Protestants," etc. (Selected Works, London, 1771, p. 553), where he names over the seven cities, including Philadelphia. This Address was written in 1679, scarcely more than a year before he received his Patent, and it may well have been during the composition of this work that he was struck with the suitability of the name for a city where Christian principles were to be the foundation of the political system. For Penn had a good knowledge of Greek, and, in reading his own Greek Testament, his earnest and peace-loving nature no doubt was often impressed with the euphony of the word *Φιλαδελφία* ('brotherly, or sisterly, love') and with the beauty of the sentiment which it designates. (Penn's Greek Testament was sold at public sale in London, in 1872.)

It is a strange freak of fortune that the name Philadelphia, as pronounced to-day, has the same accentuation (though not the same orthography) as that of the ancient city of Lydia; for *Φιλαδέλφεια*, and not the Attic form *Φιλαδελφία* of the New Testament, is the correct name, as attested by the oldest geographers and by inscriptions. (There is a coin of ancient Philadelpheia at the U. S. Mint, Philadelphia.)

Two other cities in Asia bore the name Philadelphia. One of them, in Cilicia Aspera, is known only by scanty mention in the old geographers; the other, formerly called Rabbath, was the chief city of the Ammonites in Palestine and a place of some size and importance. Its name was changed to Philadelphia by Ptolemaos II. Philadelphos (King of Egypt, 285–247 B.C.). Under its new name, it is mentioned several times by Josephus, but nowhere in the Scriptures. Penn seems not to have possessed, or used, Josephus' History; his citations on Jewish history are from other sources. It is extremely improbable, therefore, that either of these cities should have suggested the name to him.

There remains for mention the Society of the Philadelphians, a congregation of followers of Jane Leade (1623–1704), in England, and of Jacob Böhme (1608–1698), in Germany. Some have seen in this Society, whose beliefs differed but little in essentials from those of the early Quakers, the prototype of that ideal community which Penn aimed to establish in the New World. While this cannot perhaps be disproved —direct evidence failing on this point as on others—it appears that there was no movement among the Philadelphians to form an ideal community, separate from the world, until long after the city was named. It was 1690 that plans for a Philadelphian community were formed in Germany; the experiment was made in London 1695.

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CHAPTER II

1682–1685

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CITY

A MONTH later than the departure of Lord Baltimore from Newcastle, after his conferences over the boundary with Markham at Upland, there came up the Delaware the expected ship from England, with William Penn on board. She was the *Welcome*, of London, 300 tons, Robert Greenaway master, now nearly two months out. She had left the mouth of the Thames on the last day of August, and with a fairly prosperous voyage as to time and weather, had suffered sorely by death amongst her passengers. About one hundred had gone on board in England; about thirty, falling victims to the deadly small-pox, had been cast overboard on the way. Entering the Delaware probably on the 24th of October, she dropped anchor on the 27th, in the river in front of Newcastle.[1]

Sending word ashore, "to give notice to the commissioners" of the Duke of York, Moll and Herman, "of his desire to speak with them," Penn probably remained on the ship on the 27th. Herman was absent for the day, but Moll came on board, inspected the Duke's deeds, and received the power of attorney. Herman, on his return, agreed with him that the Duke's instructions to them were clear and positive, and on the 28th Penn landed to receive the cere-

[1] The *Welcome* lay in the Thames some time before sailing. Penn's negotiations with the Duke of York, as has been shown (p. 30), were completed August 22, and it is probable she had waited on this business. Penn had written August 6, from his house at Worminghurst (in Sussex, near the Thames, and not far from the North Sea), the beautiful letter of farewell to his wife and children, many times since printed and reprinted (Penn's Select Works, Clarkson, Janney, etc.), and later had addressed an English epistle to the Friends generally, as a "Salutation to the Faithful, a Reproof to the Unfaithful, and a Visitation to the Inquiring." This is dated the 30th, and it is pretty certain that the next day the ship sailed. The London Gazette, in its issue, "from Monday, September 4, to Thursday, September 7, 1682," has this paragraph:

"Deal, Sept. 2. Two days since sailed out of the *Downs* three ships bound for Pensilvania, on board of which was Mr. Pen, with a great many Quakers who go to settle there."

(We seem to have no knowledge of the other two ships indicated by this paragraph.)

That the *Welcome* came into the Delaware October 24th is inferred from a letter from Penn to the Lords of Plantations, the next year (Aug. 14, 1683), in which he says: "So soon as I arrived, which was on the 24th of October last," etc. The records of the County of Newcastle (now in the court-house at Wilmington, Del.), fix the date of the arrival before the town of Newcastle as October 27. In a letter soon after his arrival (dated Nov. 1, 1682), Penn says: "That day six weeks we lost sight of land in England, we saw it again in America." But we have no record when he passed out of sight of the English shores; it must have been several days after weighing anchor in the Downs; the passage through the Channel was often tedious. When still twelve leagues out, Penn says, they scented the land on this side, and the air smelled "as sweet as a garden new blown."—There are few details preserved of the voyage of the *Welcome*. The number of deaths by small-pox is reported by Richard Townsend, a passenger, who settled at Germantown. His account will be found in Proud I., 228.

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monious delivery of the place. The settlers had gathered in, curious to see the new Governor, who had succeeded the Duke of York, and who represented the adverse title to that of Lord Baltimore. Apparently they were well satisfied, for they greeted him "with great expressions of joy, after their sort." Proceeding to the little fort, which since Stuyvesant's erection in 1651 had represented alternately the sovereignty of the three contending nations on the Delaware, the Duke's two representatives formally yielded it to Penn, by giving

DOCK CREEK AND BLUE ANCHOR INN.[1]

him the key of the fort "to lock upon himself alone the door, which being opened by him again we did deliver also unto him one turf, with a twig upon it, a porringer with river water and soil." Thus, "possession and seisin" of the territory granted by the first deed, the town and land within the twelve-miles circle, was delivered; the next day, Penn appointed Markham his attorney to receive a similar delivery of the two lower counties, and this was done at "the house of Captain Edward Cantwell, at the south side of Appoquinimy Creek," on the 7th of the following month.[2]

The following day, the 29th, Penn appears to have reached Upland. Letters and documents, signed by him, are dated there on that day. He then set foot, for the first time, upon the soil of Pennsylvania. The 29th was the first day of the week.[3]

The date of Penn's arrival at Philadelphia is not certain. On the 29th of October, as already said, he wrote from Upland. On

[1] From a painting in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[2] Records of New Castle Co., cited Hazard, 596, 607.

[3] His landing place at Upland is fixed by local historians as on the beach near the house of Robert Wade, where he was entertained. (Martin, "History of Chester," 25.) The best recent authorities discredit the story, which seems to have first appeared in Clarkson's "Life of Penn," that the name was changed to Chester, at the time of landing, upon the suggestion to Penn of a passenger named Pearson. (Westcott, Martin, Ashmead.) A month later, Nov. 28, Penn, writing to Markham, dated his letter at Upland (Penn's Magazine, VI. 369), but on the 16th of December, in a letter written from West River, Md., and summarized in Philip Ford's pamphlet (Pennsylvania Magazine, VI., 180), he describes the Assembly as having been held "at Chester, alias Upland."

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November 1[1] he again wrote from there, and on November 2 he was present at the sitting of the court, at Newcastle. If he came to Philadelphia, therefore, before November 3, it must have been on the 30th or 31st of October. The letter of November 1, from Upland, gives some details concerning the growth of Philadelphia; but these he may have obtained from Markham or Holme, as well as by personal observation.[2]

At the close of October, then, or in the early days of November, Penn reached Philadelphia. The tradition has always been that he came up the river in an open boat, and that he landed at the public landing-place on Dock creek, by the Blue Anchor tavern. Both particulars of the tradition are probable. It seems useless to express doubt concerning them. For a ship or boat coming from below, Dock street was then, and long after, the most convenient landing-place on the Delaware front. Here, at Penn's coming, new houses were going up briskly. George Guest, a Friend, had just built his new inn, with its sign of a blue anchor, fixing its name thus in our local history, and near by Thomas Budd, the Burlington settler, a man of enterprise and thrift, was erecting the dwelling houses known for many years as "Budd's Long Row."[3]

William Penn, at the end of October, 1682, was a fortnight more than thirty-eight years old. He had passed his birthday on the 14th of that month, on the *Welcome*, as she drew near the American coast. In his physical prime, now, he was too at the flood tide of his fortunes. With his life-time of seventy-four years half spent, its greatest material triumphs and satisfactions lay behind, its clouds of

[1] Letter cited in Philip Ford's pamphlet, London, 1683. Cf. Pennsylvania Magazine, VI., 174.

[2] Early records of the Friends, preserved by Abington Monthly Meeting (in Montgomery Co.), have been regarded as giving color to the idea that Penn reached Philadelphia on the 8th of November. (These records are not merely local, but refer to action by Burlington Friends, and others on both sides of the Delaware). As cited by Watson (I., 140), they say:

"On the 11 of 2 mo. [April] 1682, it was mutually agreed that a meeting be at William Cooper's, at Pyne Point, [N. J.], the 2d first day of 3 mo. next, and the next meeting be at Thomas Fairman's at Shackamaxon, and so in course."

"At a monthly meeting the 8th of 9th mo. [Nov.] 1682: at this time Governor William Penn and a multitude of Friends arrived here and erected a City called Philadelphia, about half a mile from Shackamaxon, where meetings . . . . were established . . . Thomas Fairman, at the request of the Governor, removed himself and family to Tackony, where there was also a meeting appointed to be kept, and the ancient meeting of Shackamaxon removed to Philadelphia" (etc.).

The Hist. So. of Pa. has a copy of these Abington Records. The parts cited appear to have been prefixed to the meeting minutes, by George Boone, in 1718. An examination shows that they are no authority for fixing the 8th of November as the exact day of Penn's arrival. But it is sufficiently plain that the date of his arrival must have been Oct. 30 or 31, or a day later than Nov. 2. Nov. 5 was "First-day," and it is very likely that he was on that day in the Friends' meeting at Thomas Fairman's, at Shackamaxon.

[3] Details which seem trustworthy, the testimony of Samuel Richards, a Quaker silversmith, long resident in Budd's Row, who died 1827, æt. 59, are given by Watson (Annals, I., 343). The Blue Anchor he describes as "the first built house in Philadelphia, and where William Penn first landed from Chester." It afterward had the sign of the Boatswain and Call. The first five houses of Budd's Row (there were ten altogether), he also calls "the first built houses in Philadelphia," and describes as being "all two stories, framed first of heavy timber and filled with bricks; the wood, however, was concealed, and only showed the lintels or plate pieces, over the windows and doors, which were covered with mouldings. The whole buildings were founded underground on a layer of sap slab-boards," etc. Thomas Budd, the builder of these houses, was one of the first New Jersey settlers, who arrived 1678, at Burlington. (Proud, citing Smith, I., 147.) He described, 1685, the progress of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, in a pamphlet now very rare, published in London, reprinted in New York, 1865, with notes by Edward Armstrong.

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disappointment and trouble before. As he quitted his boat, by the Delaware side, and walked forward up the sandy beach toward the Blue Anchor, those who met him found a man "tall in stature and of an athletic make," handsomely, though plainly dressed, courteous in bearing, ready in speech, with a manner signifying energy, courage, and confidence of leadership, yet controlled and governed by motives of kindly good will. His countenance now might well bespeak a cheerful temper. No happier days had he ever spent than those of the last fortnight, since, passing inside the broad portals at the Capes, the *Welcome* had ascended the bay and river, and he had surveyed successively the low shores of the Duke's lower counties, then their little capital at Newcastle, next the "hills of Christeen," and so, upward, the pleasant shore to Upland and Philadelphia. The season was late, the splendid foliage of the autumn woods, so striking to one coming from the Old World, was faded or fallen, but all the hopes and possibilities of his new Commonwealth, where he believed a "holy experiment" might be successfully tried, lay big before him, giving him reason to be at once proud and humble, rejoicing and thoughtful.

PENNYPOT HOUSE AND LANDING.

Let us take time, now, to consider attentively the appearance and condition of the young city. There had probably been, so far, but few houses built upon the laid-out streets. Most of those erected were near the water side. Some cabins of earlier settlers must have been standing, in different parts of the plot. Adjoining the city on the south, was the Swedish Wicaco (in after time the district of Southwark), a small number of detached dwellings, occupied by the Swen or Swanson family, and others. On the Schuylkill front of the city there may have been a cabin or two. North of the city plan, on the Delaware at Shackamaxon (Kensington), there were a few houses, including that of Thomas Fairman, it being, no doubt, the only one which rose to the dignity of being comfortably large. In it Markham had been quartered, during most of 1682, and it now became Penn's residence while in Philadelphia, until his own house was ready.[1] Along the Delaware front were "the caves," shelters

[1] This is sufficiently plain from the Abington Minutes, already cited, which state that Fairman, at Penn's request, gave up his house, and removed to Tacony; and from the item in Fairman's account against Penn: "To the leaving my house in the winter season for the proprietor's use."

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made by the immigrants before their log cabins could be erected. Some were mere burrows in the river bank, others were partly below the ground and partly above, covered by a rude thatch of brush and leaves. It was in one of these caves, at the place which soon after became known as Pennypot, or Pennypot Landing[1]—a place famous in the early annals—that John Key first saw light some time in 1682, his distinction being that he was the "first-born man child" within the city of Philadelphia—that is, after the city was laid out.[2] In one of them, also, occupied by Francis Daniel Pastorius, the leader of the first German immigration—of which we must speak presently—his company of "first purchasers" drew lots for the location of their land in Germantown.[3]

The whole site was still well covered with woods. Some paths there must have been, by which the scattered settlers maintained intercourse, but no roads had been opened, and the laying out of the city streets was still "on paper." We have little account of Indians, at this period, but some must have been near by. No dangers however threatened from any quarter; the Lenâpé were friendly, other tribes were far removed; no European complications had yet involved the settlements in America. The real trials and perils which faced the newcomers were the cold and the storms of winter—weather inclement and changeable beyond what any of them had been inured to at home.

We must reflect that Philadelphia was late born in comparison with other American cities along the Atlantic. Menendez had built the fort at St. Augustine in 1565. Champlain had begun Quebec in 1608. At Boston Winthrop and his company had settled in 1630. New York, where a trading post had been established in 1613, had been incorporated as a city (New Amsterdam), in 1653. But now Philadelphia was destined to outstrip the growth of all of them, and to enjoy, for a long period of years, the distinction of being the greatest of the American cities.

Of the seventy passengers, or thereabout, who landed from the

[1] The name was derived no doubt from an ale-house where beer was sold at a penny a pot, and which was known much later as the Jolly Tar Inn. (Watson.) The Duke of York's law provided that innkeepers "shall not sell their Beere above two pence the quart," and the Great Law, under Penn, enacted at Chester. Dec. 7, 1682, provided that "all Strong beer and Ale, made of Barley malt, Shall be sold for not above two pennies, Sterling, a full Winchester quart; and all Beer or Drink made of Molasses shall not exceed one penny a quart."

The landing at Pennypot (Vine St.), was one of the public landings, the other being at Blue Anchor. See proceedings in 1691 and 1753, cited in Pennsylvania Magazine, Vol. X., 65.

[2] Penn made him a gift of a lot on Sassafras (Race) St., between 4th and 5th, because of his being the first born. He lived to be 85. But Edward Drinker, who was born Dec. 24, 1680, in a log-house near what is now the corner of Second and Walnut Sts., was an earlier "first-born," and within the city, though before it had been laid out. He lived to be 102 years old, dying Nov. 17, 1782. He was four times married, and had 18 children, all by his first wife. "Not long before his death he heard of a grand-child to one of his grand-children." In England, Franklin, being asked to what age people lived in America, replied he could not tell "until old Drinker died." (Hazard, 485; Watson, I., 513; Journal of Elizabeth Drinker, 145.)

[3] Pennypacker, Hist. and Biog. Sketches, 31; original paper cited in Watson, I., 171.

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Welcome, no authentic list exists. The names of some have been derived from their signatures as witnesses to the wills of those who died on the voyage; other names of survivors from mention in the wills themselves; others from family documents, or well-settled tradition. Careful inquiry and close scrutiny of evidence have united to establish such a list as no doubt is nearly accurate.[1] These newcomers might make some effort to build cabins before the beginning of winter. Penn had issued in England, this year, a pamphlet of "Information and Direction," describing explicitly the construction of log houses, and giving many other precise details concerning a start in the new colony. A dwelling, cut from the forest, thirty feet long and eighteen wide, might be built, he said, in six weeks.[2] But the *Welcome* arrived at the end of October, and even for such quick building the season was late. Most of her company no doubt were quartered amongst the families previously arrived, or in the caves on the Delaware bank. Richard Townsend brought from London (it probably came with him on the *Welcome*), a "mill ready framed," which he set up on Chester creek, for grinding grain and sawing boards. There was enough food; there has never been any "starving time" in Pennsylvania. In company with Joshua Tittery, says Richard Townsend, "I made a net, and caught great quantities of fish, which supplied ourselves and many others; so that notwithstanding it was thought near three thousand persons came in the first year, we were so providentially provided for that we could buy a deer for about two shillings, and a large turkey for about one shilling, and Indian corn for about two shillings and six pence per bushel."

This estimate of three thousand arrivals in 1682 refers of course to the whole colony, and not simply to the city; but it is probably too large. Penn wrote from Chester on the 29th of December that twenty-three vessels had come, and "none miscarried"; he doubtless meant during that year. This was a large fleet, and signified an extraordinary immigration. If we fix the number of passengers at two thousand, it would still be evidence of the quick and great growth of the movement from Europe to the Delaware.

Penn's letter dated November 1, at Upland, as summarized in the pamphlet of Philip Ford, gives these details as to the progress of the city at that date:

"The City of *Philadelphia* is laid out, and many pretty Houses are now up of late upon the River and backwards, that do very well. An House for *W. Penn* is a-

[1] See list of Arrivals in the *Welcome*, at conclusion of this chapter. The statement to be found in Gordon, and many other authorities, that the passengers by the *Welcome* were "chiefly from Sussex," is a mistake, as a study of the list shows. Several were from Yorkshire; others from different counties in England, some from Wales and Ireland.

[2] This pamphlet reprinted in full, Pa. Mag., IV,. 329.

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PHILADELPHIA
PROPRIETARYS MANOR OF GILBERTS
THE PLOUGH TOWNSHIP
THE HATBORO TOWNSHIP
WILLIAM LOTHERS MANOR OF BELTON
LETITIA PENNS MANOR JOY MOUNT JOY
PHILADELPHIA
CHESTER
DELAWARE
East Towne
William Penn Jun.
Benjamin Chambers
Richard Whitpaine
Robert Turner
John Moland
Thom. Hallowell
Joseph Fisher
Samuel Carpenter's
Richard Thomas
Thom. Stockdale
Thom. Yarnall
Thom. Lloyd
Thom. Fairman
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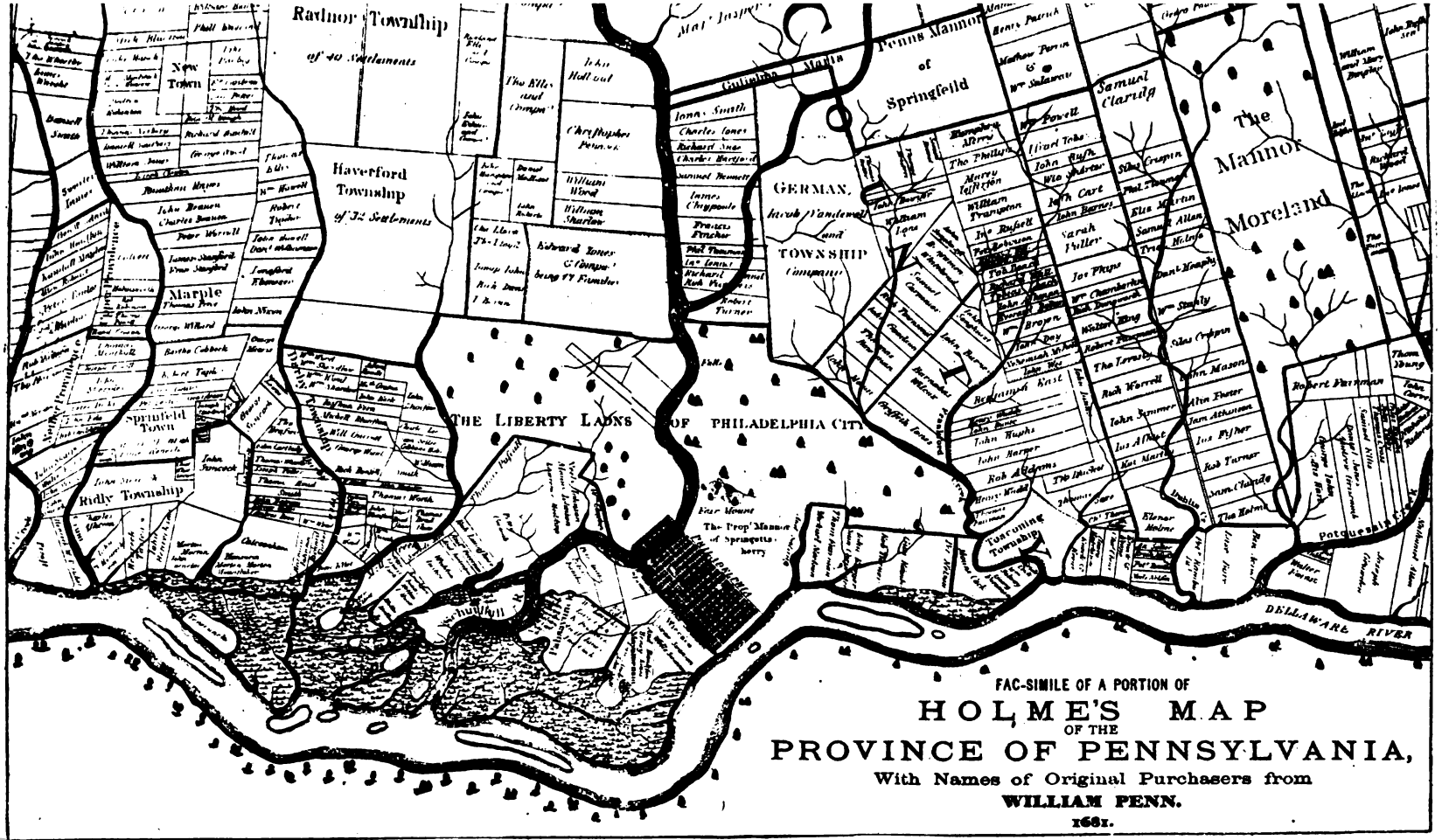

FAC-SIMILE OF A PORTION OF

HOLME'S MAP
OF THE
PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA,

With Names of Original Purchasers from
WILLIAM PENN.

1681.

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Building, whose Family,[1] that went with him are all come safe; and Entertainment for all beyond expectation, and to their content. The Air is exceedingly clear and sweet, the Food good and plentiful, and as pleasing as one can eat. There is also good Malt Drink: In fine the Country is without Exception . . . The *Indians* they saw; the men were strong and Tall, the Women comely, as some Gipsies are in *England*; the Children very pretty; they all wear some Clothes, and some of them wear Broggs."

The activities of the Governor gave direction, now, to affairs in Pennsylvania, and they therefore command the course of the present narrative. Briefly, in the next few months, they were these: inspection of the work laid out at Philadelphia; a trip to New York, as a mark of respect to the Duke; summoning and attending the Assembly, at Chester; a visit to Maryland, and conference with Lord Baltimore. These engagements consumed the time until late in December, and then, in the two months of winter, he seems to have spent much of the time at Chester, probably in the hospitable house of Robert Wade.[2] Early in March he met the Council and the Assembly, at Philadelphia.[3]

It will be noted that in this summary of his movements there is no mention of a treaty with the Indians, at Shackamaxon or elsewhere. It is the commonly received account that the event known as the Great Treaty, famous in our own history and recorded in many besides, occurred in November of this year. But the evidence is strongly to the contrary, and we follow here what seems clearly the best supported conclusion, by assigning it to the summer of 1683. It can hardly be thought possible that so remarkable an event should not have been mentioned by Penn, in his letters. Yet, though we have in them very explicit details as to his actions, from the time of his arrival to the end of December, he nowhere describes any treaty, conference, or meeting of any sort with the Indians. The passage quoted above from the summary made by Ford of the letter of November 1, is the only reference to them, and it, by the omission of any mention of a Treaty, increases the presumption that none was now made. Moreover, his time is very fully accounted for.

[1] This reference to his "family" may mislead; it perhaps means servants. Penn had no members of his own family with him. His children, left behind (to whom he addressed a simple, familiar letter, as he came away, which has not yet been published), were Springett, Letitia and William. Springett, the eldest (three, born earlier, had died), was seven years old.

[2] Ashmead, Hist. Del. Co., says at a public house, the Boar's Head Inn. That Penn was frequently at Chester appears from his letters, one being dated there Dec. 29, and five on March 5. None are preserved dated at Philadelphia during the winter.

[3] The weather, after his return from Maryland, was cold—the coldest in fact that the oldest settler on the Delaware could remember. Until March, Penn says (letter to Free So. of Traders), "we had sharp, frosty weather, not foul, thick, black weather, as our north-east winds bring with them in England, but a sky clear as in summer, and the air dry, cold, piercing, and hungry; yet I remember not that I wore more cloaths than in England." "The Winter before," he adds "was as mild, scarce any ice at all, while this for a few days froze up our great River Delaware."

This statement that the previous winter had been so mild clouds the story that the *Bristol Factor* was "froze up in the night," Dec. 11, 1681, at Upland, as stated by Proud. (See ante, p. 16.)

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There was scarcely any time in November when so ceremonious a gathering as the Great Treaty could well have occurred. The deliberation of the Indians on business of moment is one of their conspicuous traits; they do not hurry into council, or make leagues of friendship or sales of land at a day's notice. The letters of Penn a few months later, when he had, as he says, met them in council, show that he had discovered in them very distinctly their well-known dislike of haste.

The visit of Penn to New York was mainly one of civility. "I went," he says, "that I might pay my duty to the Duke, in the visit of his government and colony." But he took with him the documents attesting the transfer of Newcastle and the Lower Counties to his proprietorship. They were recorded there, and the acts of Moll and Herman, as attorneys for the Duke, were formally approved and proclaimed by the acting governor, Brockholls, and his Council, on the 21st of November. Penn returned to Philadelphia "towards the end" of the month; on the way—probably homeward—he had visited the meetings of the Friends on Long Island and in the Jerseys.[1]

It hardly seems necessary, in this work, to explain at length the circumstances of William Penn's connection with the religious body, the Society of Friends. This arose in England, under the ministrations of George Fox, about the middle of the seventeenth century, and at the age of twenty-three Penn cast in his lot with it, continuing, to his death, so consistently that of the three great names among the early Friends his is second only to that of Fox. The religious views and moral "testimonies" of the Society, particularly directed toward a spiritual worship of God, the practical manifestation of the Christian virtues, and a sober and simple way of living, lay at the bottom of Penn's plan of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia, and were reflected in all the details of his undertaking. When he spoke of it as "an holy experiment," he meant in brief a definite attempt to organize civil government on the basis of truth, justice, and peace. He saw clearly enough that there was no "room" in Europe, at that day, for such a commonwealth, and he desired therefore to try it in the New World. His character, purposes, and methods will no doubt be so far disclosed by his action, in the course of this narrative, as to remove the need for any extended study of them otherwise.[2]

Before going to New York Penn had taken steps to convene an

[1] "I have been also at New York, Long Island, East Jersey, and Maryland; in which I have had good and eminent service for the Lord," etc. (Letter in Proud, II., 209.)

[2] Penn's life has been many times written: there is none better than that of Samuel M. Janney, his principal American biographer, whose work is fullest in documentary matter, and best as historical authority. In England, Thomas Clarkson, the Emancipationist, W. Hepworth Dixon, and numerous others, have written biographies of him.

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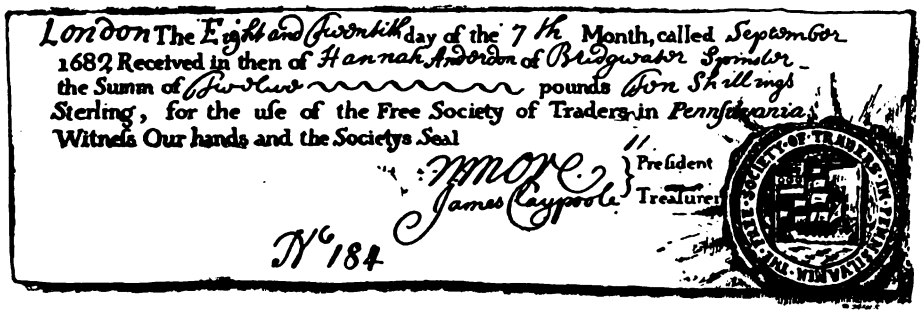
Assembly. "We could not safely stay till the spring for a government," he says.[1] The Delaware territory having been divided into counties under the Duke's rule, Penn issued to their sheriffs, November 8, writs directing them "to summon all freeholders to meet on the 20th instant, and elect out of themselves seven persons of most


London The Eight and Twentith day of the 7 th Month, called September 1682 Received in then of Hannah Anderdon of Bridgwater Somerſet the Summ of Fifteen pounds Ten Shillings Sterling, for the uſe of the Free Society of Traders in Pennſylvania Witneſs Our hands and the Societys Seal
William Penn } President
James Claypoole } Treaſurer
N° 184

RECEIPT OF THE FREE SOCIETY OF TRADERS.

note for wisdom, sobriety, and integrity, to serve as their deputies and representatives in General Assembly, to be held at Upland, in Pennsylvania, December 6th next, and then and there to consult with him for the common good of the inhabitants of that province, and adjacent counties of New Castle, St. Jones, and Whorekill, alias Deal, under his charge and jurisdiction, and true return make to William Penn."[2]

The General Assembly accordingly met at Chester, on the 4th of December. It was the first popular legislative body on the Delaware, and was in fact a constitutional convention, its powers limited only by the charter granted to Penn. Its sessions were held either in the log-building, the "House of Defence," constructed five years before under the order of the Upland Court, or—what is quite as probable—in the private dwelling of James Sandiland, a great house in its day, and long remembered as "the double house."[3]

We have no list of the members of the First Assembly. The return of the sheriff of Whorekill (Sussex county), gives the names of the members chosen there: Edward Southrin, William Clark, Alexander Draper, John Roades, Luke Watson, Nathaniel Walker, and Cornelius Verhoof. The meagre and perhaps imperfectly preserved minutes of the sessions, printed by Franklin in the "Votes and Proceedings," in 1752, disclose sixteen names, thirteen of which are

[1] Letter of Dec. 29, 1682, in Proud, I., 209.

[2] Hazard, 603, citing Sussex Co. records. The date of the meeting of the Assembly given in the writ must be a misprint. It met December 4. The "three counties" were renamed by Penn, Dec. 25 (Hazard, 605), Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex.—At the same time of issuing the writ of election, Penn appointed John Vines Sheriff of Whorekill.

[3] The statement so often repeated, that the Assembly met in the meeting-house of the Friends, has been disposed of (Smith, 142; Martin, 66), by the evidence that this was not built until 1693. Dr. Smith thinks the House of Defence was the place. Deborah Logan, in her Notes to the Penn-Logan Correspondence (I., 46), explicitly says that it was the Sandiland house "in which the first assembly for the province and territories was held." H. G. Ashmead (Hist. Del. Co.), adopts this view.

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additional to those from Sussex. Three committees were appointed, one on "Elections and Privileges," one on "Justice and Grievances," and one of "Foresight for the Preparation of Provincial Bills." The appointments on these committees were made from the Delaware counties as well as Pennsylvania, and the whole action of the Assembly, from the time of convening, appeared to regard the two as practically united. The thirteen members, besides those from Sussex, whose names we have in the "Votes," are Nicholas More, Thomas Wynne, Thomas Holme, and Griffith Jones, of Philadelphia; Christopher Taylor and William Yardley, of Bucks; John Simcock, Thomas Brassey and Ralph Withers, of Chester; John Moll (who replaced Abraham Mann, unseated for irregularity of election), and William Sample, of Newcastle; and Francis Whitwell and John Briggs, of Kent. "Thomas Usher, sheriff of Chester county," was in attendance,[1] but whether as a member, or as sheriff, is not plain. If seven members were chosen from each of the three lower counties, as directed in the writs to the Delaware sheriffs, and an equal number attended from Pennsylvania, so that there were forty-two altogether, we remain ignorant as to the identity of twenty-two.

The formation of the three Pennsylvania counties must have been earlier than the meeting of this Assembly; the allusion to Thomas Usher, above, shows that Chester had been erected, at least, and no doubt Philadelphia and Bucks were established at the same time.[2] But it does not appear that elections for members of the Assembly were held in them, as in Delaware. Following the provisions of the Frame of Government, the whole of the freemen in Pennsylvania were doubtless notified to attend, if they saw fit.[3] This was certainly done at the second Assembly, in March following.[4]

The sessions of the Assembly continued four days. Nicholas More, the president of the Free Society of Traders, was chosen the presiding officer, apparently by the votes of the Quaker members,[5]

[1] Votes: Minutes of First Assembly.

[2] Futhey and Cope, History of Chester County, say that the formation of the Pennsylvania counties "is said, upon what authority we know not, to have been done November 25, 1682."

[3] The Preface, doubtless written by Franklin, to the printed (1752) "Votes and Proceedings" of the Assembly says: "These Votes . . . begin with the meeting of so many of the Freemen as thought fit to appear, as they had a right to do, by the sixteenth Article of the original Frame of Government, or Charter, to the End there might be an universal Satisfaction in laying the Fundamentals and establishing the Government and Laws of the Province."

While it is hard to believe *prima facie*, that the representatives formally elected in the Delaware counties, under the writs regularly issued, should sit on an equality with persons attending of their own will, and with no delegated authority from the Pennsylvania province, the evidence appears that they did. Yet the enacting clause of the Great Law says, "by and with the advice and consent of the Deputies of the freemen of this Province and Counties aforesaid."

[4] Vide writ to sheriffs, Proud, I., 234; and statement in "Act of Settlement," D. of Y's Laws, 123.

[5] See letter of Penn, Feb. 5, to some one (said to be Jasper Yeates), imperfectly printed in Penn's Works, Proud, Janney and elsewhere, and called a letter to an old friend "who had unduly reflected on him." The letter is given nearly complete in Pa. Mag. VI., 467. Explaining his adjustments of political power in the Assembly and Council, he says:

"And this hath been often flung at us (viz.): If you Quakers had it in your power, none should have a

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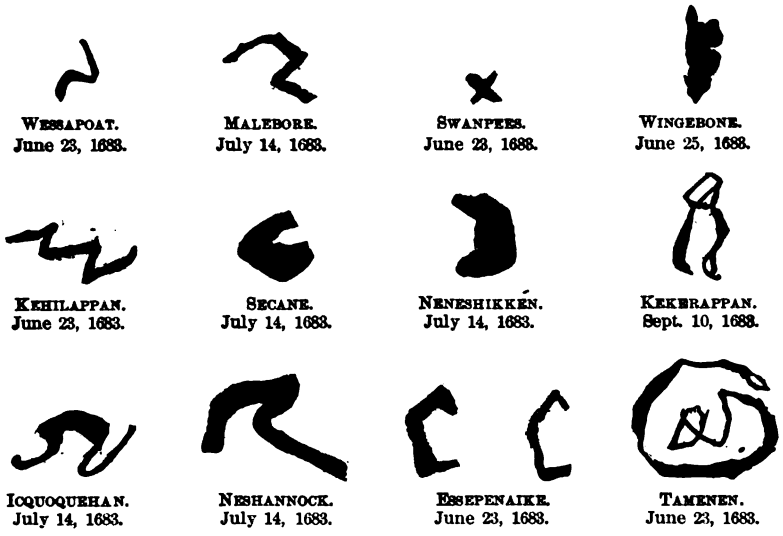
and in opposition to a candidate less acceptable to them. The business dispatched, in brief, was this: (1) The passage of an "Act of Union" by which the Delaware counties were annexed to Pennsylvania; (2) the passage of an Act of Naturalization, by which "all persons that do now inhabit this province and counties aforesaid that hold land in fee in the same, according to the law of a freeman," were to be held and reputed freemen, under the law of England, upon filing in their respective county courts, within three months, a


WESSAPOAT. June 23, 1683.
MALEBORE. July 14, 1683.
SWANPEES. June 23, 1683.
WINGEBONE. June 25, 1683.
KEHILAPPAN. June 23, 1683.
SECANE. July 14, 1683.
NENESHIKKEN. July 14, 1683.
KEKERAPPAN. Sept. 10, 1683.
ICQUOQUEHAN. July 14, 1683.
NESHANNOCK. July 14, 1683.
ESSEPENAIKE. June 23, 1683.
TAMENEN. June 23, 1683.

SIGNATURES OF INDIANS TO DEEDS FOR LANDS.

declaration of allegiance to the King, and of due obedience to Penn; and (3) the consideration and substantial re-enactment of the "Laws agreed upon in England." The code thus adopted was called "The Great Law, or the Body of Laws," and consisted of sixty-one brief chapters.[1]

The "Great Law" is remarkable as a code moderate and wise in many particulars beyond the measure of its day. It established liberty of conscience, diminished the infliction of the death penalty to the narrowest limit, extended the right of suffrage widely, simplified the processes of the law, guarded the rights of the individual against legal oppression, and made the endeavor to establish a moral and "godly" commonwealth. The code is plainly Penn's work; the mark of his humane temper and liberal mind is seen throughout its

part in the Government but those of your own way. On the other hand, if all that are Freemen may choose or be chosen Members of the Provincial Council & General Assembly, and that I and my Heir have only 3 Voyces in 272 (it was then proposed to have a Council of 72 members, and Assembly of 200) in case they should outnumber us in vote we are gone; & this having been like to be done the last Assembly in choosing of a Speaker (Friends carrying it but by one voyce, & that through the absence of 2 of the other side that were not Friends), Friends have several of them lamented that I have given so much Power away as I have done."

[1] Hazard makes sixty-nine. See discussion of this by John Blair Linn, in historical notes to the Duke of York's Book of Laws, p. 480, et seq.

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provisions. In the many minute regulations which it made concerning personal conduct it is easy to perceive reflected the refined Puritanism which the Friends were at this moment forming and organizing in England. The Great Law is not materially different in its standards of "good order," from the Discipline of the Society then in process of evolution under the guiding hand of George Fox.

After the Preamble, in which it is declared that "the glory of Almighty God and the good of mankind is the reason and end of government," the first chapter is that declaring liberty of conscience. It says:

"Almighty God, being Only Lord of Conscience, father of Lights and Spirits, and the author as well as object of all divine Knowledge, faith and worship, who only can enlighten the mind, and persuade and convince the understanding of people; in due reverence to his sovereignty over the souls of mankind—

"Be it enacted, . . . That no person, now, or at any time hereafter, living in this Province, who shall confess and acknowledge one Almighty God to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the World, and who professes, him, or herself Obliged in Conscience to Live peaceably and quietly under the civil government, shall in any case be molested or prejudiced for his, or her Conscientious persuasion or practice. Nor shall hee or shee at any time be compelled to frequent or Maintain anie religious worship, place or Ministry whatever, Contrary to his, or her mind, but shall freely and fully enjoy his, or her, Christian Liberty in that respect, without any Interruption or reflection. And if any person shall abuse or deride any other, for his, or her different persuasion and practice in matters of religion, such person shall be lookt upon as a Disturber of the peace, and be punished accordingly."

The provisions as to the qualifications of officers of the government, and electors of the Assembly, are thus stated:

"That all officers and persons Commissionated and employed in the service of the government in this Province, and all Members and Deputies elected to serve in the Assembly thereof, and all that have a right to elect such Deputies, shall be such as profess and declare they believe in Jesus Christ to be the son of God, and Saviour of the world, And that are not Convicted of ill-fame, or unsober and dishonest Conversation, and that are of twenty-one years of age at least."

"That every Inhabitant of the said Province and territories thereunto annexed, that is, or shall be a Purchaser of one hundred acres of Land, and hath Seated the same, his heirs and Assigns, and every person who shall have paid his passage and taken up one hundred acres of land at one penny an acre, and hath Seated the same, And every person that hath bin a Servant or Bondsman, and is free by his Services, and shall have taken up his fifty acres of land, and Seated the same. And every Inhabitant, Artificer, or other Resident in the said Province, or territories, that payeth Scot and Lot to the government; Shall be deemed and accompted a freeman of this Province and territory thereof, And such only shall have Right of Election, or being elected to any Service in the government thereof."

Among the other chapters of special interest was that forbidding and punishing the sale of liquor to the Indians:

"And whereas Divers persons, as English Dutch, Swedes, &c., have been wont

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to sell to the Indians, rum and Brandy, and such like distilled spirits, though they know the said Indians are not able to govern themselves in the use thereof, but do commonly drink of it to such excess, as makes them sometimes destroy one another, and grievously annoy and Disquiet the people of this Province & Territories and peradventure those of neighboring governments, whereby they make the poor natives worse, and not better for their coming among them, which is an heinous offence to God, and a reproach to the blessed name of Christ, and his holy Religion.

"It is therefore Enacted, &c., That no person within this province do, from henceforth presume to sell or exchange any Rum or Brandy, or any strong Liquors, at any time, to any Indian within this Province, And if any one shall offend therein, The person so convicted thereof shall, for every such offence, pay five pounds."

The clause in relation to names of weeks and months, giving a legal basis to the system which the Friends had adopted, was as follows:

"That the Days of the week, and months of the year, shall be called as in Scripture, and not by Heathen names (as are vulgarly used), as the First, Second, and Third, months of the year, and First, Second, and Third, days of the week; and beginning with the day called Sunday, and the month called March."

This system of the months, it may be remarked, added one more to the already great complications in the Calendar, and made it additionally difficult to keep in mind, as we study the history of this period, the distinction between "Old Style" and "New Style." For the selection of March to be "First Month" necessarily disregarded the fact that while the new year did begin within its course, this did not occur until the 25th day, so that twenty-four days of March, from the 1st to the 24th inclusive, though belonging to the old year, were now described as part of the "First Month" of a new. This awkwardness continued for seventy years, until in 1752 the Calendar of Pope Gregory was adopted by England, and established in her colonies, including Pennsylvania, and the year was begun on the first day of "the month called January."

The provisions which required a strict outward walking were numerous. Swearing, "in common conversation, by the name of God, or Christ, or Jesus," entailed a fine of five shillings, or five days' imprisonment in the house of correction, at hard labor, and swearing "by any other thing or name," half a crown fine, or three days' imprisonment, while the same penalty was likewise provided for "lying in conversation." For any one to "curse himself or another, or anything belonging to himself or any other," a fine of five shillings, or five days' imprisonment. There was also provided five pounds' fine, or three months' imprisonment for duelling; twenty shillings, or ten days, for maintaining or attending "such rude and riotous sports and practices as Prizes, Stage-plays, Masques, Revels, Bull-baitings, Cock-fightings, with such like"; five shillings, or five

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days, for "playing at Cards, Dice, Lotteries, or such like enticing, vain, and evil Sports and Games"; three days for "Clamorous Scolding and Railing with their tounges." For the drinking of healths, "which may provoke people to unnecessary and excessive drinking," the penalty was five shillings' fine; the same sum, or five days at

THE SUPPOSED TREATY WITH THE INDIANS AT SHACKAMAXON, 1683. AFTER THE PAINTING BY BENJAMIN WEST.

hard labor, on bread and water, for the first offence of "Disordering or abusing himself with Drink unto Drunkenness," and "for the second offense and ever after, ten shillings or ten days' labor"; and on this subject it was also provided that "they who doe suffer such excess of Drinking att their houses shall be lyable to the same punishment as the Drunkard."

Such was the Puritan order which Penn and his first Assembly designed, over two centuries ago, to establish on the banks of the Delaware.[1]

On the 7th of December the Assembly adjourned, apparently upon a resolution to meet again in twenty-one days. It did not, however, again convene. Its work was no doubt generally satisfactory. Penn in his letter from Chester, on the 29th, says: "I have

[1]The Great Law is given in full in the D. of Y's Book of Laws, p. 107, et seq., and also in Hazard, but, as already stated, the two differ, Hazard giving 69 chapters. Proud gives 61 titles, and it seems clear that this is correct. Gordon (History Pa., p. 63, et seq.), analyzes the code, but (p. 72) refers to the abolition of primogeniture as one of its provisions, and Bancroft (History U. S., I., 564), probably following Gordon, also speaks of this provision as part of the Great Law. As a matter of fact it was enacted at the Second Assembly, at Philadelphia, in March following, and not at the First Assembly. (See Duke of York's Book of Laws, p. 141.)

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held an Assembly; in which many good laws are passed; we could not safely stay till the spring for a government. I have annexed the Lower Counties (lately obtained) to the province; and passed a general naturalization for strangers; which hath much pleased the people." And in the letter from West River, on the 16th of the month, he states (according to Ford's synopsis): "The Foraigners were Naturaliz'd, and all the Laws passed that were agreed upon in *England*, and more fully worded. The Assembly-men were there to their great satisfaction, and such an Assembly for Love, Unity, and Concord, scarcely ever was known in and about outward things in those Parts. This done, they Adjourn'd, and *W. Penn* took his Journey for Maryland."

The trip to Maryland was on account of the boundary question, besides being a visit of civility to Lord Baltimore. Penn's account of it will be found stated at length in the letters to the Lords of Plantations, written at Philadelphia, August 14th, of the next year. He rode by way of Augustine Herman's great plantation on the Chesapeake, "Bohemia Manor,"[1] and was there about the 10th, proceeding then to Colonel Thomas Taylor's house, at West River, on the 11th, where he met Lord Baltimore. Of this interview it may be said in brief that it availed nothing toward a settlement of the boundary. Penn presented to Baltimore the letter of the King, dated on the 19th of August, which he had obtained from Charles before sailing, and which directed Baltimore to accept for his province two degrees of sixty miles each, measured northward from Watkins Point. But Baltimore stood out stiffly; "the King," he said, "was greatly mistaken, and he would not leave his patent to follow the King's letter, nor could a letter void his patent; and by that he would stand."

"This was the substance," declares Penn, "of what he said, from first to last, during the whole conference." Penn urged that Maryland had a magnificent water front on the Chesapeake, while his own province was barely provided, on the Delaware, with what was necessary for shipping, and therefore he must be urgent in pressing for a satisfactory settlement. It was however to no purpose; "After three days we parted, and I returned to this province." He came, however, not so immediately as this phrase would suggest; he stayed in the West River neighborhood a day or two, and then, crossing the Chesapeake to the Eastern Shore, visited there, and proceeded northward to Chester.[2]

[1] See letter in Futhey and Cope, from Edward Warner to Ralph Smith, steward "at the Governor's warehouse at Upland."

[2] "The day following" the close of the Conference, "the Lord Baltimore accompanied him to W. Richardson's which was 3 miles, and then returned; they went two miles farther, to one Ths. Hooker's, to a Meeting, where the presence of the great God was enjoyed with them. The first day following (Dec 17) he intended to be at Choptank, on the Eastern Shore, where the Colonels, Magistrates and People of several Ranks and Qualities purposed to be" (Ford's synopsis of Penn's letter of Dec. 16.—Pa. Mag., VI., 181.)

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The winter of 1682 was sharp; for a few days the Delaware was closed by ice. Penn was busy, at Chester and Philadelphia, with the plotting of the lands for settlers. "I am now casting the country into townships for large lots of land," he says, December 29. Late in the winter he summoned a new Assembly. Writs to the six sheriffs were issued, directing them to summon the freemen of their several counties to meet on the 20th of February,[1] to "elect and choose out of themselves, twelve persons of most note for wisdom and integrity, to serve as their delegates in the provincial council, to be held at Philadelphia, the 10th day of the first month [March] next." And they were further directed to "declare to the said freemen that they may all personally appear at an Assembly, at the place aforesaid, according to the contents of my charter of liberties." The action taken by the people, however—no doubt by an understanding reached beforehand—was to choose twelve persons in each county to serve in both Council and Assembly, three in the former and nine in the latter. And the sheriffs so made their returns.[2] The persons thus chosen to the Council were William Markham, Thomas Holme, and Lasse Cock, of Philadelphia; Christopher Taylor, James Harrison, and William Biles, of Bucks; John Simcock, William Clayton, and Ralph Withers, of Chester; William Haige, John Moll, and Edmund Cantwell, of Newcastle; Francis Whitwell, John Richardson, and John Hilliard, of Kent; William Clark, Edward Southrin, and John Roads, of Sussex. The members of the Assembly for Philadelphia County were Thomas Wynne (speaker), John Songhurst, John Hart, Walter King, Andrew Bankson, John Moon, Griffith Jones, William Warner, Swan Swanson.[3]

STATUE OF PENN ON CITY HALL TOWER.

The sessions of this Assembly were extended to the 3d of April. Its first work was to pass the "Act of Settlement," by which the

[1] This was the time stated in the original "Frame of Government," prepared in England.

[2] See full statement as to this in the "Act of Settlement."

[3] The full list of members for all the counties is in the "Votes," in Proud, D. of Y's Laws, and elsewhere. Thomas Wynne, the Speaker, was a Friend, a preacher, and a "chirurgeon," from Caerwys in Flintshire, Wales. He had come on the *Welcome*. John Songhurst was a Friend, a writer and preacher, from Sussex (England). He died 1688.

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arrangement for this time as to the numbers to be chosen to the Council, (3), and to the Assembly (9), was confirmed. Next the laws "made by the Assembly held att Chester in the tenth month last," were continued in full force to the end of the first session of the next General Assembly, except such as might be meantime specially repealed or amended. The Great Law was then much enlarged, on many subjects; altogether the number of the chapters was increased to CXLI., showing that eighty new ones had been added. Among these are the clauses (119, 120) abolishing primogeniture, and fixing the descent of property, both by will, and in the case of intestates. A customs duty of two-pence per gallon on all imported "rum, wine, brandy, and strong-waters," one penny per gallon on cider, and one shilling on "every hundred pounds' worth of goods imported for merchandise or traffic," molasses only excepted, was directed to be collected, for the benefit of the Governor, and it was declared that the freemen, "as a testimony of their regard and affection, so farr as the present State and infancy of the Province will permitt," did "Unanimously intreat him to accept" it. Finally, on the 2nd of April, the day before the adjournment, the Charter, the "Frame of Government" originally drawn by Penn in England, was presented in its revised form, from a committee which had had it under consideration, and being signed by Penn, was formally read and proclaimed, to be "inviolablie kept," in the presence of the Council and the Assembly—twelve of the former and forty-three of the latter body being present and affixing their names to the document. This new charter made a further reduction in the size of the Assembly, providing for but six members from each of the counties.

Many of the laws now passed related to trade, and therefore involved the interests of the new city. An inspection and record of "pipe-staves" was required, and their export put under official supervision. The weight and corresponding prices of loaves of bread were regulated, and an inspection provided for. An export duty was placed on all hides, beaver skins, deer skins, or other peltry sent to other countries than England.[1] All liquor or provision exported in any cask or vessel was required to be gauged, and the quantity marked on the outside. For the encouragement of the culture of flax and hemp, it was provided that "such hemp shall be Current pay betwixt Man and Man at four pence per pound, and such flax at eight pence." No provisions imported into the Province or territories, except from West Jersey, should be sold until after

[1] "A Steer, Bull or Cow hyde shall pay twelve pence; a Beaver skin shall pay nine pence; all peltry to the value of a beaver, nine pence; for every pound of deer skins, one half pence."

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five days, "to the end that those that live remotely may have notice thereof, and be supplyed as well as others near at hand." The exposure to sale of "any corn [wheat] att the Common price, that is not Clean Drest from Dust, Chaff, and such like trash," was punishable by fine. Ships arriving were required within forty-eight hours to make "Due entry;" if bulk were broken before such entry and the giving of bond, ship and cargo were forfeited, one-third to the informer, two-thirds to the Governor. On bills returning from Europe protested, the drawer was required to pay, besides the sum drawn, 20 per cent. "for the damages thereof." Weights and measures were fixed as under the English law—avoirdupois weight, except for gold and silver, and the Winchester bushel. The value of the coins in circulation was fixed.[2]

THE GREAT TREATY WAMPUM BELT.[1]

Other than these, and of interest as marking the condition of the time, were provisions for marking cattle, the opening of "sufficient cart-ways to the most convenient landing-places," the erection in each county, of "a sufficient house, at least twenty foot square, for restraint, correction, labour and punishment of all such persons as shall be thereunto committed by law." The keepers of "ordinaries," or inns, were required to have license, and their charges for meals and lodgings were fixed.[3] To encourage the increase of cattle and sheep, it was provided that for three years no one should kill a cow-calf or ewe-lamb, "whose dam shall not dye by casualty," under penalty of five pounds' fine. The warfare against ferocious animals was encouraged by a bounty of ten shillings for male, and fifteen shillings for female wolf scalps, if brought in by a white man, "and if any Indian shall kill a wolf and bring the head and body to a justice of the peace, hee shall have five shillings and the skin for his pains." It was ordered that "there shall be ferry-boats for men and horses, built within one year . . . over the creeks, commonly called Neshaminee, Scuilkill, and Christeen, at the charges of the counties they belong unto." It was directed that each county have a seal, and subsequently the Council chose a ship for Philadelphia, a

[1] Fac-simile of wampum belt supposed to have been delivered by the Indians to Penn at the treaty in 1683, now in possession of Pa. Hist. So.

[2] "Every old England Shilling shall pass for fifteen pence; and all Old England money after the same proportion; and all New England money at the value it is coyned there; and all Spanish money called pieces of Eight, att six shillings, and the Lesser coyne after the Same proportion . . . Perues pieces shall pass for five shillings and eight pence, and no more." All these were silver; as to gold, it was provided that "Guineas shall pass at 27 shillings apiece; Caroluses at 30 shillings; Jacobuses at 32 shillings; Spanish Pistoles at 20 shillings; Duckets at 11 shillings and six pence; and other gold proportionately."

[3] Not above "seven and one-half pence a meal by the head; which said meal shall Consist of beef or pork, or such like produce of the Countrie, and Small beer; and of a footman hee shall not demand above two pennies a night for his bed; and of a horse-man nothing, hee paying six pence a Night for his horse's hay or grass."

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tree and vine for Bucks, a plow for Chester, a castle for Newcastle, three ears of Indian corn for Kent, and a wheat sheaf for Sussex.

The adjournment of the Assembly concurred with the opening of spring. The weather was fine. From March "to the month called June," Penn says, "we enjoyed a sweet spring—no gusts, but gentle showers and a fine sky." Two subjects demanded attention: the Maryland boundary, and additional purchases of Indian lands. A messenger was sent to Lord Baltimore, inviting him to name a time and place for a meeting, and meantime negotiations with the Indians began. In May, Penn says, Baltimore sent three gentlemen "to let me know he would meet me at the head of the bay of Chesapeak; I was then in treaty with the Kings of the natives for land; but three days after we met, ten miles from Newcastle." The meeting, however, proved as fruitless as that in December. Penn invited his lordship to Newcastle, and "entertained him, as well as the town could, on so little notice," but all to no purpose. "Finding him desirous of speaking with me privately, I pressed that we might, at our distinct lodgings, sit severally with our councils, and treat by way of written memorials, which would prevent the mistake or abuses that may follow from ill designs or ill meaning; but he avoided it, saying he was not well and the weather sultry, and would return with what speed he could, reserving any other treaty to another season. Thus we parted at that time."

The conferences "with Kings of the natives for land," thus begun in May, resulted in several purchases, the records of which have been preserved to us. On the 23d of June, Tammanens, the "Tammany" of history, conveyed to Penn all his lands between Pennypack and Neshaminy creeks, and along the latter stream. The same day Essepenaike, Swanpees, and two other Indians conveyed their title to the same lands, "and backward of ye same, and to run two days' Journey with an horse up into ye country;" and a separate deed to the same effect was signed by Essepenaike and Swanpees. Two days later, Wingebone conveyed all his lands on the west side of the Schuylkill, "from the first falls" upward and backward as far as he had a right. On the 14th of July, Secane and Icuoquehan, claiming to own the land between Manayunk and Chester creek, conveyed this to Penn; and the same day Neneshickan and two others sold their lands between Manayunk and Pennypack, "so far as ye hill called Consohockin,[1] on ye sayd river Manaiunk, and from thence by a northwest line to ye river of Pemmapecka." All these purchases had the usual consideration—the long lists of guns, axes, hoes, knives, needles, blankets, kettles, scissors, gimlets, fish-hooks,

[1] Now Edge Hill, in Montgomery county.

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sheets, stockings, hats, glasses, powder, lead, &c. The modern mind, delighting to dwell on the apparent triviality of these, might find difficulty in saying what could have been of more value to the Indians, and would find equal difficulty, no doubt, in explaining the exact nature and extent of the land-titles which they could really convey.

We may believe with safety that at some of these negotiations for land there was held that special Great Treaty of peace which tradition fixedly preserves, and whose repute honors at once the name of Penn and the memory of the unfortunate natives. Penn's letters, at this time, make references which support this conclusion. July 30, he writes to Henry Savell, in England, giving precise details concerning the Indians, and adds: "I have made two purchases, and have had two presents of land from them." And August 16, in his extended description, in the letter to the Free Society of Traders, he says:

TREATY MONUMENT.

"I have had occasion to be in council with them, upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade . . . When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighborhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love as long as the sun gave light. Which done, another made a speech to the Indians, in the name of all the Sachamakers, or kings; first to tell them what was done, next to charge and commend them to love the Christians, and particularly live in peace with me and the people under my government; that many governors had been in the river, but that no governor had come himself to live and stay here before; and having now such an one, that had treated them well, they should never do him, or his, any wrong. At every sentence of which they shouted and said Amen, in their way."

This is the nearest authentic description we have preserved to us of the traditional scene at the Great Treaty. It leaves, indeed, little to be imagined or inferred. If we believe the time to have been in June, Tammany, the Delaware chief, whose fame is best of all fixed in history, and who is always assigned by the traditions a central place in the Indian group at the Great Treaty, would have been present, for he was then conveying his lands, as the deed shows. West's picture and Clarkson's description, notwithstanding manifest

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but not essential errors of detail, are well borne out.[1] Particularly is the season that indicated by West, for he shows the trees in the full leaf of June, not with the naked limbs of late November.[2]

While it is quite possible to find standing ground for cavil as to the exact time, place, and circumstances of the Great Treaty, there is not room for doubt as to the event itself. The tradition of it runs far back into the eighteenth century, and is, in fact, unbroken until in our own time the absence of such definite contemporary documentary evidence as we should desire began to be noted. The language of the provincial authorities, and of the Indians, when they met in conferences afterward, clearly points to such a definite agreement of peace as the Great Treaty. Take, for example, the statement of the Conestoga Indians, at Philadelphia, in 1712, in their address to the Provincial Council:

"They first presented a bundle of deer-skins, and by Indian Harry, their interpreter, said: That the Proprietor, Governor Penn, had at his first coming amongst them made an agreement with them that they should always live as friends, and brothers, and be as one body, one heart, one mind, and as one eye and ear; that what the one saw the other should see, and that what the one heard the other should hear, and that there should be nothing but love and friendship between them and us forever. They presented a small bundle of furs, and said that on their part they had always kept up to this agreement, and should constantly observe it in all respects."[3]

Again, three years later, June, 1715, several "chiefs of Delaware and Schuylkill Indians," headed by Sassoonan and accompanied by Opessah, a Shawnee, met Governor Gookin and his Council, at the court-house in Philadelphia, and after "opening ye Calamet with great ceremony of their Rattles and songs," Sassoonan and the Governor both spoke, their first theme being the agreement of peace made by William Penn with the Indians, which each professed a desire to maintain. "They now come," Sassoonan said, "to renew the former bond of friendship; that William Penn had, at his first coming, made a clear and open road all the way to the Indians; that they desired the same might be kept open," etc.[4]

Such allusions occur again and again, for many years, in the records of the Indian conferences. The agreement of concord, the bond of peace, the chain of friendship, made by Penn at his first coming, is the key-note to all the discourses. In June, 1720, James

[1] West's painting is academic and fanciful as to the appearance of the Indians, and it shows Penn as a corpulent, elderly man, in a dress of later date. (Cf. J. F. Fisher's criticism, Mems. Hist. So. Pa., III., part 2.) But the idea of the Great Treaty is well presented by the picture, and it has a historic reasonableness which cannot be denied. It was painted 1775.—Clarkson asserts (Life of Penn, p. 124, et seq.), that Penn was distinguished at the Treaty by a sky-blue sash around his waist, "made of silk net-work," and that this sash, at the time of his (Clarkson's) writing, was preserved by Thomas Kett, Esq., of Seething Hall, near Norwich, England. The portrait statue of Penn, by Calder, sculptor, on the City Hall tower, represents him as he is presumed to have appeared. See illustration, p. 52.

[2] Proud's vague statement (Hist. Pa., II. 211), would assign the treaty to the date of Penn's return from Maryland, which would be late in December.

[3] Colonial Records, II., 553. [4] Ibid, II., 599.

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Logan, in a meeting with Conestogas, Shawnees, and Ganawese, at John Cartlidge's, in Lancaster county, spoke of the "chain of friendship," and said "this chain has been made near forty years agoe."[1] It cannot reasonably be supposed that he did not thus refer, with knowledge, to a definite and well-known event. The evidence altogether is abundant that such an event as the Great Treaty did occur, that its character was that stated by Penn—in substance the scene pictured by West, and described by Clarkson—that the place was under the great elm at Kensington, and that the time, in all probability, was the early summer of 1683.[2]

Letters of Penn, in the summer, give us some details of interest. To Colonel Henry Sidney,[3] in England, he wrote July 24, from Philadelphia. He describes the soil and climate, the trees, etc., and says:

"We have lay'd out a Town a mile long, and two miles deep. On each side of the town runs a navigable river, the least as broad as the Thames at Woolwich, the other about a mile over. I think we have near about eighty houses built, and about three hundred farmes settled round the Town . . . We have had fifty sail of ships and small vessels, since the last summer, in our river, which shows a good beginning. . . . Give me leave to recommend the bearer, my agent and Kinsman, Captain William Markham, to thy favor and power."

The same date, he writes to the Lord Keeper North, giving many of the same details, and commending Markham to his favor, also. "A fair we have had, and weekly market, to which the ancient lowly inhabitants come to sell their produce, to their profit and our accommodation. I have also bought lands of the natives, treated them largely, and settled a firm and advantageous correspondency with them." As to the weather, he remarks that "it often changeth with [without?] notice, and is constant almost in its inconstancy."

On the 28th of July, in a letter to the Earl of Sunderland, he describes further the Indian characteristics. The injury done them

[1] Col. Rec., III., 97.

[2] See article by Roberts Vaux on the locality of the Treaty, Mems. Hist. So. Pa., II.; report of P. S. Duponceau and J. F. Fisher, Ibid, III., part 2; proceedings in 1852, on the occasion of the presentation of the Belt of Wampum, given by the Indians to Penn, and now presented by Granville John Penn to the Historical Society, Ibid, VI.; and especially article by Frederick D. Stone, Librarian of the Society, Penna. Mag., VI., in which the whole subject is reviewed.

The elm at Shackamaxon blew down on the 3d of March, 1810. By the rings of growth it was accounted 283 years old. Its fall was noted as an important event, for the tree had been regarded by every one with the greatest historic veneration. Benjamin Lay, who came to Philadelphia in 1731, made it one of the duties of his life to point out the tree as the place of William Penn's Treaty with the Indians. Benjamin West remembered it, as early as 1755, having this universal repute. General Simcoe, the officer who had command at Kensington during the British occupancy of Philadelphia, 1777-8, told West that he had placed a guard around the tree to prevent its being cut down by the soldiers.—Penn was probably living in the Fairman Mansion in May and June, 1683, and this tree stood close by; it was a natural and appropriate place for the meeting. Altogether, to use the words of Mr. Stone, "There is as much reason to believe that Penn's Treaty was held at Shackamaxon as that the Pilgrims first set foot on Plymouth Rock."

[3] Third son of the Earl of Lancaster, and brother of Algernon Sidney; created Earl of Romney by William III. He took an active part in the Revolution of 1688, and was thus rewarded. When Penn was seeking to convince William that he was not plotting for the Stuarts, Romney was one to whom he applied. (Letters of Penn, Mems. Hist. So. Pa., IV., Part 1.)

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by rum, introduced by the Dutch, Swedes, and English, has been deplorable, and though "many of the old men and some of ye young people will not touch" it, yet "because in those fitts they mischief both themselves and our folks too, I have forbid to sell them any."

Markham, as disclosed by these letters, was about to sail for England, to present Penn's claims concerning the boundary. July 31, in a letter to Colonel Taylor, "in Maryland," Penn says, "a Ship is going away, and much is my business to write, wch makes me Scribble but ill."

Lord Baltimore was cautiously, but persistently, pressing his claims. In May—shortly before the time of the futile meeting with Penn, at Newcastle—he had issued a proclamation, addressed to the sheriff of Dorchester county (Maryland), offering to sell land within the "lower counties," at "the Whorekills," at a lower rate than Penn asked. A copy of this was sent to Penn, and he dispatched three members of the Council, with the Clerk, to Lord Baltimore for an explanation, which after quibbling he gave them—that "it was his ancient form, and he only did it to renew his claim, not that he would encourage any to plant there." In September, notwithstanding this disclaimer, Baltimore commissioned Colonel George Talbot "to repair forthwith to the Skulkil at Delaware; and in my name to demand of William Penn, Esquire, or of his deputy, all that part of the land, on the west side of the said river, that lyeth south of the fortieth degree north latitude." Talbot presented this demand to Nicholas More, on the 24th of September, Penn being then absent at New York, and on the 4th of October, an extended and precise reply was made to it by Penn, affirming the validity of his title from the King and the Duke. The following spring, it may now be added, Baltimore's agents made forcible entry upon lands of some of Penn's grantees in the lower counties, and thus brought the question of proprietorship to a sharp issue. Baltimore then set off for England to urge his case there, and Penn, in August (1684), followed him.

Considering now the events of the period before Penn's departure, some of them may be briefly stated. The improvement of Pennsbury was begun, though Penn spent little time there probably, until the summer months of 1684.[1] At Lewes (Delaware), on the point of leaving the Bay, August 15, 1684, he appointed James Harrison to be steward at Pennsbury, and it was under his direction that the

[1] His commission to Phineas Pemberton to be "Clerk of the Court of the County of Bucks," is "Given at Pennsbury, the 21st of 5th Month [July], 1683." His order to Thomas Holme to lay out the "Welsh Tract," 40,000 acres, "upon the west side of Schuylkill River, running three miles upon the same, and two miles backward," and other letters and orders of later date are from there.

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mansion house was completed, and other buildings erected.[1] The "Letitia House" it is supposed was finished in 1683, and became Penn's town house. In it the Provincial Council is said to have held its sessions, and as the Governor's residence, public affairs naturally centered there. The Council met frequently—Penn uniformly attending and presiding—for its functions were of the highest importance, at once legislative, executive, and judicial.[2] To the Assembly, when that body sat, it proposed measures to be considered, and presented drafts of the bills. It decided questions of jurisdiction between the county courts, heard appeals from them in civil suits, and retained to itself cognizance of penal offences of the higher grades. Pickering and others, charged with debasing the silver money by coining unlawfully "Spanish bitts and Boston money," were tried and convicted in October. A month earlier, the Council heard the complaint of the passengers on the ship *Levee*, of Liverpool, who charged that the master, James Kilner, abused and beat them, and that his seamen drank their private supply of beer. The ship *Mary*, of Southampton, which had arrived in the Delaware, it declared to be "a Scottish bottom, and noe ways made ffree to trade to any of his Majesty's plantations in America," and therefore condemned her, and ordered her sold. Anthony Weston, for some proceeding not clearly explained (apparently some paper drawn up and signed, relating to the government), was pronounced "guilty of great presumption and contempt," and was ordered to be whipped three times at the market-place, ten lashes each time. Conspicuous, however, above all these cases, was the one and only trial in the records of Pennsylvania for "witchcraft." This was heard by the Governor and Council in the 12th month (February), 1683–4, with the result that the accused, an old Swedish woman, Margaret Mattson, wife of Neels, was acquitted of being a witch, though admitted to have the name of one.[3]

[1] See details concerning Pennsbury, Davis's Bucks Co., 89.—James Harrison was a trusted agent of Penn, a shoemaker from Bolton in Lancashire, and came in the ship *Submission*, James Settle master, with his family, including his son-in law, Phineas Pemberton—ancestor of the family of that name. They were brought by the captain into the Chesapeake, instead of the Delaware, and landed at Choptank, on the Eastern Shore, at the beginning of November, 1682—about the time Penn reached Philadelphia. Harrison and Pemberton, leaving their families and goods with William Dickinson at Choptank, came on to Philadelphia; there they found it necessary to turn their horses loose to graze, and lost them in the woods. They proceeded to Bucks County, and settled at the Falls.—James Harrison died 1687, and the Pennsbury stewardship was filled after him by John Sotcher. Phineas Pemberton died 1702, and was lamented by James Logan as "that pillar of Bucks County," to which Penn wrote in reply: "I mourn for poor Phineas Pemberton, the ablest, as well as one of the best men in the province." He was a glover in England, and like Harrison, from Bolton in Lancashire.

[2] See analysis of the operations of the Council, article by Lawrence Lewis, Jun., Pa. Mag., V.

[3] Col. Records, I., 95.—This is a famous case. It appears first on the Council's minutes, Feb. 7: "Margaret Mattson and Yeshro Hendrickson, Examined and about to be proved Witches; whereupon this Board Ordered that Neels Matson should Enter into recognizance of fifty pounds for his Wiff's appearance before the 27th Instant, Hendrick Jacobson doth the same for his Wife." On the 27th, a grand jury was present, "the Govr gave them their Charge, and the Attorney Genal attended them wth the presentmt .... The Grand Jury made their returne and found the Bill." Margaret Matson was tried first; she plead not guilty. Lasse Cock and James Claypoole were appointed interpreters. A petit jury was impanelled; (it contained Robert Wade and seven or eight other Friends.) The case then proceeded:

"Henry Drystreet attested, Saith he was tould 20

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In October a special session of the Assembly was held at Philadelphia, lasting two days. One of the laws passed imposed a tax of a penny a ton on all ships over twelve tons' burden, coming to the province or territories, to create a special revenue for the placing and maintenance of buoys in Delaware river and bay.

More important than these details are movements which marked the increase of the colony and city, and signified the laying of broad foundations for the future. In the Council, December 26, 1683, there is the following minute:

"The Govr and Provll Council having taken into their Serious Consideration the great Necessity there is of a Scool Master for y^e^ Instruction & Sober Education of Youth in the towne of Philadelphia, Sent for Enock flower, an Inhabitant of the said Towne, who for twenty Year past hath been exercised in that care and Imploymt in England, to whom haveing Comunicated their Minds, he Embraced it upon these following Termes: to Learne to read English 4s by the Quarter, to Learne to read and write 6s by y^e^ Quarter, to learne to read, Write and Cast accot 8s by Quarter; for Boarding a Scholler, that is to say, dyet, Washing, Lodging, & Scooling, Tenn pounds for one whole year."

This was the beginning of the work of education in Philadelphia.[1] The subject was kept alive in the Council, for in the following month a law is "proposed for Makeing of Several sorts of Books, for the use of persons in this province," and also it was "Proposed that care be

years agoe, that the prisoner at the Barr was a Witch, & that Severall Cows were bewitcht by her; also, that James Saunderling's mother tould him that she bewitched her cow, but afterwards said it was a mistake, and that her Cow should doe well againe, for it was not her Cow but an Other Person's that should Dye.

"Charles Ashcom attested, saith that Anthony's Wife being asked why she sould her Cattle; was because her mother had Bewitcht them, having taken the Witchcraft of Hendrick's Cattle, and put it on their Oxen; She myght Keep but noe Other Cattle, and also that one night the Daughter of y^e^ Prisoner called him up hastely, and when he came she sayd there was a great Light but Just before, and an Old woman with a Knife in her hand at y^e^ Bedd's feet, and therefore shee cryed out and desired Jno. Symcock to take away his Calves, or Else she would send them to Hell. . . .

"Annakey Coolin attested, saith her husband tooke the Heart of a Calfe that Dyed, as they thought, by Witchcraft, and Boyled it, whereupon the Prisoner at y^e^ Barr came in and asked them what they were doing; they said boyling of flesh; she said they had better they had Boyled the Bones, with severall other unseemly Expressions.

"Margaret Mattson saith that she Vallues not Drystreet's Evidence; but if Sanderlin's mother had come, she would have answered her; also denyeth Charles Ashcom's Attestation at her Soul, and Saith where is my Daughter; let her come and say so.

"Annakey Cooling's attestation concerning the Gees, she denyeth, saying she was never out of her Canoo, and also that she never said any such things Concerning the Calve's heart.

"Jno. Cock attested, sayeth he Knows nothing of the matter.

"Tho: Balding's attestation was read, and Tho Bracy attested, saith it is a True copy.

"The Prisoner denyeth all things, and saith that y^e^ Witnesses speak only by hearsay.

"After wch y^e^ Govr gave the jury their Charge concerning y^e^ Prisoner at y^e^ Barr.

"The jury went forth, and upon their Returne Brought her in Guilty of haveing the Comon fame of a witch, but not guilty in manner and forme as Shee stands Indicted.

"Neels Mattson and Antho. Neelson Enters into a Recognizance of fifty pounds apiece, for the good behavior of Margaret Matson for six months.

"Jacob Hendrickson Enters into the Recognizance of fifty pounds for the good behavior of Getro Hendrickson for six months."

And thus the case ended. It is a pity the charge of Penn is not preserved to us. The law of Massachusetts made "witchcraft" punishable by death. The "Salem craze" was at this time impending; it began in 1692.

[1] Enoch Flower is said to have come from Corsham, in Wiltshire, England. He opened his school at once, in a house "built of pine and cedar planks." (Bowden.) He died in 1684.

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Taken about the Learning and Instruction of Youth, to witt: a scool of Arts and Sciences."

Most important of all, however, in the record of 1683, is the swelling tide of the new arrivals. We have observed Penn's statement that fifty ships had come, July 24, since the previous summer. But besides the mere increase of numbers, there was now presented the front of that column of different nations which has made the citizenship of Pennsylvania a conglomerate of so many tongues and races. So far, the settlers since the grant to Penn had been English—mainly Quaker people of the rural counties—with some Welsh, and a few from Ireland, but now the Germans, invited by Penn, and acquainted with his name through his travels in their country in 1677, began to appear. The Welsh increased their scores to hundreds, and there was even a company of French, who appeared before the Council to make declaration of allegiance.[1]

Religious persecution at home was the prime cause of the migration of all these people; hopefulness of a better condition of life stimulated their movement. In Wales, the Friends still suffered the laws' penalties for nonconformity. In France, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes impended. In Germany, the non-resistant Mennonites had borne such persecution, in the long period of a century and a half, as now seems incredible, and along the Rhine the armies of Louis XIV. had desolated and ravaged, between the treaties of Nimeguen, 1679, and Ratisbon, 1684, as again they did in 1688, until the unhappy people, never yet recovered from the horrors of the Thirty Years' War, sank with despair. To all of them the news in 1681, that the tall young Englishman who four years before had passed through the Rhine country, preaching a doctrine of religious life not very different from that of Menno Simons, was now the proprietor in America of a vast region—greater than all of Bavaria, Wurtemberg and Baden together—and that he had invited them to come and live there, without wars or persecutions, under laws which they should share in making—such news must indeed have roused and stirred many a discouraged peasant household. Germany, whose millions are now in America, thus moved first to Pennsylvania, and Penn was the first to invite her coming.[2]

[1] Col. Rec., I., 81.—Before the Council, Sept. 10, 1683: "These persons following did solemnly promise before this honourᵇˡᵉ board, faith and allegiance to yᵉ King, and fidelity and Lawful Obedience to Wm. Penn, Propr & Governor: Capt. Gabriell Rappe, Mr. Andrew Learrin, Andrew Inbert, Petter Minardeau Uslee, Lees Cosard, Mich. Riboulean, Jacob Raquier, Louis Boumat."

They were no doubt Huguenots, and from La Rochelle, in France. Penn refers to Captain Rappe, in his letter to the Marquis of Halifax, 1684, as making wine from the native grapes. Robert Turner (letter Aug. 6, 1685) says: "Captain Rapel (the Frenchman) saith he made good wine of the grapes (of the country), last year, and transported some, but intends to make wine this year." And Penn, in his "Further Account," 1685, says: "The Vine especially prevails, which grows everywhere, and upon experience of some French people from Rochel and the Isle of Rhee, good wine may be made there."

[2] The travels of Penn, July-October, 1677 (with Fox, Barclay, George Keith and others), in Holland and up

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The Welsh had been among the first to respond to Penn's call. Recognizing him as one of their own kin,[1] and pressed hard as the Friends were by the parish clergymen and country justices, they had joined with Celtic warmth in the new movement. With Edward Jones, in the *Lion*, a few weeks before Penn, there had come a company of forty, and in the *Welcome* were Dr. Wynne, the Olivers, and perhaps others. Welsh farmers were busy clearing and building in Merion, Haverford, and Radnor, before the end of 1682. In a ship that now came, however, the *America*, from London, Joseph Wasey master, which sailed June 10 and arrived August 20 (1683), there were two passengers of distinction, famous ever since in the annals of Pennsylvania, who represented in their own persons the highest qualities as well as the distinctive traits of the German and Welsh peoples. These men were Francis Daniel Pastorius, from Frankfort-on-the-Main, and Thomas Lloyd, of Dolobran, in Montgomeryshire. Lloyd was the elder; he had been born about 1640, while Pastorius was born in 1651. Lloyd was married, and his wife and nine children accompanied him; Pastorius married in the Colony, two years later. Both had the best education of the time. Pastorius had spent two years in the University of Strasburg, and studied law at Basle and Jena. His father was burgomaster and judge, at Windsheim. Lloyd had entered Jesus College, Oxford, and taken his degree there

the Rhine as far as Worms, form a most interesting episode in his life, and with reference to the early migration of Germans to America, an important historical event. Dr. Seidensticker, describing the tour, says: "Wonderfully impressive and winning must have been Penn's dealings with men. Being cast among people who from high to low were prepossessed against Quaker doctrines and Quaker habits, he readily secured, wherever he went, a respectful hearing, cowed by his calm and dignified presence the brutish instinct of adversaries—the Count of Falkenstein only excepted—charmed strangers in spite of themselves with his gentle power, and mightily stirred the souls of those over whom he gained control."

The tour in Germany is well described by Penn himself, in his Works, and this is summarized by all his biographers. It is admirably discussed and elaborated by Dr. Seidensticker, Pa. Mag., II., 237. (Cf. also, as to the first German Movement to Pennsylvania, article by S. W. Pennypacker, "The Settlement of Germantown," Pa. Mag., IV.: "Mennonite Emigration to Pennsylvania," by Dr. J. G. De Hoop Scheffer, of Amsterdam, Pa. Mag., II.; and "German Emigration to the American Colonies," by Andrew D. Mellick, Jr., Pa. Mag., X.)

[1] Penn's mother was a woman of Holland, Margaret Jasper, daughter of John Jasper, a merchant of Rotterdam, and his German admirers have fancied that the best traits in him came from her, and so credited the Teutonic rather than the Celtic strain—an impossible theory, of course, from the Welsh point of view.

That the Penns of England came from Wales, or at least from the Welsh-English border, is fairly plain. Their arms are those of the Penns of Shropshire—*argent, on a fesse Sable three plates.* The "Visitation" of Shropshire, 1564 (Harleian MSS., British Museum, No. 1241), shows that these arms were borne in that county by Sir William Penne, Kt., Lord of the Bryne, who married Joan, daughter of Ririd Voel of Lodfoll. Their son, Sir Hugh Penne, Kt., married Jane, daughter to Jer. Goch, ap Bleddin, ap Kinvan. It need hardly be said that these are Welsh names of the most distinct type. Penn or Penne, is, in fact, as Welsh as Wynn, or Gwynne.

When the Founder went to get his charter for the Province, he says (Letter to Robert Turner): "I chose New Wales [for the name] being, as this is, a pretty hilly country, but Penn being Welsh for *a head*, as Penmanmoir in Wales, and Penrith in Cumberland, and Penn in Buckinghamshire," etc. "The Secretary, a Welshman," mentioned by Penn in this letter, was Sir Leolin Jenkins—not Blathwayte, as suggested by

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in 1661; his people were a country family of refinement and moderate wealth, who traced their descent back unquestioned to Edward the First. On the way over the two men learned to know each other, conversed in Latin, and composed verses together in praise of Lloyd's three eldest daughters. Both lived to serve honorably the new commonwealth on the Delaware—Lloyd eleven years, Pastorius thirty-six.[1]

Pastorius came as agent and leader of the German colonists. He represented the Frankfort Company, who had purchased through him, of Penn's agent at London, in May and June (1683), 15,000 acres of land, and also the party of colonists from Crefeld, on the lower Rhine, who had made separate purchases, and who, sailing in the *Concord*, William Jeffries master, from London, on the 24th of July, were now on the ocean. The Frankfort Company was composed, when it finally organized (Nov. 12, 1686), of eleven persons, none of whom, except Pastorius, actually came to Pennsylvania. They were a group most of whom had been influenced by Penn at his visit in 1677. "Nearly all were followers of the pietist Spener, and five of them lived at Frankfort, two in Wesel, two in Lübeck, and one in Duisberg."[2] The Crefeld Company had bought their lands at two different times. March 10, 1682, Penn had conveyed to Jacob Telner, of Crefeld, doing business as a merchant in Amsterdam, Jan Streypers, a merchant of Kaldkirchen, and Dirck Sipman, of Crefeld, each 5,000 acres of land, and on the 11th of June, 1683, he sold to three other Crefelders, Govert Remke, Lenard Arets, and Jacob Isaacs Van Bebber, 1000 acres each. The deed to Sipman provided that a certain number of families should go to Pennsylvania within a specified time, and probably this agreement was made with the other purchasers.

The party on the *Concord*, from Crefeld and its neighborhood, forming thus the first band of German emigrants to America, were thirty-three in number, nearly all relatives. They were Lenard Arets,

Hepworth Dixon, in his life of Penn. The story in Watson's Annals (I., 119), of the reported conversation with Hugh David, on board the ship, in which Penn is said to have asserted his Welsh descent, has, no doubt, some grains of truth in it, and from the several facts known to us, it is easily supposable that he did say: "Hugh, I am a Welshman myself."

[1] For Thomas Lloyd, see Chas. P. Keith's Provincial Councillors of Penna. He entered public service soon; he appeared as a member of the Council, 1st mo. (March) 20, 1683–4, and when Penn returned to England he became President, and acting Governor, and so continued until February, 1687–8, when the deputy-governorship was entrusted by Penn's commission to him and four others—Robert Turner, Arthur Cook, John Simcock, and John Eckley. This arrangement lasted about ten months, when Penn offered the position of Lieutenant-Governor to Lloyd alone, but he declined it, and Penn sent over Captain Blackwell. With him Lloyd could not—at least did not—get on, and Blackwell was removed, when Lloyd again became, as President of the Council, the acting lieutenant-governor, and was finally commissioned in that office, for Pennsylvania only (Markham for the "lower counties"), and so served until Governor Fletcher assumed control, in 1693. He then declined the first place in Fletcher's Council, and died of a fever, Sept. 10, 1694, "having been for nearly eight out of the eleven years that he resided in Pennsylvania the highest officer in the Province." His daughter Hannah married John Delavall and Richard Hill, Rachel married Samuel Preston, Mary married Isaac Norris, Elizabeth married Daniel Zachary and Deborah married Mordecai Moore—six marriages which were probably not equalled, in any one family, in importance as relating to the early history of Pennsylvania. One son, Thomas, left descendants; three other sons died without issue.

[2] Pennypacker.

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three brothers named Op den Graeff—Abraham, Dirck, and Hermann; William Streypers, Thones Kunders, Reynier Tyson, Jan Seimens, Jan Lensen, Peter Keurlis, Johannes Bleikers, Jan Lucken, and Abraham Tunes—thirteen persons, with their families. They were at Rotterdam on the 18th of June, and reached London in time to embark July 24, with James Claypoole the merchant, whose connection with the movement to Pennsylvania, and especially the Free Society of Traders, has already been mentioned. With a rather long, but not unpleasant voyage, they reached Philadelphia October 6. Claypoole thankfully says: "The blessing of the Lord did attend us, so that we had a very comfortable passage, and had our health all the way." Thirty-four Crefelders landed, instead of thirty-three, for Peter Bleikers, son of Johannes, was born at sea.[1]

SWEDES CHURCH AND HOUSE OF SWEN SENER.

From details concerning the engagement of the ship *Concord* for this voyage to Philadelphia, given by James Claypoole in his letters, we get a view of the conditions under which the migrating people then made this long and trying passage. May 15, 1683, he writes from London to Benjamin Furley[2] that if "ye Frankfurts" wish to go in the ship with him they must forward half their passage money, in order to secure places; and on the 5th of June he writes: "I have according to thy ordr secured passage for them (to wit the 33 persons named in thy letter) in the Concord Wm. Jeffries Mr for Pennsilvania . . . and have signed & sealed Charter party whereby I am ingaged to pay for the said Persons 50s ℔ ps . . . and if I stay the ship I must pay 5 lb ℔ day." July 10, he writes very concernedly "that the friends from Crevillt are not yet come," and fears "we shall goe away without them." "We have" he says, "many convenient Cabins made and private rooms for familys, and 14 excellent Oxen Killed and 30 tonn beer & abundance of bread and water so that we are victualled for 120 people." In a letter from Philadelphia, after he had arrived, he says: "We went on board at Gravesend the 24 [of] 5th Mo. and after we lost sight of England wch was in about 3 weeks time we were 49 days before we saw land in America."

The settlement of that suburb of the city of Philadelphia—since

[1] This was not an exceptional case. To his letter from Chester, Dec. 29, 1682, Penn adds this postscript: "P. S. Many women, in divers of the ships, brought to bed; they and their children do well."

[2] Benjamin Furley was the agent in Germany for Penn's sales of land. He had accompanied Penn and Fox, and the others, in the German tour of 1677.

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1854 part of the city—known as Germantown, was immediately begun by the Crefeld immigrants. October 12, Pastorius received a warrant for 6000 acres of land, "on behalf of the German and Dutch purchasers," on the 24th Thomas Fairman laid off plots for them, and next day, in the cave on the river bank where Pastorius had found shelter, they drew lots for choice of location. "Immediately after the division they began to dig the cellars, and build the huts, in which, not without much hardship, they spent the following winter." Pastorius says that a pun was made on the name of the place, by jokers —of whom, it seems, there were some already in Philadelphia—who called it *Armentown*, because of its scanty supplies, and adds that "it could not be described, nor would it be believed by coming generations, in what want and need, and with what Christian contentment and persistent industry, this German township started." In April following, Willem Streypers wrote he was ready to clear and sow Jan's lot, and build a dwelling, but he must have a year's provision; but in October (1684), a year after arriving, he had made good progress, for he writes: "I have been busy and made a brave dwelling house, and under it a cellar fit to live in, and have so much grain as Indian Corn and Buckwheat that this winter I shall be better off than what I was last year."[1]

Richard Townsend, whose arrival in the *Welcome* and establishment of a mill on Chester Creek have been recorded, says in his "Testimony," that about a year later, "there came in about twenty families from high and low Germany, of religious, good people; who settled about six miles from Philadelphia, and called the place Germantown." About the time it was laid out, he proceeds, "I settled upon my tract of land, which I had purchased of the Proprietor in England, about a

[1] Pennypacker, The Settlement of Germantown. Pastorius was born at Somerhausen, Sept. 26, 1651. (His education has been stated in the text, p. 63). In 1679, he began to practice law at Frankfort, but later, occupied two years in a tour through Holland, England, France, Switzerland and Germany. In Philadelphia, and at Germantown, he naturally held the most prominent place among the German settlers, and so stands in every historical view of the time. He married, 1688, and had two sons, John Samuel, and Henry. He died Sept. 27, 1719. He describes himself as "of a Melancholy Cholerick Complexion, and therefore gentle, given to Sobriety, Solitary, Studious, doubtful, Shamefaced, timorous, pensive, constant and true in action, of a slow wit," etc., etc. "He wrote punning poems in various languages, and a host of books, of which a few were printed and many have been lost." Penn was attracted by his humor when they met; for want of glass he had made windows of oiled paper for his house, and over the door he wrote: "Parva domus, amica bonis, procul este profani," an inscription at which Penn was much amused. The place of his burial is not known but a lasting memorial of him is Whittier's poem, "The Pennsylvania Pilgrim."

Jacob Telner, one of the original Crefeld purchasers, (vide p. 64), and apparently the most important of all the German colonists, in a business sense, followed the first party the next year, landing at New York, probably in December (1684.) "He seems to have been the central figure of the whole emigration," says Pennypacker. He remained at Germantown thirteen years, taking a prominent part in affairs. He was the largest holder of land, and one of the burgesses. In 1698 he went to London, where he was living as a merchant as late as 1712.

Descended from the Crefeld immigrants are numerous American families. Most of their names as above recorded have been materially changed in the spelling. From Thones Kunders are descended Conrads, Conards, Cunards and others. Robert T. Conrad, first Mayor of the city of Philadelphia under "Consolidation," was one of his descendants, who included also the English steamship family of Cunard—derived from Germantown in the Colonial period by way of Nova Scotia at the Revolution. The families descended from Jan Lucken (Lukens), and Reynier Tyson, are wide-spread.

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mile from thence—where I set up a house and corn mill; which was very useful to the country for several miles round. But there not being plenty of horses, people generally brought their corn on their backs many miles; I remember one man had a bull so gentle that he used to bring his corn on him, instead of a horse."

This mill of Richard Townsend is of particular interest to us, for it was the first built within the limits of Philadelphia, and was indeed the pioneer of all the city's multitude of industrial establishments. It remained in his possession until 1711, when he sold it to his brother Joseph, and later it was owned for many years by descendants of Jan Lucken, and was known when the battle of Germantown was fought as Lukens's Mill. Later, 1811, it became the property of Hugh Roberts, and was known by his name during most of the present century, until, about 1870, to the great regret of those who valued the ancient and picturesque structure, it was taken down.[1]

THE BANK MEETING-HOUSE.

The German colonists brought to the new city the textile arts of manufacture. Most of those from Crefeld were by trade weavers. In a contract made at Crefeld, before the company set off, between Jan Streypers and Jan Lensen—the former remaining at home, the latter migrating—Streypers says: "I further promise to lend him a Linnen-weaving stool with 3 combs, and he shall have said weaving stool for two years. . . . and for this Jan Lensen shall teach my son Lenard, in one year, the art of weaving." Besides Lensen, the three Op den Graeffs, Arets, and Tunes were all linen weavers. The fame of the place for its manufacture of linen was soon established; the "poem" of Richard Frame, 1692, describes

> "The German Town of which I spoke before,
> Which is at least in length one Mile or More,
> Where lives High German people and Low Dutch,
> Whose trade in weaving linnen cloth is much;
> There grows the Flax, as also you may know
> That from the same they do divide the tow."

In a letter, August 6, 1685, addressed to Penn in England, Robert Turner speaks particularly of this industry. "The manu-

[1] Richard Townsend died about 1714, leaving an only daughter, Mrs. Cook. His brother Joseph was the ancestor of a well-known family of Philadelphia.

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facture of Linnen by the Germans," he says, "goes on finely, and they make a fine Linnen. Samuel Carpenter, having been lately there, declares that they gathered a crop of flax, and had sowed for the second, and saw it come up well." And in his description of Pennsylvania, 1696, Gabriel Thomas says: "all sorts of very good paper are made in the Germantown; as also very fine linen, such as no person of quality need be ashamed to wear." The spinning and weaving were, of course, household work, each craftsman having his appliances in his own cabin. The allusion of Thomas to the paper manufacture refers to the mill which William Rittinghuysen, (Rittenhouse), a Mennonite, who came to Germantown from Broich in Holland, in 1687, had built in 1690. This paper mill, the first in America, stood on a small creek, a tributary of the Wissahickon. The paper used by William Bradford, the first printer not only in Philadelphia but in all the Middle Colonies—for New York had yet no printing press—was made by Rittinghuysen.

As the descriptions of Frame and Thomas indicate, the German settlement grew steadily in the years following its location. New settlers came each year from Crefeld, and others from the upper Rhine, at Kriesheim, (now Kriegsheim), a village in the Palatinate, near Worms, which Penn and his companions had visited in 1677, and where a little company of Friends, converted from Mennonites—an easy transition—by the preaching of William Ames, had suffered many persecutions and distraints of property.[1] The town received incorporation, "by the name of the Bailiff, Burgesses, and Comonalty of German Towne," in a charter granted by Penn, and dated August 6, 1689. This designated Pastorius as Bailiff; Telner, Dirck and Herman Op den Graeff, and Thones Kunder to be "the first and present Burgesses," and Abraham Op den Graeff, Jacob Isaacs (Van Bebber), Johannes Kassel, Heiwart Papen, Herman Bom, and Dirck

[1] Amongst the settlers at Germantown, not already named, were Jacob Schumacher, of Kriesheim, who came 1683; Cornelius Bom, a baker, probably from Holland, who had arrived before Pastorius; in 1681, Walter Seimens, and several additional Van Bebbers, from Crefeld; David Scherkes, perhaps from Muhlheim on the Ruhr; Jan Willemse Brockenogen, a Quaker cooper, from Haarlem. Oct. 16, 1685, arrived at Philadelphia, the ship *Francis and Dorothy*, from London, Richard Bridgeman, master, with Hans Peter Umstaat and his family, from Crefeld; Peter Schumacher and his family, from Kriesheim; Gerhard Hendricks, of Kriesheim, with his wife and daughter, and his servant, Heinrich Frey,—the last named from Altheim, in Alsace; and Henry Buchholtz and his wife Mary. In 1685, also, came Wigard and Gerhard Levering, from Mulheim on the Ruhr, the place, which, next to Crefeld, seems to have sent the largest number of emigrants to Germantown. Penn had visited there, in his tour of 1677. (Wigard Levering survived until February 2, 1744-5, and was reputed then to be 107 years old, but the researches of Hon. Horatio Gates Jones, one of his descendants, show that he was not over 97.) In the *Jeffries*, Thomas Arnold, master, from London, which arrived March 20, 1686, came Johannes Kassel, of Kriesheim, a Quaker weaver, with his two sons and three daughters; and on the same ship, another family from Kriesheim, the widow Sarah Shumacher, with her four sons and three daughters; her husband George, had died of small-pox, on the voyage. They landed at Chester on the 20th of March. (Sarah's son Isaac married Sarah, the only daughter of Gerhard Hendricks; their son Benjamin, and grandson, Samuel, each became mayor of Philadelphia.) Dirck Keyser, a silk merchant of Amsterdam, and a Mennonite, arrived in 1688, having landed, probably, at New York.

Cornelius Bom, the baker, kept a shop with "many kinds of goods and edibles. Sometimes," he says, in a letter to Rotterdam, 1684, "I ride out with merchandise, and sometimes bring something back, mostly from the Indians, and deal with them in many things." He died before 1689, and his daughter Agnes married Anthony Morris, ancestor of the family of that name.

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Vankolk, "the first and present Committee-men." The corporation was authorized, of course, to have and use a common seal, and this Pastorius designed, selecting a three-leaved clover, with a vine on one leaf, a stalk of flax on the second, and a weaver's spool on the third, with the motto for the whole: "Vinum, linum, et textrinum." The flax and the spool, as it proved, were of greater importance than the vine. Large expectations had been formed of the possibilities of grape-raising and wine-making, but they never were realized. Penn's letters refer frequently to the subject; he mentions the "great red grape, called by ignorance the fox grape," which he says, "by art, doubtless, may be cultivated to an excellent wine," and "there is a white kind of muskadel, and a little black grape, like the cluster grape of England."[1] And in his letter to the Marquis of Halifax, on the 9th of March following, (1683–4), he says: "the Germans are fallen upon flax and hemp, the French on vineyards. Here grow wilde an incredible number of vines, that tho' savage and so not so excellent, beside that much wood and shade sower them, they yield a pleasant grape, and I have drunk a good clarett, though small and greenish, of Capt. Rappe's vintage of the savage grape."

There are enough letters in existence, written in the summer of 1683, to show Penn's industry. Several of them have already been cited. He wrote to the King, August 13; his letter to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, defending himself against Lord Baltimore, is dated the following day, and his long letter to the Free Society of Traders is dated the 16th. With Pastorius, on his arrival, he promptly made acquaintance, and Thomas Lloyd he greeted with pleasure, as an old friend, and a valuable man for the public service. He made a journey into the interior, purchased an Indian right to land "along the Susquehanna," and in September visited New York. The dispute with Baltimore then occupied his attention again, and in October he issued a proclamation from Newcastle, warning settlers not to take up lands in the Lower Counties, without a title from him. The winter he no doubt spent at Philadelphia, in the Letitia House. In his letter to the Marquis of Halifax, Feb. 9, he says: "Our capitall town is advanced to about 150 very tolerable houses for wooden ones; they are chiefly on both the navigable rivers that bound the ends or sides of the town. The farmers have got their winter corn in the ground.[2] I suppose we may be 500 farmers strong. I settle them in villages, dividing five thousand acres among ten, fifteen, or twenty

[1] Letter to Free So. of Traders. He speaks of the fox grape as "now ripe," the 16th of August. The little black grape was no doubt the "chicken grape."

[2] Wheat; sowed, of course, in the autumn.

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families, as their ability to plant it. Germans, Dutch, and French are concern'd in our prosperity with their own; for here are come three parties (one of each) as spyes to the multitude, they say, behinde, that on their report will also embarque with us." By the early summer (1684) it had become evident he must go back to England, to press his case against Baltimore. On the 8th of June he wrote the Duke of York, complaining of the proceedings of Colonel Talbot in making violent entry on the lands of Ogle, "that came with Captain Carr," within five miles of Newcastle, and adding: "I hear he (Baltimore) is gone for England. . . . I am following him as fast as I can." Two months later, nearly ready to sail, he wrote to the Earl of Sunderland, asking that no action be taken in the boundary case until he arrived.[1] On the 4th of August he appointed Nicholas More, William Welsh, William Wood, Robert Turner, and John Eckley Provincial Judges, for two years, their jurisdiction including "the three Upper Countyes and Towne of Philadelphia," and on the 7th, he issued a commission to Thomas Lloyd, James Harrison, and John Simcock, providing that in case of his death—on the voyage home, or otherwise—before any order could be made, they should act as his "Commissioners and Guardians in Government to my dear Heir, Springett Penn." On the 12th of August, he embarked on the *Endeavour*, George Thorp master, and proceeded down the Delaware. On the 14th, he held a meeting of the Council at Lewes, and the ship does not appear to have gone to sea until after the 16th.[2] From on board he addressed his letter of farewell to Thomas Lloyd, James Claypoole and others, "to be communicated in meetings in Pennsylvania, &c., among Friends." It is a missive of earnest exhortation to righteousness in private and public action, and it contains a passage already alluded to in the opening of the history:

> "And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, and what travail has there been, to bring thee forth and preserve thee from such as would abuse and defile thee. O, that thou mayest be kept from the evil that would overwhelm thee: that faithful to the God of thy mercies, in the life of righteousness, thou mayest be preserved to the end."[3]

Early in October the *Endeavour* entered the Thames, and landing at Wonder, seven miles from his house at Worminghurst, Penn joined his wife and children there. His two years' absence had been filled with pleasure, and had preserved him in health. "I have not missed

[1] The Lords of Trade and Plantations had the subject before them in February; again (on three different days), in July; and on Sept. 30 "appoint the Business to be heard on the 9th day of December next, at which Time Mr. Penn is expected here."

[2] On that day he dated at Lewes an order to Thomas Holme, for a survey of land in Chester county.

[3] Letter in full in Proud, I., 288.

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a meal's meat or a night's rest, since I went out of the country," he wrote to Margaret Fox. But he would need this store of strength; he had returned to enter upon evil days. Ten years of difficulty and humiliation confronted him, and fifteen years of delay before he could again visit Philadelphia.

The question of the boundary, so far as it affected the Lower Counties, was heard by the Lords of Trade and Plantations, after Penn's return, at several times in 1685, and on the 7th of November, in that year, they reached a decision, which the King on the 13th approved, to divide the disputed territory by a north and south line, half way between the Delaware and Chesapeake.[1]

SEAL OF DAVID LLOYD.

The progress of the city up to 1685 is well shown by statements in a pamphlet issued by Penn that year in England, "A Further Account of the Province of Pennsylvania and its Improvements, for the satisfaction of those that are Adventurers, and inclined to be so." This was published after the determination against Baltimore, as that is referred to, and Penn explicitly mentions the dispute over Delaware as his reason for returning to England. "We have had," he says, "about ninety sayl of ships with passengers since the beginning of 82," none having miscarried. Estimating an average of eighty per ship, these would bring 7,200 people. As to Philadelphia, he describes its general situation once more, and says that when he left, in 1684, the town had "advanced to three hundred and fifty-seven houses, divers of them large, well-built, with good Cellars, three stories, and some with balconies." Then he proceeds:

"IV. There is also a fair Key of about three hundred foot square, Built by Samuel Carpenter, to which a ship of five hundred Tuns may lay her broadside, and others intend to follow his example. We have also a Rope walk made by B. Wilcox, and cordage for shipping already spun at it.

"V. There inhabits most sorts of useful Tradesmen, as Carpenters, Joyners, Bricklayers, Masons, Plasterers, Plumers, Smiths, Glasiers, Taylers, Shoemakers, Butchers, Bakers, Brewers, Glovers, Tanners, Felmongers, Wheelrights, Millrights, Shiprights, Boatrights, Ropemakers, Saylmakers, Blockmakers, Turners, &c.

"VI. There are Two Markets every Week and Two Fairs every year. In other places Markets also, as at Chester and New Castle.

"VII. Seven Ordinaries for the Intertainment of Strangers and Workmen, that are not Housekeepers, and a good meal to be had for sixpence, sterl.

"VIII. The hours for work and meals to Labourers are fixt, and known by Ring of Bell.

[1] Pa. Archives, New Series, XVI., 404.—This decision served for the time, but the whole subject was reopened by Lord Baltimore afterward. The conclusion had been reached as early as October 17, by the Lords of Trade and Plantations, "that the tract of land now in dispute [*i. e.* the Lower Counties] does not belong to my Lord Baltimore," and Penn, highly gratified, wrote Oct. 21, "to the President and Provincial Council," at Philadelphia, announcing the news, and directing them to communicate it to the people, "in wisdome, avoiding indecent Joy."

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"IX. After nine at Night the Officers go the Rounds and no Person, without very good cause, suffered to be at any Publick House that is not a Lodger.

"X. Tho this Town seemed at first contrived for the Purchasers of the first hundred shares, each share consisting of 5000 Acres, yet few going, and that their absence might not Check the Improvement of the Place, and Strangers that flockt to us be thereby Excluded, I added that half of the Town, which lies on the Skulkill, that we might have Room for present and after Commers, that were not of that number, and it hath already had great success to the Improvement of the Place.

"XI. Some Vessels have been here Built, and many Boats; and by that means a ready Conveniency for Passage of People and Goods.

"XII. Divers Brickeries going on, many Cellars already Ston'd or Brick'd and some Brick Houses going up.

"XIII. The Town is well furnish'd with convenient Mills; and what with the Garden Plats (the least half an Acre), the Fish of the River, and their labour, to the Countryman, who begins to pay with the provision of his own growth, they live comfortably.

"XIV. The Improvement of the place is best measur'd by the advance of Value upon every man's Lot. I will venture to say that the worst Lot in the Town, without any Improvement upon it, is worth four times more than it was when it was lay'd out, and the best forty."

The results of the farmers' and the fishermen's labors he describes with enthusiasm. Food, he says, has been always sufficient, sometimes plenty, so that some ships from Rhode Island arriving with provisions would not sell at the Philadelphia prices, but carrying them back, "expecting a better market nearer." "Our Drink," he proceeds, "has been Beer, and Punch made of Rum and Water. Our Beer was mostly made of Molasses, which well boyled, with Sassafras or Pine infused into it, makes a very tolerable drink; but now they make Mault, and Mault Drink begins to be common, especially at the Ordinaries, and the houses of the more substantial people. In our great town there is an able man that has set up a large Brew House, in order to furnish the People with good Drink, both there and up and down the River."[1]

Other details, in this pamphlet of 1685, are furnished by a letter from Robert Turner, which Penn gives at length. It is dated at Philadelphia, August 6. It begins with descriptions of the agriculture of the Colony, and then proceeds to Philadelphia's growth. There are, he says, "about 600 houses in three years time"—showing nearly two hundred and fifty built in the twelve-month since Penn's departure. He goes on to describe his brick house, "the foundation of which was laid at thy going," whose erection has had the effect of encouraging others to build of brick instead of wood, so that now—bricks being cheap, and improved in quality—"many brave brick houses are going

[1] This was William Frampton, the first brewer of Philadelphia. His brew-house stood on Front street, betweet Walnut and Spruce. He was elected a member of the Council, to represent Kent county, in 1685, but died the following year; he had meantime been appointed a Justice of the Peace and one of the Commissioners of the Register General's office.

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up, with good cellars." Arthur Cook is building one of these, "near William Frampton's on the front, for William Frampton hath since built a good brick house by his brew-house and bake-house, and let the other one for an ordinary." Giving numerous other details of houses going up,[1] he proceeds: "We build most houses with Belconies. Lots are much desired in the Town, great buying one of another. We are now laying the foundation of a large plain brick house for a Meeting House, in the Center (sixty foot long and about forty foot broad), and hope to have it soon up, many hearts and hands at work that will do it. A large Meeting House, 50 foot long and 38 foot broad, also going up on the front of the River for an evening meeting, the work going on apace. Many Towns People are settling their liberty Lands."

MARKHAM ARMS.

The two meeting-houses of the Friends, which Turner thus describes, were the first settled places of worship within the then city limits, and the only ones within the bounds of the present city except the Swedes' church at Wicaco. The house "at the Center"—the Centre Square, where now are the Public Buildings—was erected in fulfillment of Penn's design, but it appears to have been not long used, being too far "out of town."[2] The other, on the river front, was the "Bank" meeting-house, which continued in use for over a hundred years, being sold and taken down in 1789, when the house in Key's Alley, the "up-town meeting," was occupied.

These details portray a rapid growth. The "great buying, one of another," which Turner records in 1685, had been reported earlier.

[1] "John Wheeler, from New England, is building a good brick house by the Blew Anchor; and the two Brickmakers a Double Brick House and Cellars; besides several others going on: Samuel Carpenter has built another house by his. I am building another Brick house by mine, which is three large stories high, besides a good large Brick Cellar under it, of two Bricks and a half thickness in the wall, and the next story half under Ground, the Cellar hath an Arched Door (for a Vault to go under the Street) to the River, and so to bring in goods, or deliver out. Humphrey Murry, from New York, has built a large Timber house, with Brick chimneys. John Test has also finished a Brick House, and a Bake House of Timber; and N. Allen a good house, next to Thomas Wynns front Lot. John Day a good house, after the London fashion, most Brick, with a large frame of wood, in the front, for Shop Windows; all these have Belconies. Thomas Smith and Daniel Pege are Partners, and set to making of Brick this Year, and they are very good; also, Pastorius, the German Friend, Agent for the Company at Frankford, with his Dutch People, are preparing to make Brick next year. Samuel Carpenter is our Limeburner on his Wharf. Brave Limestone found here, as the Workmen say, being proved."

[2] Watson says (Annals, I., 391), it was built "in a natural forest of oaks and hickories." As to the wooded condition of the city, a little distance from the river, we may cite Pastorius, who says that when he landed in August, 1683, "Philadelphia consisted of three or four little cottages [there were, of course, more than this] such as Edward Drinker's, Swen Sener's, etc., all the residue being only woods, underwood, timber and trees," amongst which he several times lost his way. In 1686 Penn had a proclamation issued against cutting the timber within the city, on his land, which he said, by promoting the growth of underbrush, not only deprived the "town stock" of their pasture, but might make "a Covert for Vermin, and too often for loos and evil persons." Watson asserts (I., 392): "The general state of woods in which the [Centre] meeting-house was originally located continued much the same until the time of the Revolution. It was once so far a wild forest that the grandmother of the late aged Col. A. J. Morris told him that when they used to go out from the city to the Centre Square meeting she had seen deer and wild turkeys cross their path."

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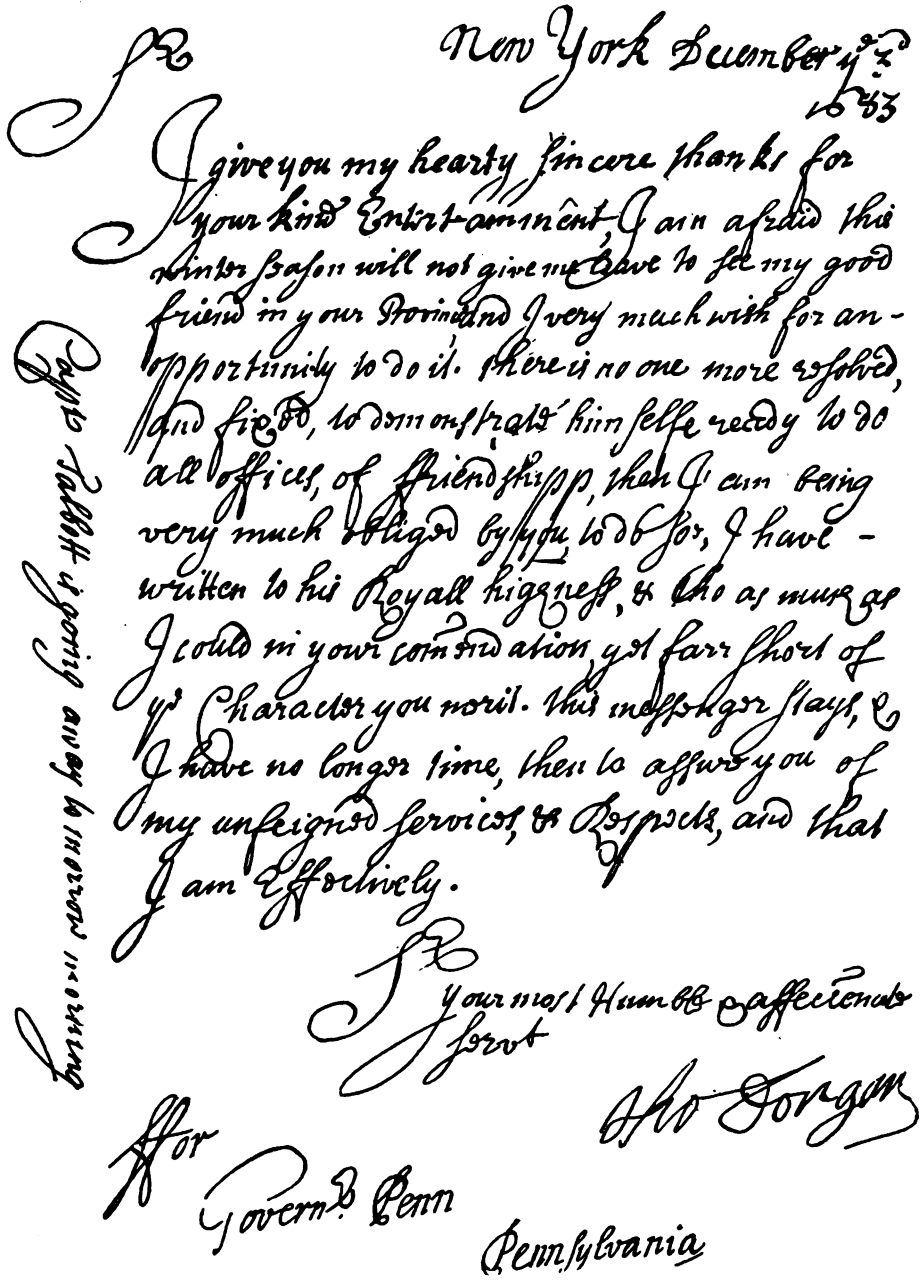

New York December 4th 83

Sr

I give you my hearty sincere thanks for your kind Entertainment. I am afraid this Winter Season will not give me leave to see my good friend in your Province and I very much wish for an opportunity to do it. there is no one more resolved, and ready to demonstrate himself ready to do all offices of friendship, than I am being very much obliged by you to do so, I have written to his Royall Highness, & tho as much as I could in your commendation, yet fall short of yr Character you merit. This messenger stays, & I have no longer time, then to assure you of my unfeigned services, & Respects, and that I am Effectively.

Sr

Your most Humble affectionate Servt

Tho Dongan

For

Governr Penn

Pennsylvania

Capt Talbot is going away to morrow morning

LETTER, 1683, GOVERNOR DONGAN TO PENN.[1]

[1] Colonel Thomas Dongan, Governor of New York, reached that city Aug. 25, 1683. Penn went to New York in the latter part of September, and was entertained some days by Dongan. Before the visit Penn had made a purchase of lands "along the Susquehanna," of an Indian chief, Kekelappen, and had sent William Haige and James Graham to Albany to secure a confirmation of the purchase by the Five Nations. Dongan thwarted these negotiations—if they were really in progress—but later, as is stated else where in this work, he assisted Penn to secure the Indian title along the Susquehanna, within the Pennsylvania limits. The letter above, written several weeks after Penn's visit to New York, is certainly polite enough. It seems to signify that between September and December Dongan had been to visit Penn at Pennsbury or Philadelphia.

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At the close of 1683, James Claypoole urges his brother, in England, to secure land at once, "for people come in so fast that it is likely to be much dearer in a little time. It is judged about 1000 people came in six weeks." The trade with the southern colonies, that eastward to New York and New England, and the larger commerce with the West Indies and England, made a total which already exceeded previous American experience. Claypoole enumerates (1683) some of the merchandise which could be sent away. Timber and pipe-staves were plenty; "besides," he says, "we shall have tobacco, and the goods of the southern plantations, as sugar, cotton, indigo, ginger, etc., for here are two, if not three, ships going to those parts . . . we have corne plentiful in the countrey." In a letter a little later, he reports that he has some furs to ship—beaver, raccoon, musquash, and buckskins. There is also "whale oyle and bone." "Our fishermen," he says, "have taken four or five whales already in the bay, and are likely to continue fishing until the end of ye next month, which will be the best time."[1] The whale fishery was then expected to become an important industry. Penn says, in the pamphlet of 1685: "Mighty whales roll upon the coast, near the mouth of the bay of Delaware. Eleven caught and workt into oyl one season. We justly hope a considerable profit by a whalery, they being so numerous and the shore so suitable." Other ventures, even more promising than whales, are suggested. Claypoole in one letter says, "there is a sloop with a great many men lies below in the river, bound to fetch silver from the rack," and later says again, "there is a vessell going out of the river that has lain here all this winter with about 100 men bound for the Rack to fetch silver, from whence we have had a great Quantity. There may be expectation of bringing 20 or 30000 lb worth."[2]

SEAL USED BY THOMAS LLOYD.

The front on the Delaware had become valuable before Penn's departure. Correcting, in a letter, August 3, 1684—a few days before he sailed—the impression that the purchasers of lots on the Front street thereby became the owners of the river front abutting on them, he began the sale of the "bank lots," immediately, and so laid the foundation of the private ownership of the river side. In his letter he says: "The bank is a top common from end to end. The

[1] This was written in the middle of February, 1683–4.

[2] A royal order from Whitehall, Oct. 22, 1687, says "a wreck has been lately discovered near the coast of Hispaniola, from whence a considerable quantity of silver and other treasures has been taken up." (Pa. Archives, I., 100.)

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rest, next the water, belongs no more to front-lot men than back-lot men"—meaning, apparently, it belonged to neither, but was Proprietary land, to be disposed of as he saw fit. "The way"—meaning Front street—he says, "bounds them; they may build stairs, and the top of the bank a common exchange or walk; and against the streets common wharfs may be built freely; but into the water is no purchaser's." On the 4th of August—the day after this letter—he conveyed a bank lot to Samuel Carpenter, and the following day two more to Robert Turner and William Frampton. Carpenter's purchase, designated by Penn, and long afterward known as "Carpenter's Wharf," was between Walnut and Chestnut streets; Robert Turner's, "Mount Wharf," was between High and Mulberry (Market and Arch); and William Frampton's, "Town Wharf," was between Walnut and Spruce. John Whitpaine had a lot adjoining Frampton, purchased also in 1684. James Claypoole,[1] in a letter to Gawen Laurie, in February, 1683–4, says: "My lott proves to be one of the best in the town, being 102 foot to the River, and 396 long, and about 1¼ acre in the high street. There is a swamp runs by the side of my lott, that with a small charge might be made navigable, and a brave harbor for sloops and small ships." "Samuel Carpenter," he says in another (earlier) letter, "is next but one to me, and is likely to get a great estate quickly. William Frampton is on the other side of me, building a great brew-house."

THE ROBERTS MILL, GERMANTOWN.

Between Spruce and Pine streets was the large space assigned to the Free Society of Traders. It had 460 feet front, and Penn says in his letter of 1683: "Your city lot is a whole street and one side of a street from river to river, containing near one hundred acres." Its value, he prudently added, was not easy to state. Rising from the river, the ground was long known as "Society Hill," even when

[1] James Claypoole, whose letters are thus frequently cited, was a merchant in London, brother of John Claypoole, who married Elizabeth Cromwell, daughter of the Protector. He was chosen, as stated in the text, Treasurer of the Free Society of Traders, at the organization, in London, in May, 1682, and he sailed with his wife and seven children, in the *Concord*, from London, as already stated, with the Crefeld company, arriving October 6, 1683. He survived his removal less than four years, dying at Philadelphia Aug. 6, 1687. In 1686 he had been appointed Register General, and also elected a member of the Provincial Council. He must not be confused with his son, James Claypoole, born in 1664.

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the origin of the name had been so far lost sight of as to be a matter of dispute.[1]

While the growth of Philadelphia made an impression far and wide, so that the letters to Penn contained many congratulations concerning it, and merchants from New York—Humphrey Morrey, the "first mayor," John Delaval, and others—came over to share its superior activities, it had as yet no corporate existence. The application to it of the name city signified only that it was the place where a city was laid out, and intended to be, and where already many houses had been built. On the 26th of July, 1684, in the Provincial Council, a committee was appointed "to draw up a Charter for Philadelphia to be made a Burrough," with a mayor and six aldermen, but there is no record of any further action on the subject. Perhaps Penn's early departure caused the matter to drop. Before he went he had divided into townships the land outside the then city limits, and had located for himself the manor of Springetts-

[1] In 1730 the Assembly directed that a flag should be raised on proper days, on "Society Hill," and Edward Carter was to have £10 for attending to it. In 1734, "the guns on Society Hill" were fired in honor of the arrival of John Penn. The first theatre of Philadelphia, opened in 1757. was at Vernon and South Sts., and known as "the theatre on Society Hill." Whitefield preached in the open air, on the Hill, and the "Commons" there long remained the place for military drill, etc.

We may here complete the record of the Free Society of Traders. It appears to have done business a few years, but always unprosperously. Penn's long letter of 1683, addressed to its officers in London, speaks of its tannery and saw-mill as established, and the site tor its glass-house selected. Claypoole in July, 1684, says: "We have a corne mill going, and are setting up a saw-mill and glass-house." Its "whalery" appears to have been about the Delaware Capes. Joshua Tittery, who came in the *America*, with Lloyd and Pastorius, is described as "servant to y^e^ Society, broad glass maker, from Newcastle-on-Tyne, to serve four years, at £88 per annum." And Richard Townsend, who came in the *Welcome*, was described as a "carpenter, servant to y^e^ Society for five years, to have £50 per annum salary." Claypoole's letters from Philadelphia refer repeatedly to the Society's affairs. In January, 1683–4, he says he employs his time serving it as Treasurer, and in March he excuses himself from a long letter to Thomas Cooke, "the Society's business hath taken up so much of my time." In a letter to Gawen Laurie he mentions that his son James "is book-keeper to the Society." In April (1684) he writes Edward Haistwell: "I have been 3 weeks from home, about 150 miles, where they take the whales, they took 2 while I was there, they had killed about 12 in all, and lost 3 of them, and they intend to stay until the end of this month, and may expect to gitt 5 or 6 more; they fish for the Society, but must be paid the markett price for ⅔ of the oyle and bone, besides more other charges." He excuses himself for not writing more largely, "being perplext with the Society's business far beyond whatever I had expected or would have undertooke if I had known it for 3 times my sallery. I hope it will be better quickly, for the president has laid down his place, & we are to have a General Court of the Society this month. I cannot write to the Comitte or councell there till our affairs are in better order." "I am so weary of the Society's business that I will get clear of it as soon as I can," he says a little later.

In 1685 Samuel Carpenter obtained a judgment and execution against the Society. (Col. Rec., I., 146.) Robert Turner, in his letter to Penn, Aug. 6, of that year, says: "I hope the Society will rub off the reproaches some have cast upon them," and adds: "We now begin to gather in something of our many great debts," which suggests another passage in Claypoole's letters (July, 1684), where he says: "We are forced to trust most that we sell, and People will not pay in 6 or 9 months; the Society's Treasurer, before I came into the Country, had sold almost all their goods at great profit but upon trust, which is standing out to this day, so that we have neither credit nor money, and now must sue people at law or be forced to loose all."

Benjamin Chambers was President of the Society, later than Nicholas More. In 1704 London stockholders complained to the Provincial Council that they had sustained "great losses in that adventure," and that they were unable to rectify "the past mismanagement" for want of the books and accounts. The Council therefore cited "Benjamin Chambers, said to be late Presidt of the sd Society, and Francis Rawle and Joseph Pidgeon also interested therein," to appear before it with the books, and later, Chambers and Rawle having appeared, were directed to give full accounts to Edward Shippen, to be sent to England. Finally, in March, 1723 (the bill having been passed first in 1721, was vetoed by Gov. Keith), an act of Assembly put the Society's lands in the hands of Trustees (Charles Read, Job Goodson, Evan Owen, George Fitzwater and Joseph Pidgeon), to be sold for the benefit of its creditors.

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bury, covering 1830 acres north of Vine street, from the Delaware to the Schuylkill—extending, however, on the Delaware side only to the Cohoquinoque (Coaquanock) Creek, or Pegg's Run, beyond which the "Northern Liberties" began. The townships located before his departure included the German town, Oxford, Bristol, Moreland, Byberry, Dublin, and Kingsessing, within the present limits of the city, and Merion and Cheltenham, in what is now Montgomery county.

Such, broadly stated, were the Beginnings of the City. The place was chosen, the plot laid out, the building begun, the character foreshadowed. Men were here, or at hand, who were to give impulse and direction to the city for a generation to come. At the end of the four years following the grant to Penn, the history of Philadelphia had unrolled and displayed its first chapter.

THE PASSENGERS ON THE "WELCOME."

The following List has been made up, (as already explained in the text, p. 42), from various official or trustworthy sources, and is believed to include all who are known to have been on the *Welcome*. There are ninety persons accounted for, (not including William Bradford), besides those, number unknown, implied in the expression "and family," attached to the names of Ellen Cowgill and Cuthbert Hayhurst. If three persons be assigned each of these families, the total will be brought up to ninety-six, and as the number on the ship is commonly said to have been "about one hundred," it is evident that nearly all are accounted for.

JOHN BARBER, and his wife Elizabeth. She the eldest daughter of John Songhurst, of Shipley, Sussex. Barber made his will on the voyage, and is presumed to have died at sea.

WILLIAM BRADFORD (?). (See note below.)

WILLIAM BUCKMAN, his wife Mary, and children Sarah and Mary, of Billinghurst, Sussex. Settled in Northampton, Bucks county.

JOHN CARVER, and his wife Mary, of Hertfordshire. They settled in Byberry, Philadelphia county, (now part of the city.) He died 1714. His wife's name before marriage was Mary Lane.

BENJAMIN CHAMBERS, of Rochester, Kent. With John Songhurst he wrote the will of William Wade on the *Welcome*. Sheriff of Philadelphia, 1683, etc.

THOMAS CROASDALE, his wife Agnes, and six children, of Yorkshire. Brought a certificate from Settle Monthly Meeting, Yorkshire. Settled in Middletown, Bucks county.

ELLEN COWGILL "and family." Certificate from Settle Monthly Meeting.

JOHN FISHER, his wife Margaret, and son John.

THOMAS FITZWATER, and sons Thomas and George, of Hamworth, Middlesex. His wife Mary, and children Josiah and Mary, died on the passage. Member from Bucks county of the Second Assembly, (1683); died 1699.

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THOMAS GILLETT. Witness to will of John Barber.

BARTHOLOMEW GREEN. Servant of Richard Townsend.

ROBERT GREENAWAY. Master of the *Welcome.*

NATHANIEL HARRISON. Servant of Richard Townsend.

CUTHBERT HAYHURST, wife, and family. Certificate from Settle Monthly Meeting. He was born at Essington, Bolland, Yorkshire. Settled in Northampton, Bucks county; he died March 5, 1683, aged 50.

THOMAS HERIOTT, of Hurst-Pierpoint, Sussex. Made a (nuncupative) will on board, and is presumed to have died.

JOHN HEY. Servant of Thomas Fitzwater.

RICHARD INGELO. Witness to will of Isaac Ingram, made on board. Clerk to Provincial Council. 1685.

ISAAC INGRAM, of Gatton, Surrey. Made will on board (Sept. 26), and is presumed to have died.

THOMAS JONES. Servant of Dennis Rochford.

GILES KNIGHT, his wife Mary, and son Joseph, of Gloucestershire. Mary's name before marriage was English. They settled in Byberry. He was a member of the Assembly, and died 1726, aged 73.

WILLIAM LUSHINGTON. Witness to will of William Wade, made on board.

JEANNE MATTHEWS. Servant of Dennis Rochford.

HANNAH MOGDRIDGE. Servant to John and Priscilla Rowland.

JOSHUA MORRIS. Witness to will of Thomas Heriott.

DAVID OGDEN. Witness to will of Thomas Heriott. Probably from London.

EVAN OLIVER, his wife Jean, and children David, Elizabeth, John, Hannah, Mary, Evan, and Seaborn, of Radnorshire, Wales. The last "a daughter born at sea, October 24, 1682, almost within sight of the capes of Delaware."

WILLIAM PENN.

DENNIS ROCHFORD, and his wife Mary; their daughters Grace and Mary died at sea. He was first from Emstorfy (Enniscorthey?), Co. Wexford, Ireland, but had been in Sussex three years. (Mary Rochford was the daughter of John Heriott, of Hurst-Pierpoint, Sussex.) Settled in Concord; he was a representative of Chester county, in Assembly, 1683.

JOHN ROWLAND, and his wife Priscilla, of Billinghurst, Sussex. Settled in Falls, Bucks county; he died 1705.

THOMAS ROWLAND, of Billinghurst, Sussex.

WILLIAM SMITH. Servant of Richard Townsend.

JOHN SONGHURST, mentioned in probate of will of William Wade. From Sussex. He was a member from Philadelphia in the Assembly of 1683, and subsequently, and died 1688.

JOHN STACKHOUSE, and his wife Margery, of Yorkshire. Certificate from Settle Monthly Meeting.

GEORGE THOMPSON. Witness to wills of Heriott, Barber, Ingram, and Wade, Settled in Concord, Chester (now Delaware) county.

RICHARD TOWNSEND, his wife Anne, their daughter Hannah, and son James. The last "born on *Welcome*," in the Delaware. From London. Built a mill at Germantown, soon after the location of the German settlers there.

WILLIAM WADE, of Hankton, Sussex. Made will Sept. 20, on board, and is presumed to have died at sea.

THOMAS WALMSLEY, his wife Elizabeth, their sons Thomas, and Henry, a daughter, and three other children. From Yorkshire Certificate from Settle Monthly Meeting. Settled in Northampton, Bucks county, where he died "soon after his arrival."

NICHOLAS WALN, his wife, and three children. From Yorkshire Certificate from Settle Monthly Meeting. Settled in Middletown, Bucks county. Member of

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the Assembly of 1683, and subsequently. Removed to Philadelphia, and represented that county in Assembly. Died 1721.

JOSEPH WOODROOFE. Witness to will of John Barber.

THOMAS WRIGHTSWORTH and wife, of Yorkshire. Certificate from Settle Monthly Meeting.

THOMAS WYNNE, "chirurgeon," of Caerwys, Flintshire, Wales. Witness to will of Thomas Heriott. Speaker of Assembly, 1683–4, and subsequently. Died in March, 1691–2.

NOTES.—William Bradford, the "first printer" in Pennsylvania, is usually included in the list of those who arrived on the *Welcome*. It is a controverted point whether he came at this time, and as it is well established that he did come in 1685, and was then a young man, and brought letters of introduction from George Fox, it does not seem prudent to assume that he had first come in 1682, and then had returned.

The passenger named Pearson, who is usually named in the *Welcome* list, appears to be a mythical character, and no good reason is known to exist why he should be longer included.

John Sharples and family, who are included in the List, as given by earlier authorities, are known to have arrived two months earlier than the *Welcome*.

Philip Theodore Lehnman (Lehman), who was Penn's private secretary during his visit here, was probably with him on the *Welcome*.

Dr. Smith, (Hist Del. Co.), credits John Dutton and his wife, (probably from Worcestershire), as having come on the *Welcome*. They settled in Aston, Chester (now Delaware), county.

General W. W. H. Davis, (Hist. Bucks Co.), thinks Joseph Kirkbride, ancestor of the family of that name, came in the *Welcome*.

PENN'S LETTER TO THE FREE SOCIETY OF TRADERS.

A letter from William Penn, Proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania, in America, to the Committee of the Free society of traders of that province, residing in London: containing a general description of the said Province, its soil, air, water, seasons and produce, both natural and artificial, and the good increase thereof. With an account of the natives or aborigines.

MY KIND FRIENDS,

The kindness of yours, by the ship *Thomas and Ann*, doth much oblige me; for, by it I perceive the interest, you take in my health and reputation, and the prosperous beginning of this province; which, you are so kind as to think, may much depend upon them. In return of which I have sent you a long letter, and yet containing as brief an account of myself, and the affairs of this province, as I have been able to make.

In the first place, I take notice of the news, you sent me; whereby I find some persons have had so little wit, and so much malice, as to report my death; and, to mend the matter, dead a *Jesuit*, too. One might have reasonably hoped that this distance, like death, would have been a protection against spite and envy; and, indeed, absence, being a kind of death, ought alike to secure the name of the absent, as the dead; because they are equally unable, as such, to defend themselves; but they, that intend mischief, do not use to follow good rules to effect it. However, to the great sorrow and shame of the inventors, I am still alive, and no Jesuit; and I thank God, very well. And, without injustice to the authors of this. I may venture to infer, that they that wilfully and falsely report would have been glad it had been so.

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But I perceive many frivolous and idle stories have been invented since my departure from England; which, perhaps, at this time, are no more alive than I am dead.

But, if I have been unkindly used, by some I left behind me, I found love and respect enough where I came; an universal kind welcome, every sort in their way. For, here are some of several nations, as well as divers judgments; nor were the natives wanting in this; for their kings, queens, and great men, both visited and presented me; to whom I made suitable returns, etc.

For the province, the general condition of it, take as followeth:—

I. The country itself, its soil, air, water, seasons and produce, both natural and artificial, is not to be despised. The land containeth divers sorts of earth, as, sand, yellow and black, poor and rich: also gravel, both loamy and dusty; and, in some places, a fast fat earth; like our best vales, in England; especially by inland brooks and rivers: God, in his wisdom, having ordered it so, that the advantages of the country are divided; the back lands being generally three to one richer, than those that lie by navigable rivers. We have much of another soil; and that is a black hazel-mould, upon a stony, or rocky, bottom.

II. The air is sweet and clear, the Heavens serene, like the south parts of France, rarely overcast; and, as the woods come, by numbers of people, to be more cleared, that itself will refine.

III. The waters are generally good; for the rivers and brooks have mostly gravel and stony bottoms; and in number, hardly credible. We have also mineral waters, that operate in the same manner with Barnet and North Hall, not two miles from Philadelphia.

IV. For the seasons of the year, having, by God's goodness, now lived over the coldest and hottest, that the oldest liver in the province can remember, I can say something to an English understanding.

First, Of the fall; for then I came in: I found it, from the 24th of October, to the beginning of December, as we have it usually, in England, in September, or rather like an English mild spring. From December to the beginning of the month called March, we had sharp frosty weather; not foul, thick, black weather, as our north east winds bring with them, in England; but a sky as clear as in summer, and the air dry, cold, piercing and hungry; yet I remember not that I wore more cloaths, than in England. The reason of this cold is given, from the great lakes that are fed by the fountains of Canada. The Winter before was as mild, scarce any ice at all; while this, for a few days, froze up our great river Delaware. From that month, to the month called June, we enjoyed a sweet Spring; no gusts, but gentle showers, and a fine sky. Yet, this I observe, that the winds here, as there, are more inconstant, Spring and Fall, upon that turn of nature, than in Summer, or Winter. From thence to this present month, (August) which endeth the Summer, (commonly speaking) we have had extraordinary heats, yet mitigated sometimes by cool breezes. The wind, that ruleth the Summer season, is the south west; but spring, fall and winter, it is rare to want the north-western seven days together. And whatever mists, fogs, or vapours, foul the Heavens by easterly, or southerly winds, in two hours' time, are blown away; the one is followed by the other: A remedy, that seems to have a peculiar providence in it, to the inhabitants; the multitude of trees, yet standing, being liable to retain mists and vapours; and yet not one quarter so thick as I expected.

V. The natural produce of the country, of vegetables, is trees, fruits, plants, flowers. The trees of most note, are the black walnut, cedar, cypress, chestnut, poplar, gum-wood, hickory, sassafras, ash, beech, and oak of divers sorts, as, red, white and black; Spanish, chestnut, and swamp, the most durable of all. Of all which there is plenty, for the use of man.

The fruits, that I find in the woods, are the white and black mulberry, chestnut,

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walnut, plums, strawberries, cranberries, hurtleberries, and grapes of divers sorts. The great red grape (now ripe) called by ignorance, the fox grape, because of the relish it hath with unskilful palates, is in itself an extraordinary grape; and by art, doubtless, may be cultivated to an excellent wine, if not so sweet, yet little inferior to the Frontiniac, as it is not much unlike in taste, ruddiness set aside; which, in such things, as well as mankind, differs the case much. There is a white kind of Muskadel, and a little black grape, like the cluster grape of England, not yet so ripe as the other; but they tell me, when ripe, sweeter, and that they only want skilful Vinerons, to make good use of them I intend to venture on it with my Frenchman, this season, who shews some knowledge in those things. Here are also peaches very good, and in great quantities; not an Indian plantation without them; but whether naturally here at first, I know not. However one may have them, by bushels, for little: they make a pleasant drink; and I think, not inferior to any peach you have in England, except the true Newington. It is disputable with me, whether it be best to fall to fining the fruits of the country, especially the grape, by the care and skill of art, or send for foreign stems and sets, already good and approved. It seems most reasonable to believe, that not only a thing groweth best, where it naturally grows; but will hardly be equalled by another species of the same kind, that doth not naturally grow there. But, to solve the doubt, I intend, if God give me life, to try both, and hope the consequence will be, as good wine, as any European countries, of the same latitude, do yield.

VI. The artificial produce of the country is wheat, barley, oats, rye, peas, beans, squashes, pumpkins, water-melons, musk-melons, and all herbs and roots, that our gardens in England, usually bring forth.

VII. Of living creatures; fish, fowl, and the beasts of the woods; here are divers sorts, some for food and profit, and some for profit only: For food, as well as profit, the elk, as big as a small ox; deer, bigger than ours; beaver, raccoon, rabbits, squirrels; and some eat young bear, and commend it. Of fowl of the land, there is the turkey, (forty and fifty pounds weight) which is very great; pheasants, heath-birds, pigeons and partridges, in abundance. Of the water, the swan, goose, white and grey; brands, ducks, teal, also the snipe and curloe, and that in great numbers; but the duck and teal excel; nor so good have I ever eat in other countries. Of fish there is the sturgeon, herring, rock, shad, cats-head, sheeps-head, eel, smelt, pearch, roach; and in inland rivers, trout, some say, salmon above the falls. Of shell-fish, we have oysters, crabs, coccles, conchs and muscles; some oysters six inches long; and one sort of coccles as big as the stewing oysters; they make a rich broth. The creatures for profit only, by skin, or fur, and that are natural to these parts, are the wild-cat, panther, otter, wolf, fox, fisher, minx, musk-rat; and of the water, the whale, for oil; of which we have good store; and two companies of whalers; whose boats are built, will soon begin their work; which hath the appearance of a considerable improvement: to say nothing of our reasonable hopes of good cod, in the bay.

VIII. We have no want of horses; and some are very good and shapely enough; two ships have been freighted to Barbadoes with horses and pipe-staves, since my coming in. Here is also plenty of cow-cattle, and some sheep; the people plow mostly with oxen.

IX. There are divers plants, that not only the Indians tell us, but we have had occasion to prove, by swelling, burnings, cuts, &c., that they are of great virtue, suddenly curing the patient; and, for smell, I have observed several, especially one, the wild myrtle; the other I know not what to call, but are most fragrant.

X. The woods are adorned with lovely flowers, for color, greatness, figure and variety. I have seen the gardens of London best stored with that sort of beauty, but think they may be improved by our woods: I have sent a few to a person of quality this year, for trial.

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[Paragraphs XI. to XXII. describe the Indians.]

XXIII. Every King hath his council; and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation; which, perhaps, is two hundred people. Nothing of moment is undertaken be it war, peace, selling of land, or traffick, without advising with them; and, which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the Kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them, upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is thus: The King sits in the middle of an half moon, and hath his council, the old and wise, on each hand; behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the King ordered one of them to speak to me; he stood up, came to me, and, in the name of his King, saluted me; then took me by the hand, and told me, "He was ordered by his King to speak to me; and that now it was not he, but the King, that spoke; because what he should say was the King's mind." He first prayed me, "To excuse them, that they had not complied with me, the last time, he feared there might be some fault in the Interpreter, being neither Indian nor English: besides, it was the Indian custom, to deliberate, and take up much time, in council, before they resolve; and that, if the young people, and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay."—Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land, they had agreed to dispose of, and the price; which now is little and dear; that which would have bought twenty miles not buying now two. During the time, that this person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile; the old, grave; the young, reverent, in their deportment. They speak little, but fervently, and with elegance. I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without the help (I was going to say, the spoil) of tradition; and he will deserve the name of wise, that outwits them, in any treaty, about a thing, they understand. When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us, "of kindness and good neighborhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love as long as the sun gave light:" Which done, another made a speech to the Indians, in the name of all the Sachamakers, or Kings; first, to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them, "To love the Christians, and particularly live in peace with me, and the people under my government; that many Governors had been in the river: but that no Governor had come himself to live and stay here before; and having now such an one, that had treated them well, they should never do him, or his, any wrong."—At every sentence of which they shouted, and said, Amen, in their way.

[Paragraphs XXIV. to XXXI. give some further details about the Indians (with speculations on their origin); and geographical and historical details.]

XXXII. Philadelphia, the expectation of those that are concerned in this province, is, at last laid out, to the great content of those here, that are any ways interested therein. The situation is a neck of land, and lieth between two navigable rivers, Delaware and Sculkil; whereby it hath two fronts upon the water, each a mile; and two from river to river. Delaware is a glorious river; but the Sculkil, being an hundred miles boatable above the falls, and its course north east, towards the fountain of Susquahanna (that tends to the heart of the province, and both sides our own) it is like to be a great part of the settlement of this age. I say little of the town itself, because a platform will be shewn you by my agent; in which those who are purchasers of me, will find their names and interests. But this I will say, for the good providence of God, that of all the many places. I have seen in the world, I remember not one better seated; so that it seems to me to have been appointed for a town, whether we regard the rivers, or the conveniency of the coves, docks, springs, the loftiness and soundness of the land, and the air, held by the people of these parts to be very good. It is advanced, within less than a year, to about four score houses

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and cottages, such as they are; where merchants and handicrafts are following their vocations, as fast as they can; while the country men are close at their farms, some of them got a little winter corn in the ground last season; and the generality have had an handsome summer-crop, and are preparing for their winter corn. They reaped their barley, this year, in the month called May; the wheat in the month following; so that there is time, in these parts, for another crop of divers things, before the winter season. We are daily in hopes of shipping, to add to our number; for, blessed be God, here is both room and accommodation for them: The stories of our necessity being either the fear of our friends, or the scare-crows of our enemies: For the greatest hardship, we have suffered, hath been salt meat; which by fowl, in winter, and fish, in summer, together with some poultry, lamb, mutton, veal, and plenty of venison, the best part of the year, hath been made very passable. I bless God, I am fully satisfied with the country and entertainment I got in it: For I find that particular content, which hath always attended me, where God, in his providence, hath made it my place and service to reside. You cannot imagine my station can be, at present, free of more than ordinary business; and, as such, I may say, it is a troublesome work. But the method, things are putting in, will facilitate the charge, and give an easier motion to the administration of affairs. However, as it is some men's duty to plow, some to sow, some to water, and some to reap; so it is the wisdom, as well as the duty, of a man, to yield to the mind of Providence, and chearfully, as well as carefully, embrace and follow the guidance of it.

XXXIII. For your particular concern, I might entirely refer you to the letters of the President of the society; but this I will venture to say, your provincial settlements, both within and without the town for situation and soil, are without exception. Your city lot is a whole street, and one side of a street, from river to river, containing near one hundred acres, not easily valued; which is besides your four hundred acres, in the city liberties, part of your twenty thousand acres in the country. Your tannery hath such plenty of bark, the saw mill, for timber, and the place of the glass house, are so conveniently posted for water carriage, the city lot, for a dock, and the whalery, for a sound and fruitful bank, and the town Lewis, by it, to help your people, that by God's blessing, the affairs of the society will naturally grow in their reputation, and profit. I am sure, I have not turned my back upon any offer, that tended to its prosperity; and though I am ill at projects, I have sometimes put in for a share with her officers, to countenance and advance her interest. You are already informed what is fit for you further to do; whatsoever tends to the promotion of wine, and to the manufacture of linen, in these parts, I cannot but wish you to promote; and the French people are most likely, in both respects, to answer that design. To that end I would advise you to send for some thousands of plants out of France, with some able Vinerons, and people of the other vocation: But because, I believe, you have been entertained with this, and some other profitable subjects by your President, I shall add no more, but to assure you, that I am heartily inclined to advance your just interest, and that you will always find me"

Your kind cordial friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, the 16th of the Sixth month, called August, 1683.

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CHAPTER III

1685–1700

EARLY DAYS, BEFORE THE CHARTER

ON the 6th of February, 1684–5, when Penn had been home about four months, Charles the Second died, and his brother James, the Duke of York, succeeded. The news reached Philadelphia in three months. At a meeting of the Council on the 11th of May, Thomas Lloyd, the President, announced it, and read the "printed account" which had been received from London. On the following morning, "at the ninth hour," the Council's secretary, Richard Ingelo, read to the public its proclamation of the new king, the ceremony taking place "in the Front street upon Delaware river, over against the Governor's gate,"—heralded by "the Wringing of the Bell." A few weeks later, in a letter to Thomas Lloyd, Penn described the death of Charles and the accession of James, and guardedly explained the new situation created by the King's open profession of the Roman Catholic faith. "Be careful," he said to Lloyd, "that no indecent speeches pass against the Government, for the King going with his queen publicly to mass in Whitehall gives occasion. He declared he had concealed himself to obey his brother, and that now he would be above-board; which we like the better on many accounts."[1]

The period of fifteen years on which we now enter may be, as to its chief events, rapidly summarized. In less than four years James was displaced, and the Revolution of 1688 ended the Stuart dynasty. Penn, oppressed by his debts, and harassed at once by money creditors, religious opponents, and political enemies, passed into the shadow of the change, and suffered for a time in influence and popularity. In 1693 Pennsylvania was taken from him, and Fletcher, the Governor of New York, was given authority over it, but two years later the royal favor returned, and Penn was fully reinstated in his possession and government.

There was, meantime, no material change in the situation of Philadelphia, except its continued growth and corresponding increase

[1] Penn repeats in this letter his anxiety to return soon to Pennsylvania: "Keep up the people's hearts and love. I hope to be with them next fall, if the Lord prevent not. I long to be with you. No temptations avail to fix me here." (Janney's Penn, 254.)

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of importance. A city charter, granted in 1691, had for some reason, probably the political unsettlements of the time, and the transfer of the government to Fletcher, fallen into abeyance, if indeed it was ever put into operation, and the town consequently continued for ten years more without any municipal organization, administrative details being the business, as at first, of the Governor and Council. The authority of Penn was represented after his departure for England, first by the Council, with Thomas Lloyd as President: then by a commission of five members of the Council—Lloyd, Robert Turner, Arthur Cook, John Simcock, and John Eckley—then by Captain John Blackwell, as Deputy Governor, who struggled through thirteen months of futile contention, and departed; then, by the Council again, as a body, with its President elective by itself; then by Lloyd as Deputy Governor; then the Fletcher episode intervened, and after its termination, Markham acted as Governor or Lieutenant-Governor until Penn's arrival in November, 1699.

These events naturally caused local agitations. The six years from 1689 to 1695 were times of ferment, and the young city was shaken at intervals with political disputes which relatively to its age and stability were serious enough. The long chapter of dispute between Governor and people began in Blackwell's time, and the equally long chapter of royal demands for war aid. The Keithian controversy, the prosecution of Bradford, the development of David Lloyd's radical leadership, belong to this period. At Fletcher's advent the whole body of laws previously passed was annulled, while a part only was provisionally restored by him, under the resolute demand of the Assembly. In this period the alienation of the Lower Counties from Pennsylvania, leading to their permanent separation in 1702, was distinctly manifested.

The accession of James gave Penn for a time increased influence and importance in England, but placed him very soon in a position of embarrassment. As Duke of York, James had been the companion and friend of Penn's father, the ambitious Admiral of the fleet, and when the latter died he solicited of the Duke a continued friendship for his son.[1] The new King's favor, no doubt, was signified in the decision of the boundary question, in 1685. But the current in England was now set against the Stuart system of government, and especially against the Roman church. Charles, with his irreligion and dissembling, had been tolerated, but James, with his open adhesion to Rome, could not be long endured. The year of his accession

[1] Penn relates it very graphically in his letter to Secretary Popple, Oct. 24, 1688. He speaks of "my father's humble request to him upon his death-bed to protect me from the inconveniences and troubles my persuasion [as a Quaker] might expose me to, and his friendly promise to do it, and exact performance of it from the moment I addressed myself to him," etc.

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William Penn proprietary of the Province of Pensilvania &c To all to whom these presents shall come Sends Greeting &c Know ye that at the humble petition of the Inhabitants & Freeholders of this Town of Philadelphia being Sons of the first Adventurers & purchasers & within said Province for their encouragement And for the more immediate & entire Government of the said Town and better Regulation of Trade therein I have by vertue of the Kings Letters Patents under the Great Seal of England erected the said Town into a Burrough And by these presents Do erect the said Town & Burrough of Philadelphia into a City which said City shall extend the Limits & Bounds as it is laid out between Delaware & Schoolkill And Do hereby name & constitute Nathaniel Allen Mayor to be the present Mayor who shall soe continue until another be chosen as is herein after directed And I do hereby constitute & name John Delavall to be the present Recorder to do & execute all things which unto the Office of Recorder of the said City doth or may belong And I do appoint David Lloyd to be the present Town Clerk Clerk of the peace and Clerk of the Courts & Courts to be Holden within the said City & Liberties thereof And I do hereby name & constitute & appoint Samuel Richardson Griffith Owen Anthony Morris Robert Ewer John Roberts Francis Rawle & Edward Penington the present Aldermen Citizens & Inhabitants of the said City to be the present Six Aldermen of the said City of Philadelphia And I do also nominate & appoint Samuel Carpenter Thomas Fairman John Jones John Goodson Charles Sanders Zetharias Whitpaine John Day Philip Ricketts Alexander Beardsley James Fox Thomas Pastall and Philip James to be the present Twelve Common Council men of the said City And I do by these presents for me my Heirs & Successors Give grant & declare That the said Mayor Recorder Aldermen & Common Council men for the time being and they which hereafter shall be Mayor Recorder Aldermen & Common Council men within the said City and their Successors for ever hereafter be and shall be by vertue of these presents One Body Corporate & Politick in deed and by the name of Mayor and Comonalty of Philadelphia in the Province of Pensilvania And them by the name of Mayor & Comonalty of the City of Philadelphia One Body Politick & Corporate in deed & in name I do for me my Successors fully erect constitute & confirm by these presents And That by the same name of Mayor & Comonalty of the City of Philadelphia they may have

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And also to impose such Mulcts & Fines & amounts upon the Breakers of such Laws & Ordinances as to them in their discretion shall be thought reasonable to be levyed as a Debt is directed in Case of Fines to the use of the said Corporation without rendring any account thereof to me my Heirs & Successors with power to the Common Council aforesd to mitigate remit or release such Fines & mulcts upon the Submission of the parties And I do further Grant to the said Mayor and Comonalty of the said City of Philadelphia That they and their Successors shall and may for ever hereafter hold & keep within the said City in every week of the year two markett daies The one upon the fourth day of the week and the other upon the Seaventh day of the week in the place already appointed or in such other place as they shall think convenient And also three Fairs in every year The first of them to begin on the Twelfth day of the Third Month yearly and so to be held in & about the markett place and continue for that Fifteenth day & three dayes next following The next to be kept at the Center of the said City the Thirtieth day and One & Fortieth daies of the Eighth Month yearly And third of the said Fairs to be held in or about the markett place on the Eighteenth Seaventeenth & Eighteenth daies of the Ninth Month yearly Forever Giveing and Granting That this present Charter or Grant shall in all Courts of Law and Equity be construed and taken most favorably and beneficially for the said Corporation Given under the Broad Seal of the said Province Witness Thomas Lloyd Deputy Governor of the said Province of Pensilvania with the advice and Assent of the Provincial Council at Philadelphia the Twentieth day of the Third Month in the third year of the Raign of William and Mary King and Queen of England &c Anno Dni One Thousand Six Hundred Ninety and One.

Recorded in the Office of Rolls & publick Registry of Patents and Deeds at Philadelphia the 29th day of the third Month 1691. Per Da. Lloyd Regt.

Tho: Lloyd: Dep.ty Gov.r

BEGINNING AND CONCLUDING PORTIONS OF THE CITY CHARTER OF 1691.

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was the year also of that unsurpassed royal crime, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, with its accompanying atrocities, and the whole Protestant world was stirred and roused at the persecution and dispersion of the unhappy Huguenots of France. In England, as in France a century later, a long score of misdoing had been left by the dead king for the people to reckon up against his successor. The reaction of 1660, on the crest of which Charles had come to the throne, had spent its force in the twenty-five years of his reign, and the nation, both as to its laws and its religion, was ready to resume its course upon such principles as Eliot and his associates in the House of Commons had maintained sixty years before. It was James's misfortune, rather than his fault, that by the traditions of his house, the habit of his mind, and the form of his religion, he stood in the way of the long arrested but now reviving national purpose.

For the time, as has been said, Penn's influence at Whitehall was large. For his own persecuted sect he was, of course, a standing advocate; to other people, whose claims appealed to his sense of justice or his sympathy, he could not refuse his aid.[1] Nearly fifteen hundred Friends, at the death of Charles, lay in jail in England and Wales, for the offenses of adherence to their religion, and refusing to take an oath. Many had died under the hardships of the long imprisonment—"some hundreds" of them the appeal to the King, in 1685, declared.[2] All the living were released, under the operation of James's order to the attorney-general, Sir Robert Sawyer, dated 15th March, 1685–6, and the Friends, as they assembled in their Yearly Meeting at London, had the "great consolation" of the company of many whom they had not seen for many years.[3]

Whatever advantage might have accrued to Pennsylvania and Philadelphia through the personal good-will of the King for their Governor ended in December, 1688. James fled to France, the Stuart chapter closed, and two months later his daughter and his nephew were seated in his place, accepting the sovereignty which the Parliament had assumed the authority to tender them.

Considering, now, the political events at Philadelphia during the reign of James, we begin with the impeachment of Nicholas More by the Assembly, in 1685. He was a member of that body, (but not

[1] "I have almost continually had one business or other there [at court] for our Friends, whom I ever served with a steady solicitation through all times since I was of their communion. I had also a great many personal good offices to do, upon a principle of charity, for people of all persuasions." (Letter to Popple.)—"His house and gates [he was then living at Kensington, to be near the court] were daily thronged by a numerous train of clients and supplicants, desiring him to present their addresses to his majesty. There were sometimes there two hundred and more." (Croese.)

[2] The exact number remaining in jail in England and Wales, 1685, was 1460. (Janney.)—As an example of the imprisonments, John Whiting, released from the prison at Ivelchester, in 1686, had fifteen companions in this enlargement, two of whom had been imprisoned fifteen years, two ten years, one nine years, one six years, three four years, the others one to three years. (Janney's History.)

[3] Gough's History Quakers, III., 180.

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Speaker, John White, of New Castle, a resolute citizen, who figured later in several earnest controversies, having succeeded him), and he was also Chief Justice or "Prior Judge," of the Provincial Court, having been appointed to that office by Penn in 1684. He was a man of good natural ability, with education and intelligence fitting him for leadership in such a young community, but he was, no doubt, both ill-tempered and arbitrary. When the Assembly presented its impeachment, with ten specifications of charges, to the Council, and demanded that it proceed to try him, the action was not without cause. The Council, however, evaded the trial, under sundry excuses, and the Assembly, after expelling him from his seat in that body, appointed a committee to conduct the prosecution, and adjourned. The Council, later, suspended him from the exercise of judicial functions, and he did not again act, nor was he again chosen to the Assembly. In 1687 his death ended controversy over his case. At the time of his impeachment, Patrick Robinson, Clerk of the Provincial Court, had fallen also under the Assembly's displeasure, first for a refusal to produce the court records to be used against More, and afterwards for indecorous and offensive behavior, and besides being censured by the Assembly that body demanded that the Council should remove him from his office.[1]

Magnified and distorted by the time it reached England, the news of these affairs added vexation and anxiety to Penn's already sufficient stock. He wrote in August, 1685, to Thomas Lloyd, John Simcock, and others, in terms of earnest remonstrance. "I am sorry," he says, "for your animosities . . . For the love of God, me, and the poor country, be not so *governmentish*, so noisy and open in your dissatisfaction." In November, 1686, he wrote again to Lloyd in the same strain, but with more emphasis, his reproofs being apparently directed chiefly to the Assembly. In this letter he hinted—probably for the first time—that he might be tempted to surrender the Colony to the Crown, if those in it continued to exhibit dissension and incapacity. But he spoke again of his earnest purpose to return, himself, as soon as possible: "my private affairs, as well as my public ones," he said, "will not let me budge hence yet."

This allusion to his private affairs implied the beginning of the financial embarrassment, which, with some relief at times, was to continue during the rest of his life. The Pennsylvania enterprise had

[1] When brought into the Assembly, under arrest by the sheriff, he threw himself down, "lying all along on the floor." As for the impeachment articles against More, he declared they were drawn "hob nob at a venture." This criticism the Assembly very much resented. Finally, the Council, in October, 1686, removed him. He was appointed a Member of the Council by Gov. Fletcher, and subsequently served as Secretary, being succeeded in that office in 1700 by James Logan, soon after which he died.

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involved him deeply in debt. He had spent his income first, and borrowed money later. His returns from the Colony had been trifling. "I am five thousand pounds and more behind-hand," he writes to James Harrison, a few weeks before the letter to Lloyd, "I desire thee to draw upon me no more for one penny . . . If I cannot be supplied, I resolve to turn over a new leaf. There is nothing my soul breathes more for, in this world, next my dear family's life, than to see poor Pennsylvania again, and my wife is given up [to go] but I cannot force my way hence, and [I] see nothing on that side inviting."

Captain John Blackwell arrived at Philadelphia in December, 1688—probably on the 17th of the month. He had been in New England when he received his commission as Governor from Penn. On the 18th he presided at the first meeting of the Council, those present being Robert Turner, John Bristow, Joseph Growdon, Arthur Cook, Samuel Carpenter, Griffith Jones, Samuel Richardson, and Colonel Markham, Secretary. Penn had selected Blackwell in the hope that he might prove to be a balance-wheel for the government. "For your ease," he said in a letter to the five Commissioners whom he thus superseded, "I have appointed one that is not a Friend, but a grave, sober, wise man. He married old General Lambert's daughter, was treasurer to the Commonwealth's army in England, Scotland, and Ireland . . . Let him see what he can do awhile. I have ordered him to confer in private with you, and square himself by your advice. If he do not please you he shall be set aside." The esteem of Penn thus signified was perhaps well deserved, but unfortunately Blackwell was not the man for this difficult position. If he was "grave, sober and wise," he was also pedantic, obstinate, and wanting in tact. The minutes of the Council, as spread upon the pages of the Colonial Records, are an amusing testimony to the lack of practical wisdom which he continually displayed.

The first business of the first Council meeting might seem significant of the futility of what was to follow. The Governor presented an order from the Royal Council, at Whitehall, announcing as a joyful event the birth of a son to King James—that very prince whose coming into the world had precipitated the Revolution which was at this moment in full career in England. The Council in the Letitia House, listening gravely to the royal order, and loyally ordering a day of thanksgiving, as directed, were unaware—and so remained for many weeks—that James was already driven from his throne, and that Penn, a week before this, had been summoned before the Whig lords, sitting in the palace at Whitehall, to define his position as a known friend of the fallen King.[1]

[1] "On the 10th of December, 1688, walking in Whitehall, he was sent for by the Lords of the Council then sitting, and though nothing appeared against him, and himself assured them [of his staunch Protestant-

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It is at this first meeting under Blackwell, also, that we begin to hear of Piracy in the American waters, and of the efforts to suppress it. It was "Order'd," according to Markham's record, "that ye King's Proclamation for the more Effectuall Reducing & Suppressing of Pirates and Privateers in America, bearing date of Whitehall, ye 20th day of January, 1687–8, be forthwith published." The subject was to be the fruitful occasion of many more official references.

FLETCHER ARMS.

To give even a summary of the Council's proceedings, in the thirteen months of Captain Blackwell's stay is not practicable here, but if made, the element of humor should be a prominent feature. In brief, the Captain succeeded in setting everybody by the ears. A feud with Thomas Lloyd was established at once—in relation to certain instructions of Penn to the Five Commissioners, which were in his possession, and also concerning the custody of the Great Seal of the Province—and then Blackwell quarrelled with Samuel Richardson—which was not a difficult matter—with John Eckley, with Joseph Growdon, with David Lloyd, and many others. Ultimately he ruled that Thomas Lloyd, Richardson, and Eckley could not sit as members of the Council, and when they appeared at different times, at the sessions, he adjourned the Council and left them sitting. It had been the custom to meet at times most convenient throughout the year, but Blackwell procured the order that meetings should be held regularly twice a week, "Viz: every Second and ffifth day . . . between nine and tenn in ye forenoon," an arrangement which the country members, especially those from the Lower Counties, could not possibly conform to, and which soon had to be given up. The Governor was doubtless honest, but he was tedious and formal; still worse, for an executive officer, he was loquacious, and his irritating policy provoked infinite talk. The minutes of the Secretary, the gouty Markham, which before had been meagre enough, recording conclusions but not debate, are now spread over many pages, and abound in details of what was said while little was done.[1] In April, over Samuel Richardson's case,[2] "many intemperate Speeches and

ism, his clearness of any activity on behalf of James] that all he ever aimed at in his Endeavours was no other than what the Prince [of Orange] himself had declared for, that King James was always his friend, and his father's friend, and in gratitude he was the King's, and did ever, as much as in him lay, influence to his true interest—notwithstanding this they obliged him to give sureties for his appearance the first day of the next Term," etc. (Penn's Life prefixed to his Works.)

[1] In the printed volume of these proceedings (Colonial Records, I.), the Council minutes, from March, 1682-3, to December, 1688, when Blackwell arrived, occupy 173 pages, about 36 per year, but Blackwell, in eight months, filled 72. After May (1689), however, he abandoned frequent meetings, and there were but few in the last seven months of his stay.

[2] Samuel Richardson was both testy and stubborn. He disliked Blackwell very early, and declared that he would not "owne" him to be a Governor, that in

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passages happened, fitt to be had in oblivion," according to Markham's minutes, though at the next meeting, when this was read, Samuel Carpenter questioned it, "sayd He did not know that any intemperate speeches had been used, and moved that part might be omitted."

The meeting of the Assembly, in May (1689), brought forth fresh complications, of course, and Blackwell promptly added that body to the list of his enemies. He made it an extended address, giving considerable explanation of the processes of his mind, to which the Assembly, through Arthur Cook, the Speaker, returned such an independent reply as was to be often heard thereafter by Blackwell's successors. The Captain announced his purpose to let "all the laws drop or fall, except the fundamentals," having, he said, instructions from Penn to that effect, and to call the Assembly again, later, to consider new ones. Meantime, he naïvely told them, he had come to a resolution within himself to observe the old laws, not as such, but as "so many rules and instructions" from Penn. The Assembly finally adjourned, without any action, after ten days' futile debate, and unsatisfactory conference with the Governor—the conferences being held, upon Blackwell's refusal to go elsewhere, at his "lodgings," at the house of Griffith Jones; the Council room, he said, "was to strayte and close for him, this hott weather."[1]

Word of the Revolution in England had been received at the end of February, and the embarrassing question what to do—whether to proclaim William and Mary, adhere to James, or wait for further developments—was pending at this time. Zachariah Whitpain, arriving in the middle of the night, February 23, brought the first news, and made a formal statement of it at a meeting of the Council the following day. He had left London, on the 10th or 12th of December, but his ship, "y^e^ *Mary*, John Harris master," had not sailed from the Downs until the 23d, by which time James's overthrow was substantially complete, and he was reported to be "at Rochester, under guard." The Council took no action, all summer, on Zachariah's news, but waited. On the 1st of October, a "pacquet," brought by "Samuel Gillham, master of the ketch *Crane*, of Dartmouth," was

fact "William Penn could not make a Governor," and he was so contumacious, under the attempted discipline of the Captain, that the latter ordered him to withdraw. "He replyed," says the record, "'I will not withdraw, I was not brought hether by Thee, & I will not goe out by thy order; I was sent by y^e^ people, and thou hast no power to put me out.'" Richardson continued to be a conspicuous figure in affairs for many years, and was an Alderman of the city at his death, 1719. (Cf. Pennypacker's Hist. and Biog. Sketches, 243.)

[1] June 24, 1689, Blackwell wrote to Penn, complaining of Thomas Lloyd, lamenting his own unsatisfactory experiences, and urging that he be released. "Sr I am very ill dealt with . . . ffor after having borrowed one hundred pounds, & spent that & more for my preparation and journey hither, I am put to sell the goods I brought for bread: For since Griffith Jones, who entertayned me (on trust) for about 4 months, is removed with his family to his plantation, I have been left his housekeeper, and to make my owne dayly provisions; which are very Costly in this place. . . . Besides Sr the Climate is over hott for my Constitution & Age; and the hosts of musqueetos are worse than of armed men, yet the men without Armes worse than they. I hope by the first travelling Season youl (come & dismisse me." [etc.] (Letter in Pa. Mag., VI. 363.)

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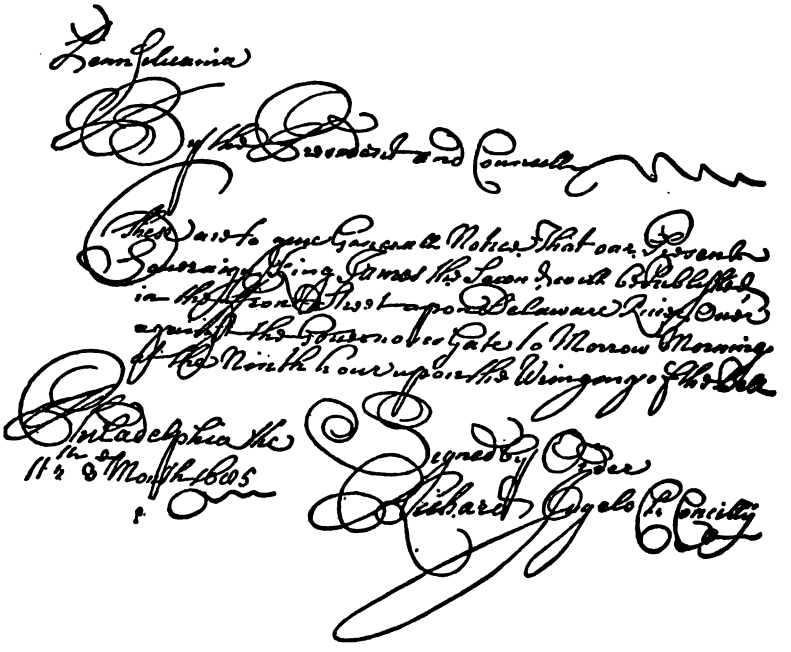
handed Governor Blackwell. It proved to be a letter dated at Whitehall, April 13, signed "Shrewsbury," addressed to William Penn, Proprietor, &c., "or in his absence, to the Governor, or Commander-in-Chief for the time being," and giving notice that his Majesty had ordered "all necessary preparation for a speedy warr with the ffrench King," so that due precautions ought to be taken in Pennsylvania. The letter was presented at a Council meeting, a month later (November 1), and after discussion, in which Markham insisted that what-



NOTICE OF THE PROCLAMATION OF JAMES II.

ever the relative positions of William and James might be, *de jure*, nobody denied that William and his wife were now ruling *de facto*, it was resolved to prepare a declaration announcing the fact, and asserting allegiance to the new monarchs. This was done the next day, signed by the Governor and all the members of the Council present—Markham, Simcock, Carpenter, and seven others—and copies sent to the sheriffs of the several counties for publication to the people.

The announcement of a war with the French, however, and the summons from Whitehall to be prepared for it, were a different matter. The Governor desired the Council "they would give him their advice upon it." Griffith Jones thought it wise to wait for further news, and deprecated military expenditure. John d'Haes thought it better to be prepared, and would notify the people "to get powder and shott." John Simcock, who was a Friend and a preacher, said he could see "no danger but from the bears and wolves. We are

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well," he said, "and in peace and quiet; let us keep ourselves so." John Hill feared that a general arming might alarm the Indians, and cause them to rise. Luke Watson, living near the Capes, and feeling more apprehensive of French ships, advised that a militia should be raised. The people in the country, he added, were alarmed, and wanted to be organized for defence, whereupon John Hill, who doubted their martial ardor, answered, "I will ingage they will not appeare one in five upon traynings!" Markham said he thought it best to be prepared; for his part he always kept his arms in order, to which Griffith Jones rejoined that every one who felt that way was at liberty to do so. Samuel Carpenter said he would not oppose any who wished to arm themselves, but the attitude of the Friends on war was well known, and was understood before Penn's patent was granted by King Charles. The debate thus drew on, and it being the seventh day of the week, was adjourned to Second-day. In the meantime Captain Blackwell, using the Sabbath, we fear, for his researches, had looked up the acts of Parliament on the subject of the militia, the military clauses in the charter of Penn, etc., etc., and now brought them forth and discoursed upon them at the adjourned meeting. Jones, Simcock, Carpenter, Hill, and the other Friends, declined to give him any advice. They retired for consultation, and came in with this conclusion. The warlike d'Haes again insisted that each man should "get his Armes ready, and furnish himselfe with powder and bullet," with which view Luke Watson and Peter Alrichs concurred; but finally the Council adjourned without action, the Governor saying he would consider the matter further, and would report to England by the first opportunity. The scene is of interest enough to be thus described in detail, for it was the beginning of a long chapter—the demand of the Mother Country upon the Colony for aid in wars in which the latter felt but remotely concerned, and which the Friends, with their conscientious wish for Peace, could not and would not promote, except under the extremest compulsion. From the day of this debate, in which d'Haes and Simcock may be taken as the typical speakers, there was only occasional cessation of this same controversy down to the day the Quaker majority was forced out of the Assembly, in the heat of the Seven Years' War, nearly seventy years later.[1]

[1] There had been a somewhat similar debate in the Council, at the end of August, when "severall Rumours of danger from y^e^ french & Indians, in conjunction with y^e^ Papists, for y^e^ Ruine of the Protestants in these parts" had been communicated by the Governor. Captain Le Tort, "a frenchman, living up in the Countrey," had supported these stories, and "Mr. Joshua Barkstead out of Maryland," had written the Governor, "advertising there was sufficient proof that y^e^ Papists in Maryland had been tampering with y^e^ french and Northern Indians, to assist to cut them off." Upon this information to the Council, "Peter Alrichs gave an historicall accot of y^e^ proceedings of y^e^ Mohawks in the years 1665," but thought there was no occasion for alarm this year. William Clark expressed his thanks for the Governor's concern over the matter, but believed the Maryland design was "wholly dead." John Simcock and Griffith Jones thought they were entirely safe, if they remained peaceable, and John Bristow thought the subject of less importance than the exclusion of members of the Council (Lloyd, Eckley and Richardson) from their

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On the 13th of December Blackwell received letters from Penn, and issued a summons for a Council meeting on the 31st, on which day, waiting more members, it adjourned until next day, and then, Thomas Lloyd, Samuel Richardson and John Eckley being present again for the first time, the Governor read a speech, in which he announced his recall. It was, he declared, very welcome to him. He had never sought the place, and had expected to quit it the preceding summer. "'Tis a good day," he declared, "I have given and I doe unfeignedly give God thanks for it (wch are not vayne words), for to say no worse I was very unequally yoaked," which was true enough. The speech, however, was not so much one of upbraiding as this passage might suggest; on the whole it had a certain air of dignity and goodwill. He declared he would endeavor to prove himself a pattern of deference to his successor,

"whilst I remaine amongst you, which y^e^ unfitness of y^e^ season and danger of my age and Constitution, to travel so long a journey as to y^e^ place whence I came, will probably constrayn me unto some months," and he closed by saying that if he might "be any way serviceable to him [Penn] or you, whilst I remain in these parts, be pleased to honor me wth your Commands. In y^e^ meantime I take my leave of you, and pray y^e^ Lord may be with you."[1]

The Blackwell episode was thus ended. The old regime was restored. Penn had sent two commissions, and directed the Council to take their choice; one of these made the whole Council the execu-

seats, in which view Simcock, Samuel Carpenter, Bartholomew Coppock, and John Curtis joined, Carpenter saying also that he had talked with two persons from Maryland who did not believe the rumors. John Curtis said the Indians were quiet, and for himself "he had no feare upon him." And finally Markham said "he apprehended that to speak of danger from y^e^ Indians would but skare y^e^ women and children." The subject was therefore laid aside, and all these good men had long been in their graves, before any alarm of the sort had much more importance in Pennsylvania. The Maryland story was a pure fabrication, and may be consulted in the histories of that State.

[1] Little is known of Blackwell, before his coming to Pennsylvania, beyond the facts stated of him by Penn, and cited in the text. From his remarks above it would appear he intended to return to New England, and probably did so, when the winter weather was over. When he came, he wrote first from Boston, November 11, 1688, to Thomas Lloyd, announcing his appointment. His commission, he said, was dated July 12, and enclosed in a letter from Penn dated August 12, which he had "lately received." In pursuance of it, he was hastening his preparations to go to Philadelphia, "but some time must necessarily be allowed me for settling my affairs here." (Pa. Archives, I., 106.) In a letter to Penn, June 24, 1689, his seal attached bears the arms which Burke in his "General Armory" assigns to the Blackwells of Sprouston Hall, Co. Norfolk, England.

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tive authority, with the power to choose their own President, and was promptly preferred, the other one being formally cancelled. Thomas Lloyd was chosen President, and business was resumed. Markham's minutes became once more brief and definite.

We must review, at this point, some accounts of the material progress of the Colony and City. Penn published at London, in 1687, a new pamphlet containing letters from Pennsylvania. One of these was from Nicholas More, dated at his country place at Green Spring, September 13, 1686. He describes the good crops, and abundant and cheap supplies of food. He reports that now wheat is beginning to be exported; "some thousands of bushels are transported this season," he says. A gentlewoman near the city, Mrs. Jeffs, from Ireland, has cured sturgeon, and merchants from Barbadoes are buying it of her for export thither. The grapes and wine-making he refers to once more, and he adds that "Madame Farmer has found out as good limestone on the School-kill as any in the World, and is building with it; she offers to sell ten thousand Bushels at six pence the Bushel upon her plantation, where there is several considerable Hills, and near to your manner of Springfield."[1] Robert Turner, writing October 13, 1686, says corn has been cheap this season; wheat has been sold for export to New England at three shillings sixpence per bushel, and "much wheat flower and bisket" has been sent to Barbadoes. "As to the Town, building goeth on," and he gives details of several houses of brick, of large size.[2]

BLACKWELL ARMS.

Ships continued to come with immigrants. David Lloyd, who had arrived July 15, 1686, wrote on the 2d of October, that "five ships are come in since our arrival; one from Bristol, with 100 passengers; one from Hull, with 160 passengers; one from New

[1] Madam Farmer's purchase was at Whitemarsh, in what is now Montgomery county. In August, 1685, Penn wrote from England to Thomas Lloyd, (and others) desiring that "the utmost friendship and courtesy" should be extended to "Major Jasper Farmer and their company. He has been an old acquaintance . . . If any housen or accommodation I have can convenience them let them have it." The Farmers arrived on the *Bristol Merchant*, John Stephens Master, on the 10th of November, 1685. Major Farmer's will was proved soon after, and it is presumed he died on the voyage. He had been an officer in the king's service, and a resident near Cork, in Ireland,—the neighborhood of Shangarry Castle, Penn's Irish estate. Letters of administration were also issued about the same time, on the estate of Jasper Farmer, Jr.; he, too, probably died on the voyage. Besides the members of the Farmer family, who came, 12 in number, they brought 19 servants.—On the same ship was Nicholas Scull, afterward Surveyor-General, who brought 7 servants.

[2] "John Readman is building one brick house for Richard Whitpain, of sixty foot long, and fifty-six foot wide. For the Widow Farmer another brick house. For Thomas Barker and Samuel Jobson two brick cellars, and chimnies for back Kitchings. Thomas Ducket is building a brick house at the Skulkill, forty-eight foot long and three stories high," etc.

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England for corn, and two from Barbadoes. All of them, and ours,[1] (of above 300 tun), had their loading here, ours for New England, and the rest for Barbadoes." James Claypoole also wrote that provisions and grain were plenty and cheap. "Here is great appearance of a Trade, and if we had small money for exchange, we should not want returns. The whale-fishery is considerable; several companies out to ketch them; there is one caught that it's thought will make several hundred barrels of oyle. This besides tobacco, and skins, and furs, we have for commerce." Further purchases of land had been made of the Indians. Thomas Holme, the Surveyor-General, wrote in October, 1686: "We have made three purchases of the Indians, which added unto the six former sales they made us, will, I believe, be land enough for planters for this age." "The kings," he adds, "salute our Governor; they hardly ever see any of us but they ask with much affection when he will come to them again; we are upon very good terms with them."

The city's activities, reflected in the minutes of the Council, include the recommendation to the Justices, July 4, 1685, that "a watch" should be kept; a complaint, about the same time, "against country butchers bringing their meat to towne on other days than marquett days"; the appearance and qualification of Major Dyer, Collector of the king's customs for New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and of his deputy Christopher Snowden, who was to be stationed at Philadelphia;[2] the granting of licenses for keeping "ordinaries," the admonition of those who kept them, and the occasional revocation of some of the licenses;[3] the clearing out of the "caves" on the river bank, which it was charged had become places of ill repute;[4] a petition from Henry Jones, "setting forth y^e^ badness of the way from Moyamensin to Philadelphia"; an order, (November, 1686, reënforced later), to lay out "a more comodious road from y^e^ broad street in Philadelphia to y^e^ falls of Delaware"; a complaint of inhabitants of Radnor that part of their road leading "to the ferry of Philadelphia, is ffenced in, and more likely to be"; a petition of James Fox, "in y^e^ behalf of y^e^ Plymouth friends," asking a confirmation of the

[1] This was the *Amity*, Richard Dymond master, from London.

[2] Major Dyer was superseded after a short service, and fell under some suspicion, and being elected to the Council, 1687, was not allowed to take his seat. His successor as Collector was James Williams.

[3] Feb. 15 and 16, licenses were granted to William Frampton, (in place of Thomas Holiman), Thomas Hooton, and Benjamin Chambers, with security of 50 pounds each; and to Alice Guest, George Bartholomew, and Mary Lichfield, with security, 20 pounds. Mary, however, was licensed for four months only, "to give her time to get in her Debts, and provide herself some other way of living," and Joseph Knight, was given three months "to sell off the drink and provision he has in his house, and afterwards to provide some other way for a Lively hood."

[4] March 1, 1685-6, Wm. Frampton requested the removal of the caves before his door, as he was "about building a Wharfe." A year later, April 13, 1687, upon an urgent letter from Penn, notice was given to the occupants of the caves to vacate them by the 20th of next month.

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road laid out to that settlement; and another of y^e^ inhabitants at y^e^ center of Philadelphia," for a Fair at that place, which was responded to by orders that one be held there on the 30th of August, (1688); a petition, February, 1688–9, from Robert Turner, John Tissick, Thomas Budd, Robert Ewer, Samuel Carpenter, and John Fuller, "setting forth their designe in setting up a bank ffor money, &c., requesting Incouragement ffrom the Goverr and Councill ffor their proceeding therein."

This last item suggests what was surely the first public proposal for the establishment of a bank in America. It was no doubt an outgrowth from a plan outlined by Thomas Budd—one of the six Petitioners—in his pamphlet of 1685, "Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey." In that he proposed "a bank of monies and credit," to lend on the security of real estate, and public warehouses for storing grain, with certificates of deposit which should "pass from one to another as money."[1] There were perhaps not half a dozen banks in Europe at the time this petition was presented;—the Bank of England was not established until 1694.

Three men had arrived at Philadelphia at the time Blackwell quitted the Governorship who must be particularly introduced, for all of them were of marked character, and each played a notable part in the affairs of the city. These three were William Bradford, printer, David Lloyd, lawyer, and George Keith, teacher and preacher. Bradford had come from London, in 1685, bringing with him a printing-press and type; he brought also letters of introduction from George Fox, and was expected to be the printer of the Colony, under direction of those "in authority." Lloyd arrived in July, 1686; he had been commissioned by Penn, before his departure, Attorney-General for the Province and the Lower Counties, and he was appointed by the Council, in 1686, clerk of the County Court, in place of Patrick Robinson. Keith came in the summer of 1689 from Freehold, in New Jersey, having been engaged to teach the Friends' School, which had now been established on Fourth street, below Chestnut, where for many years it remained.[2]

[1] The Council's minutes contain no suggestion of any definite action on the petition. Governor Blackwell improved the opportunity to discourse upon the enterprise. "The Goverr Acquainted them that some things of that Nature had been proposed and Dedicated to y^e^ proprietor, by himself, some months since, out of New England, to which he believed he should receive his answer by y^e^ ffirst Shipping hether out of England: yett withall acquainted them that he did Know no reason why they might not give their personal bills to such as would take them as money to pass, as merchants usually did bills of Exchange, but that it might be expected that such as usually Clipp'd or Coyn'd money would be apt to Counterfitt their bills, unless more than ordinary care were taken to Prevent it, which might be their Ruine, as well as y^e^ People's that should Deale with them."

[2] William Bradford was born in Leicestershire, May 20, 1663, and married the daughter of Andrew Sowle, the printer, of Shoreditch, London. He remained in Philadelphia until 1693, when he removed to New York, becoming the Crown printer of that city, and died there May 23, 1752. He was buried in the graveyard of Trinity Church, and his memory has been duly honored, as the first printer of the Middle Colonies. George Fox's letters of introduction present him as "a civil young man, convinced of the truth," and says he proposes "to set up the trade of printing Friends' books," but his attachment to the Friends was apparently slight, and ceased with the Keithian

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The activities of David Lloyd must be referred to, as occasion arises, in the course of our narrative. For more than forty years no man's name was more quoted in Pennsylvania, except that of the Founder, but his activities relate more to the history of Pennsylvania than of Philadelphia. Bradford, an energetic young man of twenty-two, had come to Philadelphia as its first printer,—the only one at that time, in America, between Boston and the City of Mexico. New York had yet no press. Maryland had none. In Virginia the views of Governor Berkeley against printing were still upheld. The operations of Bradford were therefore a matter of serious responsibility to the authorities in Philadelphia. His first issue, so far as is known, was an almanac, making the first printed pamphlet in the Middle Colonies.[1] It was completed late in 1685, being "an Almanack for the Year of Grace 1686," and speedily attracted official attention. At a meeting of the Council on the 9th of January, 1685–6, Markham gave information that in "the Chronology of the Almanac sett forth by Samll Atkins of Philadelphia, and Printed by Wm. Bradford of y^{e} same place," there were the words "the beginning of Government by the Lord Penn." The title given the Governor evidently struck the Council as unfit; they sent for Atkins, and ordered him "to blott out y^{e} words Lord Penn," and also for Bradford, "and gave him Charge not to print any thing but what shall have Lycence from y^{e} Council."[2]

controversy of 1691-3. Other facts concerning him, germane to his work, will sufficiently appear in the main text.

David Lloyd was born in 1656, in the parish of Manavon, Montgomeryshire, Wales, and came to Philadelphia, with his wife Sarah, arriving on the *Amity*, from London, Richard Dymond master, July 15, 1686. He took thereafter a leading part in the affairs of Pennsylvania, being conspicuous in the controversies of the popular and the Proprietary factions, to the end of his life. His wife Sarah died, and he married Grace Growdon, daughter of Joseph Growdon. He removed to Chester in 1710, and died there 1731, leaving no children. His wife survived him twenty-nine years. Their remains were placed in the Friends' burying-ground at Chester.

George Keith, a Scotchman, born in Aberdeenshire, one of the ablest and most active of the Friends of the age of Penn and Barclay, companion of Penn and Fox in the tour in Germany in 1677, had come to New Jersey between 1684 and 1687, and had become Surveyor-General of East Jersey; in 1687 he located the boundary line between the East and West divisions of the Province. Coming to Philadelphia, in 1689, he taught the Friends' School for one year, and quitted the city, after his rupture with the Friends, in 1693, and went to England. Later, (about 1700), he received ordination in the Church of England, revisited this country, upon a special errand of reclaiming the Friends, and after two years' stay returned, when he was given the living of Edburton, in Sussex—a small and poor one—and died there 1714.

[1] The first bound book was undoubtedly Thomas Budd's "Good Order Established in America," printed here by Bradford, about the same time. (Cf. Hildeburn's Issues of the Press in Penna., 1685–1784.)

[2] This incident, laboriously magnified by some writers on our history, signified the general caution as to printing, and a very reasonable concern lest the newly set-up official press should be charged with as-

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Two more such experiences Bradford underwent—the second being final. In Blackwell's time that fussy and foolish person had him summoned before the Council and reprimanded for printing the "Frame of Government" without authority. The responsibility for the printing, whatever it was, belonged to Joseph Growdon, and David Lloyd may have been behind him. Bradford's affairs in Philadelphia reached their crisis in company with those of George Keith, and the two shook the dust of the place from their shoes about the same time. Keith had served but a year as teacher of the School when he began to be troublesome to the Friends. His movements in England and in this country, between 1680 and 1690, clearly suggest an "uneasy spirit," and he was no doubt quite convinced of his own superiority to those in charge of affairs on the Delaware. He first proposed amendments to the Friends' code of "Discipline," which they offended him by not approving. Then he sharply criticised the action of the Quaker magistrates in the arrest of Babbitt, a so-called "privateer," who with his crew had stolen a small vessel from the wharf, early in 1691, and going down the river had "committed divers robberies." According to the account left us, "Peter Boss, with a few more," took the offenders, "without gun, sword, or spear," so that there could have been little infraction of the Friends' principles concerning peace, but Keith, we are told, "drest the affair in the most aggravating colors," and endeavored to draw the sympathies of such of the stricter Mennonites as considered the exercise of the magistracy unlawful to a Christian. With

suming for Penn an excessive and presumptuous title. He was, of course, in no way entitled to be called "Lord Penn," and his enemies, in this country and England, would have been quick to remark the presumption. In a letter, July 28, 1688, he wrote to Turner and others: "Have a care of printing there, for it may cost me and y^e^ Province dearr; it being a Royalty not exprest, and I fear I am accountable for it," [etc.]

A copy of the Bradford Almanac is in the Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, (purchased, at the sale of Dr. King's (of Newport, R. I.) library, in New York, for $520). Only one other is known to exist. It shows the words "the Lord Penn" blotted out by an inked "quad," and under the head of "Errata," explanation is made that it should read "William Penn, Proprietor and Governor."

The title of the Almanac is "Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense; or America's Messenger, Being an Almanack For the Year of Grace 1686. Wherein is contained [etc.] By Samuel Atkyns, Student in the Mathematics and Astrology. Printed and sold by William Bradford. Sold also by the Author and H. Murrey, in Philadelphia, and Philip Richards in New York, 1685." Atkins, in a note "To the Reader," explains that by his sojourns in this Province, in Maryland, and elsewhere, he has found how much the people needed an almanac. He had intended to make it more complete, by inserting "a figure of the moon's eclipse, a small draught of the form of this city, & a Table to find the hour of the day by the shadow of a staff"; but "not having tools to carve them," etc., he leaves these till next year. Bradford's Note, showing his plans and expectations, is worth giving in full:

"The Printer to the Readers.

"Hereby understand that after great Charge and Trouble, I have brought that great Art and Mystery of Printing into this part of America, believing it may be of great service to you in several respects, hoping to find Encouragement not only in this Almanack, but what else I shall enter upon for the use and service of the Inhabitants of these Parts. Some Irregularities, there be in this Diary, which I desire you to pass by this year; for being lately come hither, my matereals were Misplaced, and out of order, whereupon I was forced to use Figures and Letters of various sizes, but understanding the want of something of this nature, and being importuned thereto, I ventured to make publick this, desiring you to accept thereof, and by the next, (as I find encouragement) shall endeavor to have things compleat. And for the ease of Clarks, Scrivniers, &c. I propose to print blank Bills, Bonds, Letters of Attourney, Indentures, Warrants, &c. And what else presents itself, wherein I shall be ready to serve you; and remain your Friend.

"W. Bradford."

"Philadelphia the 28th
"10th month, 1685."

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Thomas Fitzwater and William Stockdale, both preachers among the Friends, and prominent men, the latter a member of the Council, he established a bitter controversy over questions of doctrine, and as the general quarrel developed he stigmatized Thomas Lloyd as "an impudent man," and "a pitiful Governor," while Dirck Op den Græff, who was a magistrate at Germantown, he denounced in a public meeting, as an "impudent rascal." The local ferment was great, and that part of the population, as yet not very large, who resented the Quaker rule, were convinced that its disruption was at hand.[1] Keith had, for a time, a considerable body of followers, including a few men of prominence,[2] and they established meetings, and assumed to organize a separate body of "Friends." In June, 1693, the "Meeting of Public Friends in Philadelphia—*i. e.*, a gathering of the ministers belonging to the Society—issued a formal "testimony" against him, setting forth the several offenses which they ascribed to him, chiefly disorderly conduct, and disowning him as a member. This was signed by twenty-eight persons, including Thomas Lloyd, Nicholas Waln, John Simcock, Hugh Roberts, Samuel Jennings, and others, and subsequently the monthly and quarterly meetings of Philadelphia approved this action, and the Yearly Meeting, at Burlington, in September, 1692, drew up and issued its "testimony," which was signed by 214 persons. Keith, then, in 1693, went to London, and appealed to the yearly meeting there, but it, in May, 1694, confirmed the action taken in America.

Bradford was drawn into the controversy by becoming the printer of Keith's pamphlets—his "defamatory writings," as Gough calls them. One of these related to the Babbitt incident, others to various phases of the dispute. They were all vigorous, for Keith was a ready writer, and a keen polemic. The deaths of Fox and Barclay had left him, as he was charged with thinking, heir to the leadership of the Friends' Society. Each new tract from his pen was therefore quick fuel for the already lively fire. The magistrates could not overlook the fact that their official press was being effectively used against them. In August, 1692, two of the Justices, Richardson and Ewer, issued a warrant against Bradford and a man named McComb, a tavern-keeper, for printing and circulating a pamphlet of Keith's,

[1] Cf. Dr. Seidensticker's translation of (probably) Daniel Falkner's letter, August 7, 1694: "I wrote from London that in our times a teacher has stepped forward among them, [the Friends] prophesying of a great earthquake. This has here in America begun to manifest itself among them. For a learned and godly man, George Keith by name . . . commenced two years ago to lay bare their errors and pride," [etc.] (Pa. Mag., XI.)

[2] Proud says, (I., 369): "Some of the principal persons who adhered to Keith, and were men of rank, character, and reputation, in these provinces, and divers of them great preachers and much followed, were Thomas Budd, George Hutchinson, Robert Turner, Francis Rawle, John Hart, Charles Reade, &c."

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called "An Appeal from the Twenty-eight Judges"—the ministers who had signed the testimony of disownment—upon the ground that the pamphlet was an attack upon the civil magistrates, malicious and seditious in its character, etc. The proceedings in the case occupied some months. If we are to follow Bradford's own narrative, we shall find him making a heroic defense against harsh judgment, and if we further were to accept the enlargements upon it by writers unsympathetic with the Quaker justices, we should think the proceedings a near approach to the court of Jeffreys, in the "Bloody Assize." As a matter of fact, the magistrates did little more than make a show of their authority; to speak of their course as oppressive would be the abuse of a respectable word. They did, of course, desire to keep the printing-press under their control. Free printing was as yet unknown, and not to be known for a long time. Refusing to give bail, Bradford and McComb were committed to prison, and for some time nominally confined, but as the jail of Philadelphia in 1692 was simply one end of a common dwelling-house, (that of Patrick Robinson, the refractory Clerk), and as the sheriff, who was the jailor, allowed them to make frequent visits to their homes, the hardships of their imprisonment may readily be estimated. To preserve the character of martyrs and sufferers was, indeed, attended with difficulty, for desiring to address a letter to the Court from their "prison cells," they returned from their homes with the document, to find the jail locked up, and the sheriff absent with the key, "so as they could not get in, they signed that paper in the entry or porch!" [1]

Keith and Bradford were tried December 10, 1692, and the trial is of interest quite as much on account of the liberal action of the judges, as for any other reason. Bradford demanded that the jury should find not only whether he was the printer of the pamphlet, but also whether it was, in fact, seditious. The judges yielded him this point. Samuel Jennings, whom Keith describes in his numerous pamphlets as a cruel oppressor, and malignant persecutor, charged the jury to find (1) whether the publication did not tend to weaken the authority of the magistrates; (2) whether it did not tend to the disturbance of the peace; (3) whether Bradford did not print it without his name. "For the first time, it is believed, in the history of English jurisprudence a court of competent jurisdiction left to the jury the question of the determination of an alleged libelous paper. The modern doctrine of the liberty of the Press was established not in the trial of John Peter Zenger in New York, but in the trial of William Bradford in Pennsylvania, and the encomiums which have

[1] "This commitment, though it called forth bitter denunciations in the pamphlets printed by his supporters at the time, which have been echoed at later periods, was the ordinary and necessary result of the failure to furnish bail." (Pennypacker, Pennsylvania Colonial Cases, pp. 132-3.)

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been bestowed upon Andrew Hamilton, the lawyer, must be given with stronger emphasis to Samuel Jennings and his colleagues, the Quaker judges."[1]

The jury disagreed, and the trial failed. Nominally recommitted, neither Keith nor Bradford was probably confined, and in a few months they both left the city, the former for London, with his appeal to the Yearly Meeting, the latter for New York with his printing-press. For six years no printing was done in Pennsylvania, until, 1699, the Friends brought another press from England, and put it in charge of Reynier Jansen, who issued for them religious tracts, almanacs, etc., and died in 1706. Tiberius Johnson, Joseph Reyners, and Jacob Taylor followed him, as printers, and in 1712, Andrew Bradford came from New York, and became the Philadelphia printer. As he was William Bradford's son, and much the same people still ruled here, it must be presumed that the First Printer's memories of 1692 had softened by the lapse of time.

To the period we have just passed over belongs the rather mysterious first city charter. The original document, discovered in 1887, among papers preserved by Mr. Alexander Biddle, is signed by Thomas Lloyd, Deputy Governor, "with the advice and assent of the Provincial Council," bears date the 20th of the Third Month, (May), 1691, and is endorsed as recorded "in the Office of Rolls and Public Registry," by David Lloyd, Deputy. This charter, it is evident, was seriously meant; it is quite as clear that it could have been in operation, if at all, only a short time. It recites a petition "of the Inhabitants & Settlers of this Town of Philadelphia, being some of the first Adventurers and Purchasers within this Province," and it erects "the said Town & Borrough of Philadelphia into a City, which said City shall extend the Limits & Bounds as it is layd out between Delaware and Schoolkill." Humphrey Morrey is appointed Mayor, John Delavall Recorder, David Lloyd Town Clerk, etc.; Samuel Richardson, Griffith Owen, Anthony Morris, Robert Ewer, John Holmes, and Francis Rawle, Aldermen, (they being "the present Justices"); and Samuel Carpenter, Thomas Budd, John Jones, John Otter, Charles Sanders, Zechariah Whitpaine, John Day, Philip Richards, Alexander Berdsley, James Fox, Thomas Pascall, and Philip James, Common Councilmen.

The minutes of the Provincial Council, between the 21st of

[1] Pennypacker, Pennsylvania Colonial Cases, p. 138, et seq.—Judge Pennypacker analyzes these trials ably and conclusively. In the trial of Peter Boss, the day before that of Keith and Bradford, the justices had admitted testimony to prove the truth of the intimated libels on Samuel Jennings. It proved to be "the merest heresay," and Jennings says, (State of the Case, published 1694), he requested the Court to let Keith, (who appeared as Boss's counsel), read all he could.—The story of the "form" of type, from which the pamphlet of Bradford had been printed, being "pied" by the jury, when produced by the sheriff, before they could see what it was, is shown by Judge Pennypacker to be an invention: Keith's own report of the trial proves that it remained intact at the end of two days after being sent to the jury.

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November, 1690, and the 26th of April, 1693, are lost. We have therefore no record of the granting of this city charter other than that which the document itself furnishes. But in the Recorder's Office of the County of Philadelphia, there is recorded[1] a proceeding, in 1753, in the nature of perpetuated testimony, to establish a right of public use of the Blue Anchor landing-place. This recites the minutes of the Provincial Council, August 3, 1691, and these state that "Humphrey Murrey, the present Mayor of the city of Philadelphia," then appeared before the Council, and asked that the end of the street near the Blue Anchor be laid out, whereupon it was ordered that "the said Mayor and the Aldermen of Philadelphia have notice to attend," etc., and proceeds that "the Council attended with the Mayor and some of the Citizens," at the time appointed—with other allusions to the corporate officials. The record is enough to show very clearly that three months after the granting of the charter there was at least a nominal organization under it. Whether Penn disapproved the charter, or whether it fell into abeyance before Fletcher's arrival, or at that time, are so far matters of conjecture.[2]

Kalendarium Pennſilvanienſe.

OR,

America's Meſſinger.

BEING AN

ALMANACK

For the Year of Grace, 1686.

Wherein is contained both the Engliſh & Forreign Account, the Motions of the Planets through the Signs, with the Luminaries, Conjunctions, Aſpects, Eclipſes; the riſing, ſetting, and ſtating of the Moon, with the time when ſhe paſſeth by or is with the moſt eminent fixed Stars: Sun riſing and ſetting, and the ſtate of High-Water at the City of Philadelphia, &c.

With Chronologies, and many other Notes, Rules, and Tables, very fitting for every man to know & obſerve; all which is accommodated to the Longitude of the Province of Pennſilvania, and Latitude of 40 Degr. north, with a table of Houſes for the ſame, which may indifferently ſerve New England, New York, Eaſt & Weſt Jerſey, Maryland, and moſt parts of Virginia.

By SAMUEL ATKINS.
Student in the Mathematicks and Aſtrology.

And the Stars in their Courſes fought againſt Siſera, Judg. 5. 20.

Printed and Sold by *William Bradford*, ſold alſo by the Author and *H. Murrey* in *Philadelphia*, and *Philip Richards* in *New-York*; 1685.

REDUCED FAC-SIMILE OF TITLE PAGE OF THE BRADFORD ALMANAC.

The administration of Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, the first and only royal Governor of Pennsylvania, lasted from April 26, 1693, when he arrived from New York, and had his commission publicly read in the "mercate place" with more or less ceremony, until March 26, 1695, when, at a meeting of the Council, Markham, who served as his deputy, announced that William and Mary had restored Penn to the government. The Fletcher episode, therefore, covered a little less than two years. It was a repetition of many phases of the Blackwell period, but on a larger scale, and with features of difference.

Fletcher was an English soldier, who had served under William before and after he became King; his appointment to be Governor of New York, in 1692, was a reward for this service.[3] The commission

[1] Deed-Book H, No. 7, p. 92.

[2] Cf. Allinson and Penrose's Philadelphia, p. XLV., et seq., and p. 4, et seq.; also Pa. Mag., X, 61.

[3] Comparatively little is known, however, concerning Fletcher previous to his arrival in America, and nothing at all after his return to England, (1698), except the circumstances connected with the hearing then granted him by the Lords of Trade, (on the

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he now produced at Philadelphia extended his authority as Governor and "Captain-General" for the King, over Pennsylvania and the lower counties, and nullified at a stroke not only the governmental authority of Penn, but inferentially all that had been done under his charter. It did not mention Penn by name, but it recited that "by reason of great Neglects and miscarriages in the government of our province of Pennsylvania in America, and the absence of the proprietor, the same is fallen into Disorder and confusion, by meanes whereof, not only the publick peace and administration of Justice . . . is broken and violated, but there is also great want of provision for the Guard and defence of our said province against our enemies, whereby our said province and the adjacent Colonies are much exposed," etc.

William may have thought affairs at Philadelphia had fallen into disorder, and also that Penn was a Jacobite, but the chief reason, no doubt, for seizing Pennsylvania by royal prerogative was disclosed in the passages last cited. The great European struggle between the Grand Alliance, headed by William, and the power of France, directed by Louis XIV., was still in progress, though drawing towards a pause through the Peace of Ryswick (1697). Frontenac, the French governor of Canada, had been menacing and harassing the English in New England and New York, and striving to secure the alliance of the Iroquois. The sending of Fletcher was a war measure, and help for the general struggle against the French was promptly demanded of Pennsylvania, when the Assembly came together in the spring of 1693.[1]

Fletcher's first act was to call a Council. The members of the

charges of complicity with pirates), which resulted unfavorably to him, but which is not to be safely considered an impartial trial. His wife died in that year, in London, and was buried in St. James Church, Piccadilly. In his defence to the Lords of Trade he says: "And here, my Lords, let me presume to say that I had my share in the Irish Warr, and do appeal to all the Commanders in that army as to my behaviour in it, and whether in that, or near thirty years' service before, ever any complaint was brought before against me." He had, it seems, a "small patrimony" in Ireland, but it is conjectured, from the seal he used, that he came from Cheshire, in England. (Cf. Memorial History of New York, I., Chap. 13.)

[1] Some weight may have been given to the charges that Penn was still attached to James, and the Keithian quarrel, of course, had been much magnified in London. Penn had been in great danger, ever since the winter of 1688, and the overthrow of James. He was intending to come again to Pennsylvania, in 1691, when, as he returned from the funeral of George Fox, in January, (1690-1). he narrowly escaped arrest upon a warrant sworn out by Fuller, the "informer," and considering his situation dangerous, under accusation by such a villain, he "secluded himself" for some time. He had already been three times before the Council, or the Court of King's Bench, and each time discharged.

Penn had been apprehensive, as early as 1692, of the effect of the reports from Philadelphia, and had written in June of that year to a friend here, urging the healing of the "breaches and animosities," "for else the Governor of New York is like to have all; if he has it not already." (Proud, I., 357.) And in December, 1693, writing again, he said: "The trial of George Keith has been industriously spread all about the nation, especially at London, at the Court, Westminster Hall, and the Parliament House . . the advantage the disaffected among us make by it against unity, against Friends having power, against me and you in particular, are great and lamentable." (Proud, I., 402.)

Penn was at first inclined to sympathize with Keith when the controversy arose, but vigorous remonstrances were sent him from his Philadelphia friends. (See a letter from Hugh Roberts, in Pa. Mag., XVIII., 205, severely describing Keith's behavior, and deprecating any sympathy for him on Penn's part.) Keith's attacks on Penn, as soon as he found he could not have his support, were especially malignant. (Cf. his pamphlets.)

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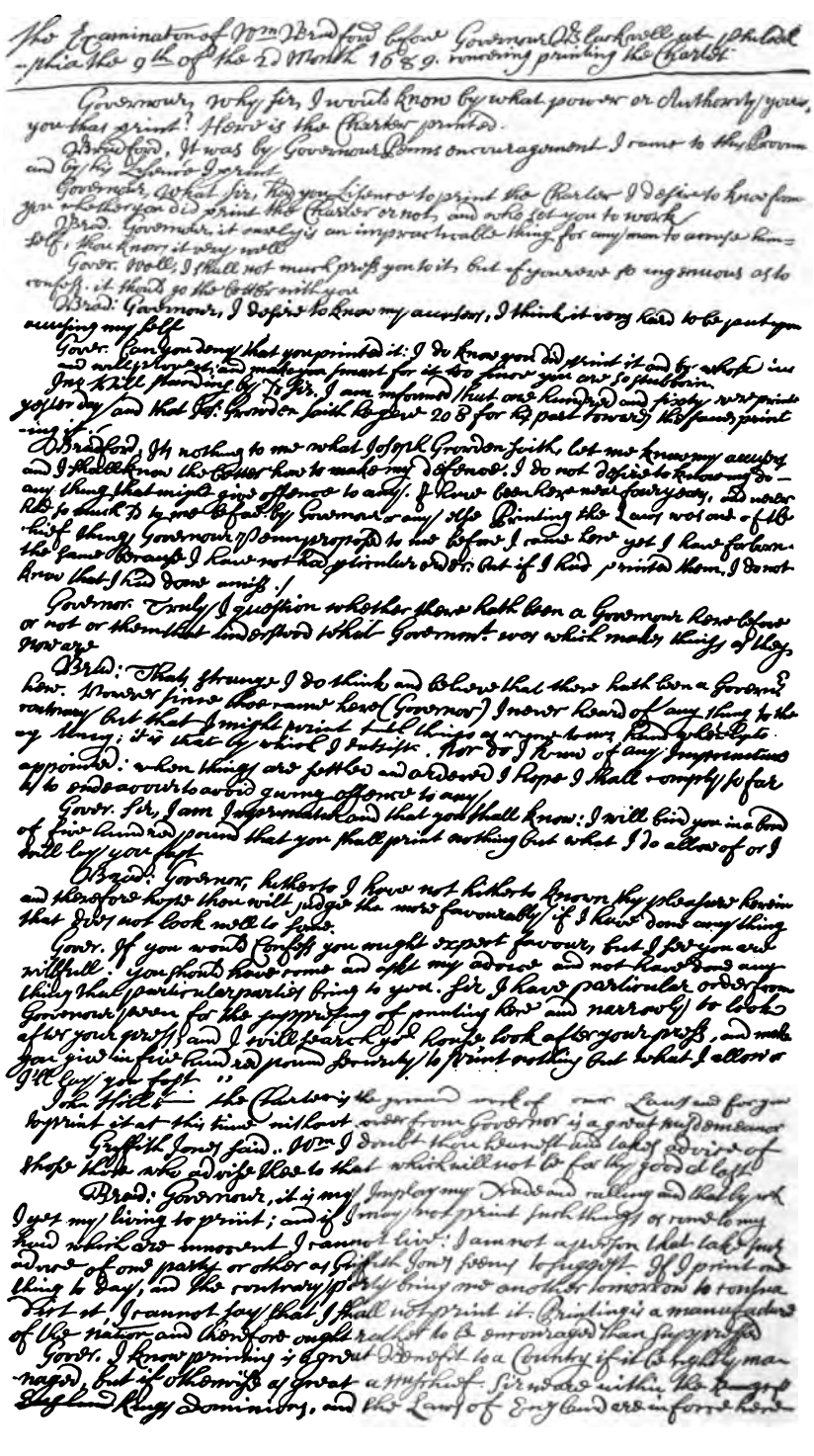
FAC-SIMILE OF WILLIAM BRADFORD'S REPORT OF HIS EXAMINATION. FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.



The Examination of Wm Bradford before Governour Dr Markwell at Philadelphia the 9th of the 2d Month 1689. touching printing the Charter.

Governour, Why Sir, I would know by what power or Authority you, you that print? How is the Charter printed.

Bradford. It was by Governour Penns encouragement I came to the Country and by his Licence I printed.

Governour, What Sir, Has you Licence to print the Charter I desire to know from you whether you did print the Charter or not, and who set you to work

Brad. Governour, it surely is an improvable thing for any man to accuse himself, You know it very well

Govr. Well, I shall not much presse you to it, but if you were so ingenuous as to confess it, it would go the better with you

Brad: Governour, I desire to know my accuser, I think it very hard to be put upon accusing my self

Govr. Can you deny that you printed it: I do know you did print it and by whose ins and entreaty, and make no more ado for it to know you are so shuffling

Brad. A little standing by Sir, I am informed that one Hundred and sixty were printed yesterday and that Mr. Growden saith he gave 20 s for the pains of printing it.

Bradford, It's nothing to me what Joseph Growden saith, Let me know my accuser and I shall know the better how to make my defence. I do not desire to take any advantage of any thing that might give offence to any. I have been here near four years, and never like to dwell to be accused by Governour or any else touching the Laws and of the like nature, Governour Penn proposed to me before I came here yet I have forborne the same hitherto. I have not had a particular order. But if I had printed them, I do not know that I had done amiss.

Governor. Truly I question whether there hath been a Governour here before or not or them that did enjoyed what Government was which made things of that nature

Brad: That I strange I do think and believe that there hath been a Governour here. However since there came here Governour I never heard of any thing to the contrary but that I might print such things as any other freeman of this Country; it is that by which I subsist. Nor do I know of any Impertinency appointed: when things are settled and ordered I hope I shall comply so far to endeavour to avoid giving offence to any.

Govr. Sir, I am informed and that you shall know: I will bind you in a bond of five hundred pound that you shall print nothing but what I do allow of or I will be your foe.

Brad. Governor, hitherto I have not hitherto known thy pleasure therein and therefore hope thou will judge the more favourably, if I have done any thing that doth not look well to you.

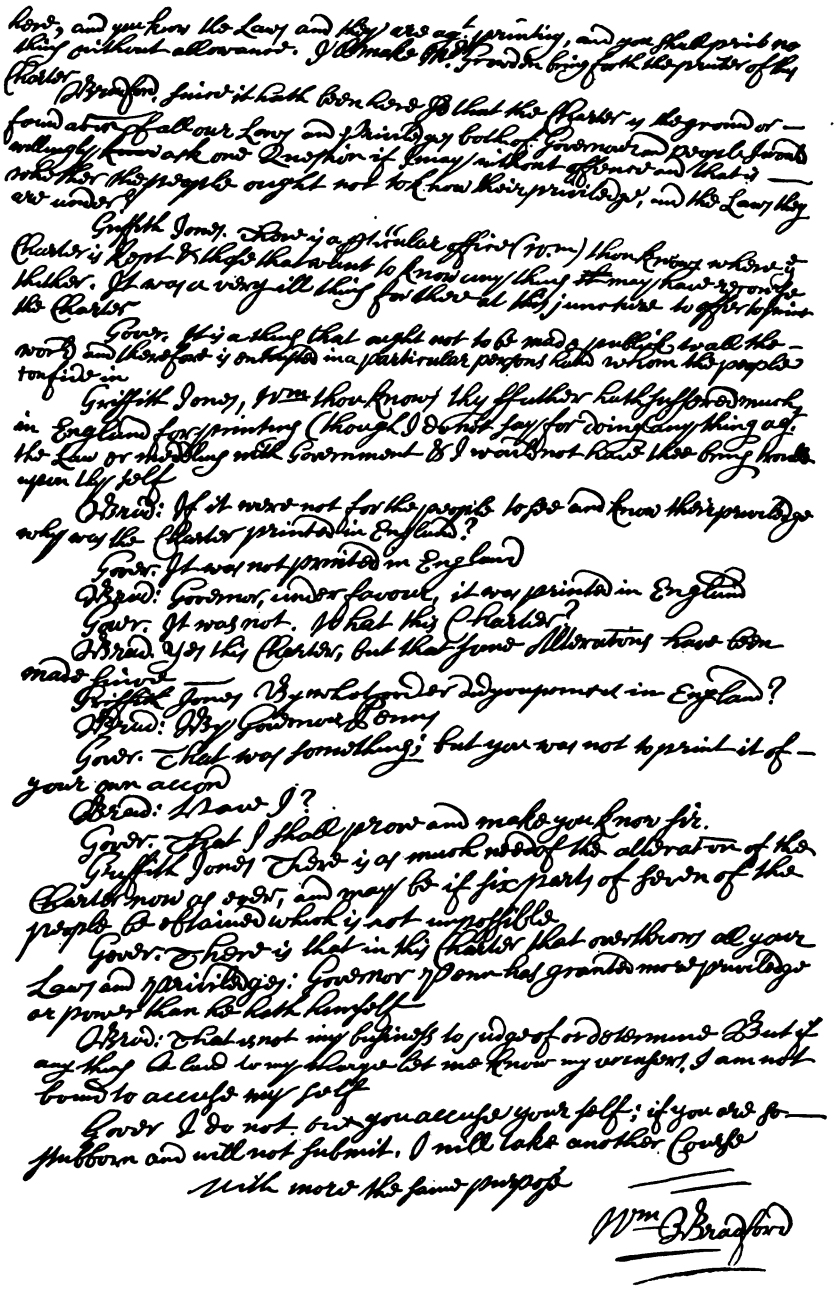
Govr. If you would confess you might expect favour, but I perceive are willfull. You should have come and spoke my advice and not have done any thing that particular parties bring to you. for I have particular order from Governour Penn for the suppressing of printing here and narrowly to look after your presses and I will search your house look after your press, and make you give in five hundred pounds Security to print nothing but what I allow or else I will be your foe.

Joh. Hill. the Charter is the ground work of our Laws and for you to print it at this time without order from Governour is a great misdemeanor

Griffith Jones said.. Wm I doubt there be with us take Servants of those that are wise like to that which will not be for thy good to do

Brad. Governour, it is my employment and calling and thereby not I get my living to print; and if I may not print such things or rule to my hand which are innocent I cannot live. I am not a person that take just advice of one party or other as Griffith Jones seems to suggest. If I print any thing to day, and the contrary party bring me another to morrow to compare it with I cannot say that I shall not print it. Printing is a manufacture of the nature and should not be discouraged than suppressed.

Govr. I know printing is a great benefit to a Country if it be rightly managed, but if otherwise it is a great mischief. Sir we are within the Kings Ships and Kings Dominions, and the Laws of England are in force here



Council, under the law, were elective, three from each county. These members he disregarded, and summoned whom he saw fit. Thomas Lloyd, first sent for, declined to serve, and Markham was appointed in his place. Andrew Robeson, Robert Turner, Patrick Robinson, Lasse Cock and William Salway accepted seats, but the others who had been in authority—Simcock, Cook, Owen, Richardson, Yardley,

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Stockdale, etc.—were conspicuous by their absence. Penn wrote, later, criticising the neglect to make protest against the overturn of the government, and to Fletcher he also wrote, advising him "to tread softly and with caution," there having been no proceeding of *quo warranto*, or judgment passed against the charter. The Crown of England, he intimated in another letter, might speak "in the voice of the law," but the Fletcher appointment, he declared, "is sic volo, sic jubeo," which was altogether true.

As for the Assembly, Fletcher thought it too large. It consisted of six members from each county, but in New York the rule was to choose but two from a county. The smaller the body the less trouble it was likely to give. The Council was asked for its opinion, and at least one member intimated the unwisdom of "sudden alteration," but it was decided to assign Philadelphia and Newcastle four members each, and the other counties three, making twenty in the Assembly, instead of thirty-six.[1] These were accordingly chosen at the elections, and met at Philadelphia May 15. As they confronted Fletcher, to be qualified, he found many of the men who had been the back-bone of the young community in the period before his arrival, —Samuel Carpenter, Samuel Richardson, John White and James Fox from Philadelphia, with Growdon, Simcock, George Maris, David Lloyd, Samuel Preston, and others like-minded, from the other counties. They were not all Quakers, for six took the oath, while fourteen made the modified "declaration" permitted by the law to tender consciences. Growdon was chosen Speaker, and then for a fortnight the royal governor, supported cautiously by his Council, wrestled with the Assembly, he for methods and measures resembling the exercise of the "prerogative" expressed in his commission, and they to preserve for the people the liberties and the laws under which they had been living before he came, and which they intended should survive his departure. On a smaller field, and without much heat or acrimony—for Fletcher had more tact than Blackwell, and Growdon had a prudent temper—it reproduced the experiences of the early Stuarts with their Parliaments.[2]

The Assembly's firmness compelled Fletcher to recognize the validity of eighty-six of the "former laws," and thirty new ones were passed. One of these, a "bill of supply," laid the first tax in Penn-

[1] Joseph Growdon and six others—Bristow, Delavall, Simcock, Hugh Roberts, Samuel Lewis, and Richard Hough—who were members of the Council chosen by the people, had sent a protest to Fletcher, against any other course than that prescribed by the constitution and laws. At the meeting of Fletcher's Council, May 5, it was decided to pay no attention to this.

[2] The scope of this work does not permit further analysis of this interesting subject, which belongs rather to the history of Pennsylvania than of Philadelphia. It will well repay a new and careful examination. The accounts of it in our histories are generally inadequate, and most of them are not merely wanting in insight, but marred by errors as to the facts. Thus, Gordon, (Hist. of Pa., 105), says that until Fletcher came, William and Mary "had never been publicly acknowledged." As we have seen this was done, with due formality, in November, 1689, more than three years before Fletcher's arrival.

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sylvania—one penny in the pound on the clear value of real and personal estate, and a poll-tax of six shillings per head—to be for the King's use, with the request that one-half be given to the Governor.[1] This was the response to the letter of the Queen, addressed to Fletcher, and sent by him to the Assembly on the second day of the session, in which she asked aid from the other colonies to defend New York against the French. Fletcher had told the Assembly that such aid as they would vote should not be "dipt in blood." The preamble to the act recites that "we do humbly present the said King and Queen with the free gift of the rates and assessments hereinafter mentioned." A militia act was proposed but not passed. One of the new laws related to the education of children, and another to the establishment of a post-office. It was intended, Fletcher explained, "to continue [the post routes] by land from Virginia to Boston," and legislation had already been passed in New York to that end.

WILLIAM BRADFORD'S TOMBSTONE.[2]

The new laws and the confirmed old ones were published, "att the market place," June 3, by the new sheriff, John Claypoole, who had been appointed in place of resolute John White.[3]

Fletcher met the Assembly a second time, in the spring of 1694, but to no purpose. It convened, according to summons, in April, but he was absent, treating with the Indians at Albany, and it was prorogued by Markham to May 22. When it reassembled, with David Lloyd as Speaker—Joseph Growdon not being a member—the

[1] The law in full is in Proud, I., 391, et seq. The amount of tax levied under it shows pretty well the relative wealth of the several counties, as follows, (shillings and pence omitted): Philadelphia, £314; New Castle, £143; Sussex, £101; Kent, £88; Chester, £65; Bucks, £48. (See Col. Rec., I., 462.)

[2] The tombstone in the above illustration represents the original one placed over Bradford's grave in Trinity churchyard, New York city. Being broken, it was removed in 1863, and placed in the hall of the New York Historical Society. It was replaced by another similar stone, which marks his grave.

[3] White, as stated in the text, had been chosen to the Assembly from Philadelphia county; probably his removal from the sheriff's office by Fletcher increased his popularity. He was the same person, I infer, as the John White—then from Newcastle county—with whom Blackwell had the controversy, and was evidently a resolute English freeman. His bearing, in the interviews with Fletcher, when the latter was trying to overawe the Assembly, was more bold than that of Growdon, (Col. Rec., I., 406). He died a few months after this, for in June 1694, his widow, Mary, presented a petition to the Council, asking to have "the rent of the house hired for the use of the county, to be a gaol," paid, as her husband, late sheriff, was security for it, to the owner of the house, and his bond to that effect stood against her. (This was the jail in one end of Patrick Robinson's house, where Bradford and McComb had their nominal confinement.)

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views of the people's representatives and of the Governor could not be harmonized. Fletcher's great object was to secure more military aid; the Assembly was concerned about redress of grievances, and amendment of laws. It offered a new supply bill, which Fletcher rejected, and he dissolved the Assembly June 9. He remained a short time in Philadelphia, and was present at a meeting of the Council June 26, when the proceeds of the tax raised the previous year were directed to be paid over by the Receiver General to Andrew Robeson and Patrick Robinson, who were to disburse them "as his Excellency shall direct, for their Majesties' service." And after an exhortation to the Council to maintain order, etc., Fletcher "bid them farewell," and departed for New York. It was the close of his personal administration here.

Penn's political affairs had mended by the close of 1693. The King, upon the representations of his friends, especially Rochester, Ranelagh, and Sidney (Earl of Romney), had first sent word to him that he might freely attend to his affairs, but upon Penn's urgency for a more complete and honorable clearance, a Council was called at Westminster, in November, and after a full hearing he was discharged. More was accorded him, for on the 20th of the following August (1694) a royal order was issued restoring him to his government. This, however, did not reach Philadelphia until March, 1694–5; on the 26th of that month, Markham, still acting as deputy for Fletcher, laid it before the Council. Penn had accompanied this with a commission for Markham, as Governor, and another for John Goodson and Samuel Carpenter as "Assistants." The old order was therefore restored. The members of the Council elected by the people took their places instead of Fletcher's appointees, and six members from each county were again elected to the Assembly. As Speaker of the Assembly, this year, there appeared a new man, whose name was soon to be well known in Philadelphia. This was Edward Shippen. He had lately come from Boston, where, though a prominent citizen and upright man, the Puritan persecution of the Quakers had made it practically impossible for him to remain. The loss of Boston was Philadelphia's gain. He proved to be a valuable accession. Like Samuel Carpenter, the most trusted leader in the young city's affairs, Shippen was sagacious, honest, prudent, and able.[1]

In England, Penn continued to look forward to his return to Pennsylvania, but the time of departure was still postponed. In

[1] Cf. sketch in Keith's Provincial Councillors. Edward Shippen was born at Hillham, Yorkshire, 1639, and came to Boston, 1668. He joined the Friends, 1671, upon his marriage with Elizabeth Lybrand, one of their members, and soon became prominent in the body, sharing with them, while in Boston, the numerous rigors of the law. He removed to Philadelphia 1693. He married afterward twice, and died October 12, 1712. His public services in Philadelphia lay between his election as Speaker, 1695, and his retirement from active life, 1706. See additional note. post.

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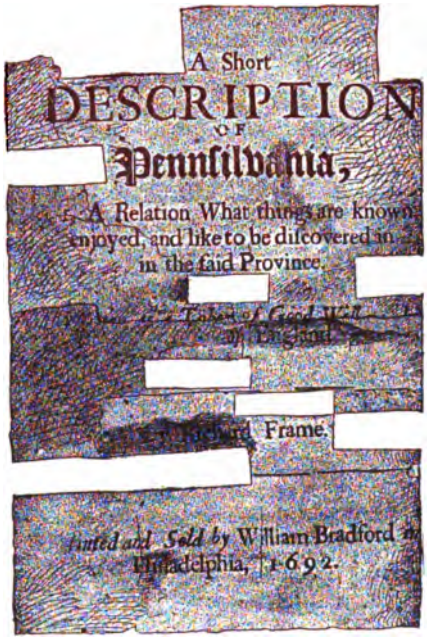
February, 1693–4, a few weeks after the King's order for his discharge, his wife, the beautiful and beloved Gulielma Maria, had died, after a lingering illness.[1] His private affairs were not improved; the debts to Philip Ford, which led ultimately to his imprisonment in the Fleet prison, in 1708, had begun to cast their shadow. In the spring of 1696 he married his second wife, Hannah Callowhill.[2] A few weeks later his eldest son, Springett, who had been lingering with consumption, died.[3] Still striving to set off for Pennsylvania, it was not until the summer of 1699 that he could bring his preparations to the point of departure. At last, on the 3d of September of that year, almost precisely seventeen years after his first memorable voyage in the *Welcome*, he left Cowes, in the ship *Canterbury*, accompanied by his wife and his daughter Letitia. The voyage was long. It was the last day of November when the ship approached Chester, and there, taking a boat, he landed, reaching "after dark," the hospitable mansion of Lydia Wade, the widow of Robert Wade, where, by appointment, Thomas Story and others met him. On the 3d of December, which was the first day of the week, the ship came up to Philadelphia, and he landed, paid a formal visit to Markham, and then went to the afternoon Friends' meeting, where he spoke and offered prayer. He then went to Edward Shippen's house, where he "lodged for about a month,"[4] removing at the end of that time to


A Short
DESCRIPTION
OF
Pennſilvania,
A Relation What things are known
enjoyed, and like to be diſcovered in
in the ſaid Province.
Frame.
Printed and Sold by William Bradford
Philadelphia, 1692.

FAC-SIMILE OF TITLE PAGE OF FRAME'S POEM DESCRIPTIVE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

[1] She was the daughter of Sir William Springett, of Sussex, a Puritan Colonel, who died in the Parliamentary service, 1643, at the age of twenty-three; she was born after his death. (See the lively and pathetic narrative of her mother—subsequently the wife of Isaac Penington—in Maria Webb's Penns and Penningtons.) Penn's tribute to his wife is one of the finest amongst his many productions. In it he says: "She was not only an excellent wife and mother, but an entire and constant friend, of a more than common capacity; and greater modesty and humility; yet most equal and undaunted in danger; religious as well as ingenuous, without affectation; an easy mistress and good neighbor, especially to the poor; neither lavish nor penurious; but an example of industry, as well as of other virtues." She left three children, Springett, (who died 1696), Letitia, and William, Jr. Four of her children had died before her, and she was buried near them and her mother, at Jordans, a meeting-place of the Friends, in Bucks, where subsequently her husband also was buried.

[2] She was the daughter of Thomas Callowhill, a merchant of Bristol, and survived her husband, dying in 1726. Her children inherited the Pennsylvania property, Penn's estates in England and Ireland going to his children by his first wife.

[3] Penn's account of the sickness and death of Springett, who was just in his twenty-first year, a young man of fine promise, and doubtless more representative of the best qualities of his father than any other of his children, is very touching. (Cf. Janney, 388.)

[4] Edward Shippen's house had been built in 1697. It stood on the west side of Second street below Dock, and was torn down in 1790, to be replaced by "Waln's Row." Gabriel Thomas, in his account, speaks of it

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the "slate-roof house," newly built by Samuel Carpenter, on Second street. There he and his family remained for some time, and there his son John was born on the 29th of January, (1700–1)—his eldest child by Hannah Callowhill, and afterward known as "the American," being the only one of Penn's children born in this country.[1]

Penn found his Colony and its City moderately prosperous and comparatively contented. The flowing tide of immigration had slackened. There were some discordant voices in the direction of affairs. The Keithian quarrel had died away, though it was by no means forgotten. There had arisen, as Penn knew before he came, the germ of a party inimical to him, and especially contemptuous and resentful of the Quaker system of government. At the head of this was Colonel Robert Quarry, the royal judge of the Admiralty Court, and the advocate in Admiralty, John Moore. It was the duty of these officers to guard the administration of the laws against illicit commerce, and under the oppressive system which England then and for a long time after imposed upon all colonial trade, the temptation to transgress its provisions was great, and the honest merchant who desired to observe them was put greatly to disadvantage by less scrupulous competitors. The royal Courts of Admiralty had been established in 1697, and Judge Quarry and those about him had shown great industry in forwarding to London reports of the bold and wholesale defiances of the law which they conceived, or pretended, went on in the Delaware waters. Penn had been greatly annoyed by these reports and charges, which the crown officials in London did not fail to bring to his attention, and he had written to Markham and the Council, in September, 1697, a letter which reached them in February following, admonishing them in the sharpest terms of which his pen was capable against permitting any excuse for these allegations of their and his enemies. The truth was that privateering, piracy, and various forms of unlawful trade went on up and down the Atlantic coast, with its centre at New York, where, as in some of the southern colonies, merchants and officials found these the readiest ways to get rich. At the end of the war with France, scores of ships and hundreds of seamen, who had

with enthusiasm: "Edward Shippen, who lives near the capital city, has an orchard and gardens adjoining to his great house, that equals any I have ever seen, being a very famous and pleasant summer house erected in the middle of his garden, abounding with pinks, carnations, roses of several sorts, lilies, not to mention those that grow wild in the fields." Edward Shippen himself was distinguished as having "the biggest person, the biggest house, and the biggest coach." The dwelling was long known as "the Governor's house," from Penn's stay in it, and from the fact that it was the residence of Governor Keith, about 1720, and of Governor Denny, in 1756.

[1] The Slate-roof House, one of the most notable of the early buildings of the city, is fully described in Westcott's Historic Mansions. Penn leased it for two years, but James Logan occupied it longer, as the office of the Secretary. In 1703 it was sold to William Trent, and a few years later to Isaac Norris, in whose family it remained until 1868, when it was bought by the Chamber of Commerce, and their building partly erected on the lot.

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been engaged in privateering, and who suddenly found this no longer countenanced by "the laws of nations," persisted nevertheless in their vocation, which was substantially piracy before, and only became definitely that now, because the existence of open war no longer cloaked its abominations. In New York Fletcher was charged, perhaps without justice, (and went to England on his defense), with being deeply involved in the pirates' operations, and like charges were brought against Markham, which he indignantly repelled, and which were apparently without proof.[1]

GOVERNOR MARKHAM'S HOUSE. NORTHEAST CORNER OF HIGH STREET AND GRINDSTONE ALLEY.

The letter of Penn, already noted, was officially replied to, February 10, 1697–8, by Markham and the Council. They dealt with the charges which he informed them had been made categorically and explicitly, controverting all and several the allegations in regard to infractions of the revenue laws. They said:

"First. As to the Scotch and Dutch trade, wee are not privy thereto, nor any of us concerned therein, but if any such trade has been, and escaped unpunished, it may rather be attributed to the connivance or neglect of those officers appointed by Edward Randolph to inspect those things, or others particularly appointed in that behalf; for we can say that the magistrates and courts of justice have been ready and diligent upon all occasions to punish, suppress, and discourage all illegal trade that came to their knowledge.

"Secondly, as to embracing of pirates, &c. We know of none that has been entertained here, unless Chinton and Lassell, with some others of Avery's crew, that happened for a small time to sojourn in this place, as they did in some of the neighboring governments, [and who were arrested, but broke jail and escaped] and as to pirates' ships we know of none harbored or ever came in here, much less encouraged by the Governor or people, who, as is well known, are generally sober and industrious, and never advanced their estates by forbidden trade, piracy, or other ill ways, notwithstanding what is suggested by our enemies to the contrary."

The report of which this is part was drawn up by a committee of the Council, consisting of Samuel Carpenter, Joseph Growdon, and William Clark. The first was Philadelphia's leading merchant, the last the most prominent citizen of lower Delaware—a resident of the sea-side town of Lewes—and the two men were high authority as to the ships which came and went inside the Delaware capes. Of Wil-

[1] For the attack on Fletcher, and a statement of the extent to which piracy and privateering were carried on and officially connived at, in New York, see the chapter on "Fletcher and the Rise of Piracy," in Memorial History of New York, Vol. I.

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liam Clark's experience of some of these ships, a little later, we shall speak in a moment.

The committee in their report admitted that the charge of a relaxed morality and a decline in the standards of sobriety had some color of truth. "As this place hath grown more populous, and the people increased," they tautologically said, "looseness and vice hath also crept in"—an experience universal, no doubt, with all cities in every age—but they declared that the magistrates made honest exertions to keep the loose-livers in check. The "ordinaries," it was also admitted, had become too numerous, and some ought to be suppressed and the others more strictly regulated. A proclamation was drawn up and published by the governor and council, upon the basis of this report, commanding all officials to observe strictly the provisions of the laws, especially as to those particulars where laxity had been alleged. As to the accusations concerning illicit trade, the proclamation declared it to be "evident that they are the effects of the envy and emulation of those who by such unfair and indirect means would accomplish their designs against this government, for that we are satisfied the generality of the people, merchants and traders of this province and territories, are innocent and clear of those imputations; and this country being so posited, Philadelphia is become the road where sailors and others do frequently pass and repass between Virginia and New England, that it cannot be avoided but the bad as well as the good will be entertained in such an intercourse; and since common charity obliges us not to presume any person guilty (especially of such great enormities) till by some legal probability they appear so to be, and though we find that the magistrates and people in general are and have been ready, and perhaps more active and conscientious to serve the king and his officers . . . than any of those neighboring Colonies who have been so querimonious[1] against us, yet," &c., &c.

The proclamation bears date February 12; on the first day of September it fell out that the people of Lewes, as we have intimated, had a sharp experience of buccaneer manners. Two vessels, "a small snug ship and a sloop," came to in the afternoon within the Cape, and next morning landed a party for robbery. Fifty men, well armed, "came up ye town and plundered almost every house therein, committing great spoil, breaking open doors, and chests, and taking away all money or plate to be found, as also all manner of goods and merchandise worth anything, together with ruggs, blanketting, and all other bedd covering, leaving scarce anything in ye place to cover or wear."

[1] The allusion to "querimonious" neighbors was no doubt very justly made; it might have been many times repeated, in the history of Philadelphia.

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The account, hastily sent off, as the robbers retired to their ships, reached Philadelphia on the 3d, which was "die Sabbathi," but the Council were hurriedly summoned, William Clark, of Lewes—whose house had been pillaged—being in town and attending. The bulletin was read. It added to the details already given that the "ships continue still att anchor in their birth, as near in the bay opposite to this towne as they well can find water to ride in, and it is doubted they will be on shore again before night for more cattle, if not to burn ye town, but we shall endeavor to scare them. . . . They are now in chase inwards of a briganteen, with their said sloop. The briganteen outsails them, and wee hope . . . will escape. They are beggarly rogues and will pillage for a trifle, and do think they may tarry long enough untill ye man of warr att York may have speedy notice. . . . Mr. Clark's house and goods both sufficiently shared in ye villainy."

Quickened by the lively details of this visit, the subject of pirates and piratical trade continued to be a fruitful theme up to the time of Penn's arrival. Avery, a famous freebooter, and "his men," were continually talked of, and perhaps really seen at Philadelphia; some of them, as we have seen, had been caught, but had got away, while the picturesque Kidd, who had been engaged to catch the pirates, and who joined—or his crew, in spite of him—in their nefarious work, was also supposed to be, at times, near the Delaware waters.[1] There was much activity in looking out for suspected persons. A man named Snead appears to have been the chief detective and informer. Several persons, charged with being pirates, were arrested and put in prison; one David Evans, who averred stoutly that he had been triumphantly cleared at the Old Bailey in London, before Lord Chief Justice Holt, of every aspersion upon his character, his innocence being supported by not less than "fifty gentlemen from Carmarthen and Pembrokeshire," was still left to languish in the city jail more than two years, being ultimately sent to New York, to be forwarded

[1] In the Council, 12th April, 1700: "The Proprietary and Governor acquainted y^e^ Council that he had late inteiligence that William Orr, George Thompson, Peter Lewis, Henry Stretcher and Diggerie Tenny, inhabitants of y^e^ town of Lewis, in Sussex countie, had gone on board Capt. Kidd, ye privateer (who in July last lay some days before Cape Henlopen), and had corresponded with him, and had received from him and his crew some muslins, calicoes, monies, and other goods, which were East India and prohibited goods, and that they had brought them on shore, hid, sold, and given away most of them without acquainting y^e^ Government or y^e^ King's Collector of the port of Lewis," etc. (Col. Rec. I., 579.)

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to England for trial. James Brown, also, a member of the Assembly from Kent county, who, unhappily for the young woman, had married Governor Markham's daughter Ann, was arrested, released, rearrested, and sent to New York and thence to England in one of Admiral Benbow's ships, suffering, there is reason to fear, at the hands of an English hangman, for Ann, some time thereafter, wrote herself widow. Certain citizens of Newcastle sent up a complaint in the summer of 1699, that their pride in the law had been much hurt by an occurrence there, when "the briganteen *Sweep Stakes*, belonging to Colonel Webb, late Governor of Providence, ryding before the town, mounted with six guns, ritchly loaden, ready the next day to sail for England, was in the night time, by the vessel's company of sailors and others, to the number of thirteen, piratically taken away." The Sheriff, John Claypoole, who had been the subject of sundry charges of misconduct—"ill fame" he was taxed with, according to the Council minutes—was cited before the Council, in August, 1699, upon complaint that he allowed Dr. Brandingham and William Stanton, charged with being pirates, to have great liberty and go around the streets, "very often at large." The sheriff said he sent a keeper with them, which he thought "might have been allowed in hott weather," but the Council sternly admonished him otherwise. Brandingham, still in jail, found the weather cool enough by the time December arrived, for he then represented "his hardship by being confined in these cold nights to a low room, without fire," and the Council allowed twelve shillings per week of the money taken from him when arrested to be used for his better comfort.[1]

There had been, between Fletcher's departure and Penn's return, annual sessions of the Assembly, and on the whole Markham had succeeded fairly well in maintaining a working relation with the people's representatives. In 1695 Edward Shippen had been chosen Speaker, in 1696 John Simcock, in 1697 John Blunston, in 1698 Phineas Pemberton, and in 1699 John Blunston again. The Assembly of 1695, convened on the 9th of September, had been dissolved by Markham on the 27th of that month, without having accomplished any legislation. Markham had received, in May previous, a letter from Queen Mary, designating eighty men, or the cost of maintaining such a force, as the quota of Pennsylvania for the military operations against the French, and Fletcher, at New York, had written urgently to hasten these soldiers to the front. He wished

[1] These details might be further increased. A letter from Isaac Norris, Sept., 1699 (Penn-Logan Correspondence), says: "We have four men in prison, taken up as pirates, supposed to be Kidd's men. Shelley, of [New] York, has brought to these parts some scores of them; and there is sharp looking out to take them. We have various reports of their riches, and money hid between this and the Capes. There was landed about twenty men, as we understand, at each cape, and several gone to York. A sloop has been seen cruising off the Capes for a considerable time, but has not meddled with any vessel as yet, though she has spoke with several."

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them, "and their officers, with arms, ammunition, and pay for one year," to be at Albany on the 1st of May following. But the Assembly was not fired by military ardor. Quakers and non-Quakers —as was to be the case for a long period thereafter—were unanimous in the desire first of all to protect and maintain the popular system of government which had been set up in the beginning, and to guard against encroachment upon the rights which had been then declared and defined. They were of one voice, too, in their disinclination to be drawn into war, or military expenditure, unless under extreme necessity, and rightly or wrongly they considered their circumstances not such as would bear a serious burden of taxation. Queens and kings might write letters, governors and generals might swell with indignation or swear round oaths, but from the days we are describing on down to 1760, the temper of the people's representatives in the Assembly, whether they were of George Fox's faith or the churches which his Society drew out from, whether they were devoted to peace or anxious to fight, whether they belonged to the company of placid John Simcock, or like Markham always kept sword and pistols ready for use, continued steadfastly the same. They had learned from English example that the laying of taxes and raising of money were a function of the people which could be effectively employed in checking excesses of the executive power, and they did not have to go farther back than their fathers' time in England to learn how the men whom Pym and Hampden led had used it resolutely in that way. In this difference with Markham—for it did not become a wrangle, as with Blackwell, or a struggle, as with Fletcher—the Council stood with the Assembly, and it was one of the former who said to the Governor "that in the Parliament of England the people had always their privileges granted to them, before they gave any money," and though, as he owned, the Assembly of this "poor province" was not to claim equality with the great legislative body of the Kingdom, yet the example, he thought, was good.[1]

THE SLATE-ROOF HOUSE.

Markham, in fact, had no desire to quarrel with the people. He

[1] Col. Records, I., 494.

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had maintained kindly relations with them, and never was unpopular. But he was sharply pressed by Fletcher, and he knew that Penn, at the restoration of the government, had given assurances at London that the Colony would not ignore the royal demands for defensive purposes, and that he, Markham, would exercise military authority in an emergency.[1] When he dismissed the Assembly, therefore, much in the manner, and almost with the words of Fletcher two years before, he did so to clear his own skirts of responsibility, and also in the hope that it might have an effect upon the stiff democracy with which he had to deal.

It proved, indeed, that in the Assembly of 1696 a more accommodating spirit prevailed. Markham had called to it, not the constitutional six members per county, but Fletcher's twenty—four each from Philadelphia and Newcastle, and three each from the others. He had also adopted Fletcher's rule concerning the Council, omitting the writs for its members' election, and summoning instead such persons as he saw fit, though he selected some of the same men whom the people would have chosen,—Edward Shippen, Anthony Morris, David Lloyd and William Clark representing the Quaker element, while Jasper Yeates, Richard Halliwell, John Brinkloe, John Hill, and Patrick Robinson formed a party of supporters, and a probable majority of Council, for such moderate military measures as Markham might desire. The Assembly met October 26, and adjourned November 7. It had, as already said, the Fletcher number of twenty members. But the material was not changed. Here was Samuel Carpenter again from Philadelphia, with Samuel Richardson, James Fox, and Nicholas Waln for his colleagues—four men of excellent ability for the business in hand. Bucks once more sent that irascible Quaker, William Biles, and Chester John Simcock, John Blunston, and Caleb Pusey. John Simcock asked to be excused from the Speakership, "in respect he was antient, and that there were more fitt persons for that trust than hee," but Markham affably declared he was well satisfied with the choice. In the fortnight's sessions the two parties came together; Markham conceded the new declaration of the "Frame of Government"—a revision of the old—and the Assembly passed with it a bill laying a tax of a penny in the pound, "clear value," with a poll-tax of six shillings upon male persons not having property amounting to £72. The proceeds of the tax were to pay £300 "toward the relief of the distressed Indians inhabiting above Albany, late sufferers by the French, who are in alliance with the Crown of England," and £300 to Markham, for his services as Governor, the remainder to be paid upon the order of the

[1] Cf. documents State Paper office, cited in Janney's Penn, 557.

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Governor and Council "towards the defraying of the debts and necessary charges of this government from time to time."

The three hundred pounds were thus the response to the Queen's letter of more than two years before. She meantime had passed off the stage of action. She died at the end of December, 1694, leaving William to reign alone for a few years longer. Fletcher, though he had been writing letters to Markham, sharply chiding him, and severely criticising the Assembly, had to be content with what could be had. The "eighty men" were not mentioned. John Simcock and Caleb Pusey, Samuel Carpenter and Nicholas Waln, would give money to preserve the alliance with the Five Nations, but they were not ready yet for organizing and equipping troops.

Edward Shippen

The "Markham Frame of Government," which was now agreed upon, and which subsisted until the Assembly of 1701, in concert with Penn, once more revised the fundamental law, need not be dwelt upon here. It made the Council elective, two members from each county. The Assembly was to have four from each county. Both Council and Assembly might propose legislation. And—very important provision—the Assembly should "sit on its own adjournments." This was a good piece of work, from the people's standpoint, and as the representatives separated there was general good humor. As the process of tax gathering was sure to be slow, the £300 for the Indians was borrowed, and sent over to Fletcher at once, and he reported a few months later (May 4, 1697), that it had been spent as directed, and that he desired a further amount, as soon as possible. He reminded the Pennsylvanians in this letter that their "quota" was eighty men, and he covertly threatened them once more. "You know," he said, "what orders I have for applying for assistance, and upon what conditions the government was restored to your proprietor." But the threat was vain; Fletcher's day was over; the commission for the Earl of Bellomont as his successor at New York was already preparing. It was dated June 18, 1697. Moreover, for a brief time, England and France were about to be at peace. The treaty of Ryswick concluded the wars between William and Louis in September of the same year, the French king admitting at last that the Prince of Orange had become king of England. As

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for the New York frontier, the Canada French did not invade it again. Frontenac's raid upon the Onondagas and Oneidas, in the summer of 1696, closed that chapter for the present, and Pennsylvania was to be relieved awhile of pressure on account of French wars.

We need not dwell on the Assemblies of the three succeeding years. That of 1697 declined to lay a new tax, upon the ground of the general inability of the people to pay. To that of 1699 Newcastle county elected no members, a proceeding which was much resented, but which reflected, no doubt, the increasing alienation of those who desired to be prominent in the lower counties, and who saw the rapid increase of the larger province.

Returning, now, to the beginning of winter, 1699, the long voyage of the *Canterbury* had brought Penn and his companions to Philadelphia opportunely. The city had recovered when they arrived from its first experience of the tropical scourge which for a full hundred years was to be an occasional visitor, and at the end of that period was to make its ravages a black chapter in Philadelphia history. It had lasted through the autumn, and, as usual, disappeared with cold weather. Isaac Norris, writing to Jonathan Dickinson (in Jamaica), September 11, described the pestilent condition: "It hath been sometimes very sickly, but I never before knew it so mortal as now. About ten days ago, there was reckoned nine persons lay dead at the same time, and I think seven or eight this day lay dead together. . . . All business and trade down. This is quite the Barbadoes distemper; they void and vomit blood. This has been, about harvest time, the hottest summer I ever felt; several died in the field with the violence of the heat." He gives names, in this letter, of many who had died, among them Thomas Clayton "minister of the church of England."[1] A letter of Penn's to Secretary Vernon in England, written after his arrival, states the number of deaths by the fever at 215. Thomas Story, who had arrived some time before, and had been here during some of the time of the epidemic, said in his journal that "in this distemper had died six, seven, and sometimes eight a day for several weeks, there being few houses, if any, free of the sickness. Great was the majesty and hand of the Lord, great was the fear that fell upon all flesh . . . Every face gathered paleness, and many hearts were humbled, and countenances fallen and sunk, as such that waited every moment to be summoned to the bar and numbered to the grave."[2]

[1] Clayton died at Sassafras, Maryland, but Isaac Norris names him in connection with his list of victims of the fever. He was, apparently, the first clergyman of the Established Church who had charge in Philadelphia.

[2] Thomas Story, distinguished as a leading man among the Friends, and a preacher of large gifts, was born near Carlisle, in Cumberland, England, about 1662. He was well educated, and "brought up to the law." He joined the Friends in 1691. He came to

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The growth of the city had been continuous in the period we have described in this chapter. Gabriel Thomas, in his "Account of Pennsylvania," published in London, in 1698, in describing the situation here about a year earlier, says there were then "above two thousand houses." He included in this, no doubt, not merely those of the "city proper," between Vine and South streets, but all in the near neighborhood, but even so the estimate seems somewhat excessive.[1]

THE SHIPPEN HOUSE.[2]

Other details given by Thomas concerning the city are of interest. "It hath in it," he says, "three fairs every year, and two markets every week. They kill about twenty fat bullocks every week, in the hottest time in summer, besides many sheep, calves, and hogs . . . They have curious wharfs, as also fine and large timber-yards, both at Philadelphia and New Castle; especially at the metropolis, before Robert Turner's great and famous house, where are built ships of considerable burden. They cart their goods from that wharf into the city of Philadelphia under an arch, over which part of the street is built . . . There are above thirty carts belonging to that city, four or five horses to each. There is likewise a very convenient wharf, called Carpenter's wharf, which hath a fine necessary crane belonging to it, with suitable granaries and store-houses; and there are other wharfs which front the city all along the river, as also a curious and commodious dock, with a drawbridge to it, for the convenient reception of vessels . . . There are several ropemakers, especially one Joseph Wilcox; also three or four spacious malthouses, as many large brewhouses, and many handsome bakehouses for public use

this country (first to the Southern colonies), on a religious visit, in company with Roger Gill, about the close of 1698, and reached Philadelphia in the following year. (Roger Gill died of the fever here, Oct. 2.) Penn, upon his arrival, persuaded Story to remain here, and appointed him Master of the Rolls, etc. He married Anne, the daughter of Edward Shippen, in 1706. She died in 1712, and he returned, two years later, to England, where he died in 1742. "By his marriage he received a large property, part of which was the large house in Second street, afterwards sold to James Logan, and later pulled down to afford the site, in part, of the old Bank of Pennsylvania. After his wife's death he returned to England, and subsequently conveyed this estate, by his will, to her family." (Keith's Prov. Councillors.)

[1] Westcott (Chap. XLII.) says it "is a great exaggeration," and adds that "in 1700 there were only 700 houses, and in 1749 but 2076." These figures are perhaps derived from Dr. James Mease's Picture of Philadelphia (published 1811), where the number for 1700 is given without explanation of the authority. It is to be remembered that Robert Turner (ante, p. 72) said in August, 1685, that there were then "about 600 houses in three years' time," so that 700 is certainly too low a figure for fifteen years later.

[2] The Shippen House, the residence of the first Mayor under the charter of 1701, and known as the "Governor's House." See note, p. 111.

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. . . several good schools of learning for youth, in order to the attainment of arts and sciences; as also reading, writing, etc. Here is to be had, on any day in the week, tarts, pies, etc. We have also several cook-houses, both roasting and boiling, as in the city of London. . . . The water-mills are made by one Peter Deal, a famous and ingenious workman . . . All sorts of very good paper are made in the Germantown; as also very fine German linen, such as no person of quality need be ashamed to wear; and in several places they make very good druggets, crapes, camblets, and serges, besides other woollen cloathes, etc."

Great encouragement, Thomas goes on to say, is given "to tradesmen and others" by the good prices for merchandise, and good wages. Carpenters, both house and ship, bricklayers, and masons "get between five and six shillings per day constantly." Journeymen shoemakers have two shillings a pair for making both men's and women's shoes, journeymen tailors twelve shillings a week "and their diet," weavers ten or twelve pence the yard, wool-combers twelve pence a pound. Potters get sixteen pence "for an earthen pot which may be had in England for four pence. Tanners may buy their green hides for three half-pence per pound, and sell their leather for twelve pence per pound; and curriers have three shillings and four pence per hide for dressing; they buy their oil at twenty pence per gallon. Brickmakers have twenty shillings per thousand for their brick at the kiln. Feltmakers will have for their hats seven shillings apiece, such as may be bought in England for two shillings; yet they buy their wool commonly for fifteen pence per pound. . . The brewers sell such beer as is equal in strength to that in London, half ale and half stout, for fifteen shillings per barrel."

The close of the period of the city's infancy will serve to mark other growths and changes than those included in Thomas's description. Many of the pioneer settlers were dead; there was a remarkable number who did not long survive the removal to the new country. Among them were Thomas Lloyd, Thomas Holme, Nicholas More, John Songhurst, James Claypoole, William Frampton, Thomas Wynne, John Eckley, Greenaway, the master of the *Welcome;* Andrew Robeson, Dennis Rochford, Thomas Budd, Thomas Fitzwater, Lasse Cock, and Arthur Cook. All these have been named in this chronicle as connected in some important way with the founding of the city. Thomas Duckett, one of the few English settlers who were here before the grant to Penn, died of the fever in 1699.

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THE FIRST PHILADELPHIA TAX-LIST.

The following is the first general tax-list for the county of Philadelphia.

An act of the Assembly, in 1693, during the administration of Governor Fletcher, was entitled "An act for granting to King William and Mary the rate of one penny per pound upon the clear value of all real and personal estates, and six shillings per head upon such as are not otherwise rated by this Act, to be employed by the Governor of this province of Pennsylvania and territories thereof for the time being towards the support of this government."

This was the first law in the history of the Province, authorizing a general tax to be assessed for public purposes.

This original assessment list is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

PHILADELPHIA COUNTY.

By Virtue of a Law made at Philadelphia by a Gen:ᴿᴵ Assembly held the 15th May 1693.
For Granting One Penny ℔ pound to King William & Queen Mary &c Wee the Assessors under Written have Taxed and Assessed the Inhabitants the respective sums following

	£100	£—	8s.	4d.
Samuel Rowland				
Peter Sherbone	—	—	6	—
Thomas January	—	—	6	—
Thomas Bud	400	1	13	4
Joseph Kirl	250	1	—	10
Abraham Carpenter	350	1	9	2
Andrew Derickson	800	3	6	8
John Fisher	72	—	6	—
Edward Shippy	200	—	16	8
Patrick Robinson	400	1	13	4
John Cox	50	—	4	2
Henry Flower	150	—	12	6
Arthur Cook	200	—	16	8
Thomas Harding	—	—	6	—
William Coleman	—	—	6	—
Thomas Lacey	—	—	6	—
Augustine the Trumpeter	—	—	6	—
Francis Little	30	—	2	6
Frau: Jobson Lott & Land	100	—	8	4
Richard Basnett	150	—	12	6
Richard Whitpains Building.	500	2	1	8
Jasper Yates	500	2	1	8
Peregrine Stockdale	—	—	6	—
Francis Jones & Compa:	800	3	6	8
John Songhurst	30	—	2	6
Charles Goss	800	3	6	8
John Whitpain	100	—	8	4
James Claypoole	50	—	4	2
Edward Claypoole	100	—	8	4
John Claypoole	100	—	8	4
Griffith Jones Front & Second Str^s	1000	4	3	4
Thomas Parsons	80	—	6	8
Widdow Dean	30	0	2	6
Abraham Hooper	150	0	12	6
John Felles	70	—	5	10
Bentall & Harts Brewhouse	500	2	1	8
Thomas Griffith	50	—	4	2
James Piller	30	—	2	6
W^m. Salsbury	30	—	2	6
John Shippy	—	—	6	—
Joseph Pidgeon & Compa:	1300	5	8	4
Anthony Burgis	100	—	8	4
Widdow Delaval	250	1	—	10
Thomas Morris	60	—	5	—
Samuel Cart	150	—	12	6

	£1300	£5	8s.	4d.
Samuel Carpenter				
Samuel Jennings	150	—	12	6
Wid: Eckley	200	—	16	8
Ben: Waller	—	—	6	—
John Fleckny	60	—	5	—
John Philpott	—	—	6	—
John Crapp	80	—	6	8
Hermon Johnson	30	—	2	6
Tho: Hooton & Moth^r	400	1	13	4
John Deplove	200	—	16	8
Thomas Wharton	100	—	8	4
Arthur Holdens	—	—	6	—
Joshua Carpenter	1000	4	3	4
Sam:ᴵᴵ Holt	70	—	5	10
James Wood	—	—	6	—
Jeremiah Price	—	—	6	—
Peter Golt	300	1	5	—
Richard Kees	800	3	6	8
John Godfry	100	—	8	4
Robert Eure	600	2	10	—
John Debran	100	—	8	4
Peter Basilon	300	1	5	—
Georg Robinson	120	0	10	—
John Murry	150	—	12	6
William Hern	72	—	6	—
Widdow Alen	80	—	6	8
John Heath Sadler	—	—	6	—
John Smith	—	—	6	—
Edmond Dutton	—	—	6	—
Authony Morris	800	3	6	8
Thomas Short	—	—	6	—
John Test	150	—	12	6
Nicholas Collins	—	—	6	—
James Fox	200	—	16	8
Cornelius Dire	—	—	6	—
Christo: Lob	—	—	6	—
John Haukins	—	—	6	—
John Otte	—	—	6	—
Edmond Ducastle	800	3	6	8
Alexander Berdsly	200	—	16	8
William Alloway	—	—	6	—
William Pascall	100	—	8	4
John Patrick	—	—	6	—
Ceser Geslein	100	—	8	4
James Delaplain	72	—	6	—
Nat: Sikes	100	—	8	4

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John Sands	—	—	6s.	—	Georg Paris	£100	—	8s.	4d.
Humphry Murry	£500	2	1	8	Richard Jones	—	—	6	—
Samuel Griffith	72	—	6	—	Joseph Willcox	150	—	12	6
Richard Perce	—	—	6	—	Abigal Willcox	60	—	5	—
Thomas Harris	50	—	4	2	William Wait	100	—	8	4
John Harris	—	—	6	—	Ben: Holt	72	—	6	—
Thomas Hartly	—	—	6	—	Edward Douty	120	—	10	—
Wid: Culcup	40	—	3	4	Widdow Elfrith	50	—	4	2
John Howard	30	—	2	6	William Carter	200	—	16	8
Thomas Marle	80	—	6	8	John Macoom	100	—	8	4
Nat: Edgcome	30	—	2	6	John Rodman	50	—	4	2
Richard Barnes	—	—	6	—	James Stanfeild	100	—	8	4
Richard Cockett	—	—	6	—	Jacob Coffin	—	—	6	—
William Bevan	100	—	8	4	Richard Turner	30	—	2	6
John Holmes	100	—	8	4	Robert Bonne	—	—	6	—
Samuel Buckly	30	—	2	6	John Austin	30	—	2	6
Daniel Beaks	100	—	8	4	Constant Gray	40	—	3	4
Peter Charles	800	3	6	8	Doct^{r} Hudson	100	—	8	4
Philip James	200	—	16	8	Robert Pound	—	—	6	—
Widdow Guest	250	1	—	10	Thomas Achely	40	—	3	4
William Say	100	—	8	4	Daniel Ridges House	40	—	3	4
Mary Hauge	100	—	8	4	Thomas Truss	200	—	16	8
John Colly	72	—	6	—	Ralph Ward	80	—	6	8
John Ward	—	—	6	—	Evan Jones	30	—	2	6
Jeremiah Collets	200	—	16	8	James Polter	80	—	6	8
Peter Debuke	800	3	6	8	Widdow Welch	100	—	8	4
Thomas Willard	30	—	2	6	Francis Rawles	150	—	12	6
Hanah Wood	30	—	2	6	Robert Turner	900	3	15	—
John King	100	—	8	4	Anthony Sturgis	30	—	2	6
Henry Stirk	—	—	6	—	Andrew Robinson	600	2	10	—
Thomas Hill	100	—	8	4	John Farmer	80	—	6	8
Samuel Atkins	250	1	0	10	Thomas Wait	100	—	8	4
John Nash	60	—	5	—	John Stevens	—	—	6	—
Abra: Hardiman	100	—	8	4	Thomas Peart	120	0	10	—
Causper Hoote	120	—	10	—	James Chick	40	—	3	4
Christo Sibthorp	150	—	12	6	James Thomas	150	—	12	6
Samuel Nichols	—	—	6	—	Gabriel Willkeson	80	—	6	8
John Heath	—	—	6	—	Ellis Jones	30	—	2	6
Tho: Meekin	—	—	6	—	Gilbert Wheler	30	—	2	6
Edward Shaw	—	—	6	—	Lionel Britton	150	—	12	6
John Roberts	—	—	6	—	Benja Chambers	100	—	8	4
John Jones	—	—	6	—	Henry Johnson	—	—	6	—
William Hunne	50	—	4	2	Richard Sutton	100	—	8	4
Philip Howell	100	—	8	4	Jonas Smith	60	—	5	—
John Smart	100	—	8	4	John Furnis	—	—	6	—
Mathew Clements	100	—	8	4	John Palmers house &c	60	—	5	—
William Salway	50	—	4	2	James Jacob	100	—	8	4
John White	50	—	4	2	Thomas Fittswater Ju^{r}	—	—	6	—
William Hudson	100	—	8	4	Robert Stacy	100	—	8	4
Nicholas Perce	100	—	8	4	Thomas Bristol	80	—	6	8
Francis Cook	100	—	8	4	Thomas Langstone	80	—	6	8
Samuel Richardson	250	1	—	10	William Southersby	40	—	3	4
James Poitis	—	—	6	—	John Day	200	—	16	8
Thomas Prichart	30	—	2	6	Joshua Tittery	30	—	2	6
William Kelly	50	—	4	2	James West	100	0	8	4
John Wait	30	—	2	6	Jacob Turner	—	—	6	—
Robert Merrifeild	—	—	6	—	Henry Furnis	30	—	2	6
Bernard Vigore	—	—	6	—	John Jennett	120	—	10	—
John Williams	80	—	6	8	William Dilling	150	—	12	6
William Walker	80	—	6	8	Richard Jenett	—	—	6	—
Randal Spikman	80	—	6	8	William Freeman	30	—	2	6
William Brightwell	100	—	8	4	Benjamin Whithead	60	—	5	—
James Vaveere	—	—	6	—	Edward Farmer	200	—	16	8
William Laycock	—	—	6	—	Nat: Lamply	100	—	8	4
Robert Wallis	50	—	4	2	Israel Hobs	60	—	5	—
John Prichart	—	—	6	—	James Cooper	100	—	8	4
William Davis	40	—	3	4	John Otter	400	1	13	4
Joseph Knight	100	—	8	4	John Jones	500	2	1	8
Josh Knight	30	—	2	6	Cap^{t} Billops house	100	—	8	4
Thomas Roberts	100	—	8	4	John Griffith	60	—	5	—
Jeremiah Osborn	30	—	2	6	German the Weaver	—	—	6	—

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Edward German	—	—	6s.	—	John Punyard	—	—	6s.	—
Evan Griffith	£30	—	2	6	Thomas Pepitt	—	—	6	—
William Hard	60	—	5	—	Thomas Cook	—	—	6	—
Joseph Taylor	100	—	8	4	Thomas Tudor	—	—	6	—
William Sneed	60	—	5	—	Thomas Rouse	£50	—	4	2
Ralph Jackson	80	—	6	8	James Jacobs	45	—	3	9
John Roads	80	—	6	8	James Harrison	30	—	2	6
Georg Harmer	72	—	6	—	John Lewden	30	—	2	6
Edward Smout	150	—	12	6	Joseph Yard	30	—	2	6
William Snoden	40	—	3	4	John Hart	30	—	2	6
Robert Tate	30	—	2	6	Young Morgan	30	—	2	6
Richard Whitfeild	30	—	2	6	Gabriel Thomas	—	—	6	—
William Lee	200	—	16	8	Richard Ormes	30	—	2	6
John Griffith	—	—	06	—	John Bird	30	—	2	6
John Redwood	30	—	2	6	John White	—	—	6	—
Philip Richards	400	1	13	4	John Day House	50	—	4	2
Johanes Van Laure	30	—	2	6	Isacc Warner	30	—	2	6
Berbados House	100	—	8	4	Christo: Sibthorp	40	—	3	4
Herbert Curry	80	—	06	8	Richard Goves	30	—	2	6
Semercy Adams	80	—	6	8	John Lineam	100	—	8	4
Georg Emlin	150	0	12	6	Anthony Weston	—	—	6	—
Abell Noble	60	—	5	—	Christo: Sibthorp for Colyer	50	—	4	2
James Shaddock	50	—	4	2	Joseph Walker	60	—	5	—
John Bolt	120	—	10	—	David Brintnall	100	—	8	4
Anthony Taylor	30	—	2	6	William Forest	120	—	10	—
Hance Peters	100	—	8	4	Henry Lakin	30	—	2	6
Georg Cook	—	—	6	—	John Martin	30	—	2	6
John Landish	—	—	6	—	John Kensy	60	—	5	—
Mary Lash	30	—	2	6	Mary Hilyard Brick House	100	—	8	4
Charles Pickering	100	—	8	4	Robert Burrows	30	—	2	6
Daniel Standish	100	—	8	4	David Powell	50	—	4	2
Andrew Griscome	100	—	8	4	William Crues	150	—	12	6
John Busby	40	—	3	4	Thomas Hobs	50	—	4	2
John Goodson	150	—	12	6	Samuel Meals	—	—	6	—
Hugh Derbora	30	—	2	6	Daniel Jones	100	—	8	4
John Parsons	150	—	12	6	Rachell Jones	40	—	3	4
James Coat	30	—	2	6	John Harris	—	—	6	—
Henry Badcock	250	1	—	10	John Chandler	40	—	3	4
James Gresham	100	—	8	4	W:m Hudson Bricklayer	100	—	8	4
John Sanders	100	—	8	4	Robert Roe	30	—	2	6
Emanuel Dawson	30	—	2	6	William Trotter	30	—	2	6
Edward James	—	—	6	—	John Beedle	30	—	2	6
Nehemiah Allen	100	—	8	4	Richard Roberts	60	—	5	—
John Bud	—	—	6	—	Pat: Robinson	400	1	13	4
Thomas Bradford	200	—	16	8	W:m Crues High Street	30	0	2	6
Thomas Masters	300	1	5	—	Humph: Murry Mulbery Stre	30	—	2	6
Thomas Pascall	150	—	12	6	Charles Butler	—	—	6	—
Richard Tucker	30	—	2	6	Thomas Bristol	40	—	3	4
Thomas Bowyer	30	—	2	6	Joshua Morris	—	—	6	—
Ellis	—	—	6	—	William Bowling	100	—	8	4
Richard Wall	30	—	2	6	William Southysby Jun:r	50	—	4	2
Daniel Cook	100	—	8	4	Griffith Owen	100	—	8	4
Walton Price	50	—	4	2	Philip England	100	—	8	4
Walter Tomson	—	—	6	—	Michaell Wallton	—	—	6	—
Abell Tudor & Compa	100	—	8	4	Reece Peters	30	—	2	6
William Trent & Compa	500	2	1	8	Evan Morris	30	—	2	6
Samuel Stacy & Compa	500	2	1	8	William David	60	—	5	
Thomas Hooton & Compa	500	2	1	8	Stephen Fouke Jun:r	—	—	6	—
Thomas Bud & Compa	200	—	16	8	Thomas Andrews	30	—	2	6
Samuel Perry	300	1	5	—	Thomas Miller Jun:r	—	—	6	—
Georg Hethcott	300	1	5	—	William Rakestraw	100	—	8	4
Georg Keith	150	—	12	6	Thomas Marle	80	—	6	8
John Collins	—	—	6	—					

MOUNCE COX NORTHERN LIBERTY.

Daniel Pegg	£250	£1	0s.	10d.	Joshua Carpenter	130	—	10	10
Daniel Rugges	—	—	6	—	Daniel Chruis	—	—	—	—
Lawrence Evins	—	—	6	—	Philip Gunter	—	—	6	—
Robert Stiles	—	—	6	—	Georg Walker	60	—	5	—
Neels Loycon	150	—	12	6	Eman:ll Walker his Son	—	—	6	—

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Andrew Robinson for J Songerst Hou	£60	—	5s.	—	Paul Johnson	—	—	6s.	—
John Goodson	100	—	8	4	Clement Pudinghorn	—	—	6	—
John Palmer	100	—	8	4	Daniel Howell	£70	—	5	10
William Palmer his Brother	—	—	6	—	John Crosby	—	—	6	—
Andrew Davis by Vinyard	—	—	6	—	Widdow Smith	150	—	12	6
Presid:t More Estate	100	—	8	4	Edward Jerman charged in Town	—	—	0	—
John Thomas	—	—	6	—	Timothy Carter	—	—	6	—
Ginkin Lewis	—	—	6	—	Thomas Cartor	—	—	6	—
John Mifflin	100	—	8	4	Richard Dawson	—	—	6	—
Abell Robinson	—	—	6	—	Miles Morrey	—	—	6	—
Robert Stacy & Son	100	—	8	4	Thomas Cotton	—	—	6	—
Ellis Jones Governm:t Mill	72	—	6	—	Thomas Williams	—	—	6	—
Robert Turner	200	—	16	8	Michael Nellson	150	—	12	6
Sam:ll Carpenter	50	—	4	2	Thomas Fairman	100	—	8	4
Wid:o Bowyer	30	—	2	6	Gunner Rambo	100	—	8	4
Evan Oliver	30	—	2	6	John Tank	80	—	6	8
Peter Dale	—	—	6	—	Andrew & Hance Nellson	200	—	16	8
Robeson & Sanders Mill	350	1	9	2	Griffith Jones	350	1	9	2
Joseph Brown	30	—	2	6	Richard Tomlinson	—	—	6	—
Luke Townsend	—	—	6	—	John a Dutchman	—	—	6	—
Francis Cranton	—	—	6	—	W:m Preston	130	—	10	10
Cornelius Ellis	—	—	6	—	Mounce Cox	100	—	8	4
James Morris	—	—	6	—	W:m Sallway	250	1	—	10
Jacob Dubra	80	—	6	8	Edward Roberts	—	—	6	—
Robert Pulman	—	—	6	—	Erick Cock	100	—	8	4
Joseph Jones	—	—	6	—					

OXFORD TOWNSHIP JN:o WORRELL.

John Tissick	£100	—	8s.	4d.	John & Charles his Sons	—	—	12s.	—
Jacob Hall	100	—	8	4	Halls Journy Man	—	—	6	—
Erick Mullicker	50	—	4	2	Georg Burson	80	—	2	6
William Taylor	50	—	4	2	John Wells	80	—	2	6
Ericks 2 Sons	—	—	12	—	Daniel Street	72	—	6	—
Ann Salter	50	—	4	2	John Bunce	100	—	8	4
Richard Whitfeild	100	—	8	4	Henry Waddy	150	—	12	6
Widdow Keen	30	—	2	6	Daniel Hall	—	—	6	—
Erick her Son	—	—	6	—	Yeomans Gillingham	—	—	6	—
Hermon Enock	60	—	5	—	Thomas Graves	72	—	6	—
William Busby	50	—	4	2	Thomas Parsons ½ Mill	40	—	3	4
John Fletcher	120	—	10	—	Samuel Carpenter ½	60	—	5	—
Atwell Willmoreton	30	—	2	6	Robert Addams	200	—	16	8
Joseph Paul	100	—	8	4	John Worrell	100	—	8	4
John Harper	100	—	8	4	Richard Seary	—	—	6	—

CHELTENHAM JOS: PHIPS.

Humphry Waterman	£200	—	16s.	8d.	W.m Routlidg	—	—	6	—
Edmond Megvaugh	30	—	2	6	Joseph Phips Senr	60	—	5	—
Samuel Voss	80	—	6	8	Joseph Phips Junr	—	—	6	—
Thomas Terwood	80	—	6	8	Richard Hall	100	—	8	4
Philip Hill	30	—	2	6	Tobias Leach &	200	—	16	8
John Ironmonger	30	—	2	6	3 Poles	—	—	18	—
Humphry Murry	60	—	5	0	Georg Shoomaker	80	—	6	8
Samuel Carl	200	—	16	8	Tho: Whitton & Jonas Potts	—	—	12	—
John Roberts	30	—	2	6	Edward Eaton	30	—	2	6
John Barnes	150	—	12	6	John Russell	60	—	5	—
Thomas Canbey	—	—	6	—					

BRISTOL TOWNSHIP RICH: TOWNSEND.

Samuel Richardson	£300	£1	5s.	—	Edward Lane	—	—	6s.	—
Thomas Godfry	100	—	8	4	Samuel Bennett	50	—	4	2
John Moon Deceased Estate	80	—	6	8	Thomas Rutter	50	—	4	2
John Moon Junr	50	—	4	2	Israel Morris	30	—	2	6
Joseph Willcox	100	—	8	4	Jacob Evans	30	—	2	6
Georg Willcox	30	—	2	6	John Coster	—	—	6	—
William James	60	—	5	—	Joseph Godfry	—	—	6	—
Thomas Shute	—	—	6	—	Thomas Bridg	—	—	6	—

GERMAN TOWN PETR KUERLESS.

Derick Up de Grave	£30	—	2s.	6d.	Hermon Up de Grave	£60	—	5s.	—
Thomas Rutter	30	—	2	6	Abraham Up de Grave	80	—	6	8

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William Streipers	£80	—	6s.	8d.	Reinert Tisen	£60	—	5s.	—
Paul Woolf	30	—	2	6	Lenert Artes	30	—	2	6
Daniel Pastorius	100	—	8	4	John Lensen	30	—	2	6
Jacob Shoomaker	60	—	5	—	Tunes Conders	50	—	4	2
Heyfert Papen	80	—	6	8	Peter Kuerless	50	—	4	2
Jacob Isacc & Isacc Jacobs	150	—	12	6	John Bleekers	50	—	4	2
Cornelius Siverts	80	—	6	8	Rineir Hermans	50	—	4	2
Albertus Brant	120	—	10	—	Henry Sellen	50	—	4	2
Claws Tamson	40	—	3	4	Derick Sellen	30	—	2	6
Hance Millan	80	—	6	8	Claws Rutting Heysen	—	—	6	—
Henry Fry	30	—	2	6	Andrew Griscome	30	—	2	6
Aert Klinken	80	—	6	8	Jacob Delaplain	30	—	2	6
Arnold Wassell	—	—	6	—	David Scherkers	—	—	6	—
John Silans	30	—	2	6	Walter Simens	—	—	6	—
Dirick Keyser	60	—	5	—	Peter Clever	—	—	6	—
Geritt Henrix	50	—	4	2	Johannis Pettinger	—	—	6	—
William Ruttinghuyson	£50	—	4s.	2d.	Hermon Op De Trap	—	—	—	—
Andrew Souplis	50	—	4	2	John Van de Woestyne	—	—	6	—
John Doeden	40	—	3	4	Anthony Loof	—	—	6	—
Paul Castern	30	—	2	6	Mathias Jackson	—	—	6	—
Hermon Von Bon	50	—	4	2	Peter Shoomaker	—	—	6	—
Mary Henrix	50	—	4	2	Hance Peter Upstead	100	—	8	4
Abraham Tunes	50	—	4	2	Peter Shoomaker	80	—	6	8
John Lucken	50	—	4	2					

PLYMOUTH TOWNSHIP NAT: CHRISTOPHERS.

James Fox	£50	—	4s.	2d.	William Reynolds	—	—	6s.	—

BYBERY DAN:[LL] WALTON.

Richard Collitt	£45	—	3s.	9d.	Thomas Bingley	—	—	6s.	—
John Turner	42	—	3	6	William Walton	50	—	4	2
Thomas Cross	34	—	2	10	Thomas Walton	30	—	2	6
Nat: Walton	31	—	2	7	John Carver	34	—	2	10
Thomas Grome	70	—	5	10	William Carver	50	—	4	2
Sam:[ll] Ellis	35	—	2	11	Michael Butcher	30	—	2	6
Henry English	50	—	4	2	John Williamson	—	—	6	—
Giles Knight	30	—	2	6	John Hiburne	—	—	6	—
William Hibbs	30	—	2	6	Daniel Walton	30	—	2	6

UPPER PRECINCT NICH: SCULL.

Nicholas Scull	£100	—	8s.	4d.	William Harmer	£100	—	8s.	4d.
Richard Sanders	—	—	6	—	John Fisher	80	—	6	8
Robert Whitton	30	—	2	6					

DUBLIN GEORG EATON.

Joseph Fisher	£350	£1	9s.	2d.	Benja: Duffeild	£80	—	6s.	8d.
Allen Foster	63	—	5	3	Joseph Write	—	—	6	—
Silas Crispin	100	—	8	4	Edward Williams	60	—	5	—
Jonathan Levesly	100	—	8	4	William Wells	—	—	6	—
Richard Worrill	37	—	3	1	Thomas Clark	—	—	6	—
Edmond Wells	60	—	5	—	John Ayres	30	—	2	6
Joseph Ashton	150	—	12	6	Henry Wells	—	—	6	—
John Sibly	60	—	5	—	Peter Taylor	—	—	6	—
Erick Nellson	100	—	8	4	Robert Prismall	30	—	2	6
Neels Neelson	64	—	5	4	Samuel Jones	—	—	6	—
Peter Rambo	100	—	8	4	Georg Eaton	45	—	3	9
Lace Bore	124	—	10	4	William Black	—	—	6	—
William Cunditt	—	—	6	—	Georg Buson	30	—	2	6
Georg Northorp	—	—	6	—					

PASSIUNCK WICCACO MOYMENSING PET:[R] COCK.

Peter Rambo	£100	—	8s.	4d.	Swan Swanson	£250	£1	—	10d.
Lace Cox	150	—	12	6	Wolla Swanson	30	—	2	6
Andrew Bankson	200	—	16	8	Andrew Swanson	30	—	2s.	6d.
John Stilly	100	—	8	4	Andrew Wheler	80	—	6	8
Causper Causten	30	—	2	6	John Hendrick	—	—	6	—
Mathias Holston	100	—	8	4	Thomas Waite	50	—	4	2
Richard Roads	60	—	5	—	Alexand:r Crookshank	100	—	8	4
Peter Dalbo	50	—	4	2	Peter Cox	80	—	6	8
Henry Jones	30	—	2	6	Peter Cox Junr	80	—	6	8

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Bank Bankson	£80	—	6s.	8d.	Gunner Swanson	—	—	6s.	—
Robert Wilkins	—	—	6	—	Ditlo Casten	—	—	6	—
Peter Homan	—	—	6	—	John Cock	—	—	6	—
Gerrett Morten	—	—	6	—	And:r Bankson Jun:r	—	—	6	—
John Swanson	—	—	6	—					

BEYOND SCHOOLKILL THO: PASCALL JUN^{R}.

William Smith	£250	£1	—	10d.	James Keight	£40	—	3s.	4d.
Paul Sanders	100	—	8	4	William Warner	120	—	10	—
John Gardner	80	—	2	6	John Warner	40	—	3	4
Jonathan Duckett	100	—	8	4	John Boles	150	—	12	6
Thomas Duckett	100	—	8	4	Georg Scottson	60	—	5	—
John Roads	120	—	10	—	John Scooton	120	—	10	—
William Powell	100	—	8	4	William Bedward	30	—	2	6
John Albore	—	—	6	—	Thomas Pascall	150	—	12	6
William Wilkins	50	—	4	2	Georg Willcox	170	—	14	2

THE WELCH TRACT EDW: REECE.

Hugh Roberts	£200	—	16s.	8d	Edward Jones of Merrion	£80	—	6s.	8d.
James Thomas	80	—	6	8	Rice Jones	80	—	2	6
John Roberts	100	—	8	4	Griffith Jones	60	—	5	—
Rowland Richards	30	—	2	6	Katherine Thomas	100	—	8	4
Hugh Jones	40	—	3	4	Her two Sons	—	—	12	—
Cadwallad:r Morgan	50	—	4	2	Richard Walter	30	—	2	6
Robert David	80	—	6	8	David Hughs	—	—	6	—
Abell Thomas	30	—	2	6	William Probert	—	—	6	—
Robert John	—	—	6	—	Evan Harris	—	—	6	—
Edward Rice	60	—	5	—	Neels Jones	60	—	5	—
John Roberts	100	—	8	4	Mounce Jones	40	—	3	4
Daniel Thomas	30	—	2	6	Andrew Jones	40	—	3	4
Joshua Owen	—	—	0	1	Peter Yoakam	100	—	8	4
Charles Hues	30	—	2	6	Robert Longshore	200	—	16	8
Philip Price	40	—	3	4	Andrew Longoker	80	—	6	8
Isaac Price	—	—	6	—	Eusta Eustason	80	—	6	8
Fran: Howell	80	—	6	8	Widdow Eustason	100	—	8	4
Robert Owen	60	—	5	—	Two Sons of Age	—	—	12	—
Richard Cureton	80	—	6	8	Jonas Nellson	200	—	16	8
David Price	30	—	2	6	James Hunt	150	—	12	6
David Haverd	30	—	2	6	And:r Swanson Boon	350	1	9	2
Evan Henry	30	—	2	6	Three Sons of Age	—	—	18	—
Morgan David	100	—	8	4	Widdow Cock	150	—	12	6
Thomas Jones	30	—	2	6	Two Men	—	—	12	—
Robert Lloyd	—	—	6	—	John Ellett	60	—	5	—
David Thomas	—	—	6	1	Otto Earnest Cock	200	—	16	8
Edward Williams	—	—	6	—	Two Sons of Age	—	—	12	—
Edward Griffith	40	—	3	4	John Hart	—	—	6	—
John Hugh	30	—	2	6	Oliver Roberts	—	—	6	—
Thomas Davis	30	—	2	6	Daniel Macgar	—	—	6	—
Rice Thomas	40	—	3	4	Richard Bennett	—	—	6	—
Edward Jones	40	—	3	4					
John Humphrys	80	—	6	8	Total	£—	£314	12	9

Witness our hands at Philadelphia the 26th day of Sept:r 1693.

Samuel Carpenter
Samuel Richardson
James Fox
John White
} Assemblymen.

W:m Salway
Joseph Willcox
John Jones
} Assistance.

This is a true Coppy drawn from the Original Rate for this County of Philadelphia

℔ John Claypoole Collect:r

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CHAPTER IV

1700–1718

THE CITY CHARTER—PENN'S CLOSING YEARS

AS he landed from the *Canterbury*, on his arrival from England, on the Sabbath afternoon in December, 1699, Penn was accompanied by a tall young man of twenty-five, with florid cheeks, brown hair, and graceful though grave bearing. This was James Logan, born of Scotch parents, in Ireland. His father, Patrick Logan, of Ormiston in East Lothian, was a clergyman of the Established Church, but joined the Friends, removed to Ireland, and taught school—presumably at Lurgan, in County Armagh, where James was born 1674. His wife, the mother of James, was Isabel Hume, daughter of "a younger brother of the house of St. Leonard's, in the south of Scotland." This new comer, therefore, was one of the Scotch-Irish migration—the blood of St. Andrew's, the nativity of St. Patrick's land—and he may be fairly considered the forerunner of the great company of like character who were now nearly ready to move from the Hibernian to the Delaware shores. Logan had truly "come to stay," to be known in fact for the next half century as one who must be included in all estimates of the political and social forces of Pennsylvania. His advent here, as the old century was about to end, and Penn's patronship of his colonial enterprise was losing vitality and enthusiasm, may be taken as marking the close of one epoch and the beginning of a new and different one.

Logan had come out to be Penn's secretary and agent. Penn had found him in Bristol, whither his parents had fled out of Ireland, in consequence of the war in 1689 between James and William. He had received a good education, had spent some time in London with a linen draper, to acquire business experience, and had begun as a merchant at Bristol in 1698. Doubtless he was well known there, in the Quaker community of which Thomas Callowhill, Penn's father-in-law, was a prominent member, and the persuasion to try his fortunes in the New World was accompanied by definite assurances as to the position and opportunities he would here enjoy.

The opposition to Penn and his religious associates was now well

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developed. Logan noted, as they came ashore from the *Canterbury*, the presence of "the two ringleaders" of "the faction that had long contended to overthrow the settled constitution of the government." "Colonel Quary, judge, and John Moor, advocate of the Admiralty," he says, "went down to the water side among the crowd, to receive the Governor at his landing, who, not seeming to regard the very submissive welcome they gave him, and taking notice of an old acquaintance that stood by them, [they] expected nothing but almost as open hostility from the Proprietary as they were at before with Col. Markham, especially that copies of Col. Quary's letters to the Admiralty at home, against the government, were also brought over."[1]

James Logan

This picture of the scene at the landing-place discloses sufficiently the partly covert partly open warfare against Penn and his government. The party of opposition was slowly acquiring strength. It would be long before it could control either Province or City, but it would henceforth make itself felt. Logan, signifying in these paragraphs his attachment to the side which Quarry and Moore were attacking, could not foresee that his own experiences would be of a varied character—that in defending the Penn interest he would soon be as seriously in collision with David Lloyd and the democrats, as at other times with the "church party" and its leaders.

Penn had come over desiring, if not definitely expecting, to remain. His stay, as before, was a little less than two years. The Assembly of 1699 had been in session and had adjourned before his arrival. He summoned it to reassemble at Philadelphia, January 25 (1699-1700), and a law was passed especially aimed at illicit trade to Madagascar and "Natoll"—though the Assembly, not well up in the geography of southern Africa, sent to inquire, before finally passing the bill, the location of Natal, and were informed that it "was a place on the Main, near Madagascar, where it is supposed

[1] Logan to Wm. Penn, Jr., Sept. 25, 1700. (Penn-Logan Correspondence, I., 16.)—Penn, however, finding that Colonel Quarry seemed inclined to stand at a distance—which, considering the rebuff at the landing, was not surprising—sent Logan to him "with an inviting compliment," and he came and had an interview with the Proprietary, entering "into a very familiar conversation," etc. (Letter cited above.)

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the pirates intend to remove their magazines and trade." These proceedings had really only an indirect reference to Philadelphia affairs. The need for such legislation grew out of the pressure brought upon Penn in England to clear the skirts of his province of the charges sent over by the royal officials—spies and informers, expecting to earn reward at London by their services against the interests which were growing up here. A few weeks before his departure from England, the Lords of Trade had presented to the Lords Justices a report requesting that Penn be directed to "take care," on his arrival at Philadelphia, in regard to piracy, and at a meeting of the Council, January 5, he presented a letter from the Lords Justices, "the substance whereof was particularly to require him to be very careful in causing the acts of trade and navigation to be duly put in execution within his majesty's dominions, under his government, and that in order thereto he fail not to give constant protection, and all due encouragement, not only to the officers of his majesty's customs, but to those also of the Admiralties which his majesty has thought fit to be there erected."

The Madagascar trade centered at New York, and there, for the last year or two, the Earl of Bellomont, who had succeeded Fletcher, had been engaged in bitter controversy over measures for its suppression. He had found, when he arrived in April, 1698, that certain merchants of that city, including some of the most prominent among them, were deep in this business. "Privateers" in the Arabian Gulf, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean, preyed upon the richly-laden galleons of the East India trade, and carried them into a pirates' depot on Madagascar, where the merchant ships of New York, arriving with such supplies as the pirates required—chiefly rum, wines, and gunpowder—sold these at a profit of several hundred per cent., then loaded with the spoils which the freebooters had taken—the spices, the silks, the rich goods and objects of art which dazzled the eyes of the Western nations in that day—and returned to New York. Most of the principal merchants connived at and profited by this trade, we are told in the latest authoritative history of that city, and Arabian gold, and East India goods which had not passed through the custom house, "were everywhere common." One ship, the *Nassau*, Captain Giles Shelly, which left New York in July, 1696, for Madagascar, and in due time returned, netted her enterprising owners thirty thousand pounds profit, bringing back not only elegant fabrics of the Orient, but twenty-nine buccaneers also, who paid four thousand pounds passage-money, and upon their arrival imparted a picturesque effect to the Manhattan capital, by "swaggering about the streets, armed *cap-a-pie*, and clad in uniforms of blue, trimmed with cloth of gold and silver, their swords and daggers showing butts

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set with gems, and the stocks of their pistols set with mother-of-pearl."[1]

Four other sessions of the Assembly were held during Penn's stay, one in May, 1700, a second (at Newcastle) in October, a third in August, 1701, and the fourth in September of that year, just before his return to England. The two autumn meetings were important; the others were comparatively unfruitful. Besides the

STENTON (BUILT 1728), RESIDENCE OF JAMES LOGAN. AFTER PAINTING IN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

revision of the general code of laws, two subjects of interest to our present work were dealt with, the recasting of the fundamental law, and the provisions which led a little later to the separation of the lower counties from Pennsylvania. "The number of laws passed by the Proprietary, during his stay, this time, in the country, was one hundred, of which the major part was passed at Newcastle."[2] A tax of two thousand pounds was laid, of which Philadelphia county's share was £1025, showing its rapid increase in wealth compared with the rural counties. The law "to prevent accidents by fire" in Philadelphia and Newcastle, which had been passed by Markham's second Assembly, in 1696, was revised and extended to other towns—"Bristol, lately called Buckingham, Germantown, Darby, Chester, and Lewes." This law imposed a fine on persons who "set on fire their chimneys to cleanse them," or who suffered them to be so foul as to take fire, "so as to flame out at the top," and it required every owner of a dwelling-house within the towns named to "provide and keep, in or by his or her house, a

[1] Mem. Hist. of New York, I., 515. It was the pirates who made their rendezvous at Madagascar that Captain Kidd was sent out to capture He represented himself as acquainted with their haunts—which probably was the case.

[2] Proud, I., 424. (It was over a hundred.)

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swab twelve or fourteen foot long, and a bucket or pail, to be always ready against such accidents of fire." Other laws of 1700 provided rewards for the taking-up of boats or canoes found adrift; forbade the purchase of lands from the Indians, without consent of the Proprietary; revised the laws concerning the poor, and naturalization; regulated streets and water-courses in the city, and fences in the country; provided for the opening of roads and erection of bridges; and dealt once more with scolding, dueling, health-drinking, and mixing or adulterating strong liquors—usually known previously as the law "against putting water in rum." An act for the better regulation of servants provided that a bound servant should not be sold without his own consent and the approval of two justices; that every servant who should serve four years should have two complete suits of clothes, one of them new, an axe, a grubbing hoe, and a weeding hoe. More interesting than any of these was the first quarantine act, marking the progress of experience through the yellow-fever visitation of 1699. It recited that it had been "found by sad experience that the coming and arriving of unhealthy vessels . . . and the landing of their passangers and goods before they had lain some time to be purified" was very detrimental to health; and it provided that no vessel without a clean bill of health should come nearer than a mile to any port in the province or territories, without license from the Governor or two justices, under penalty of £100.

The Assembly was called in August, 1701, in order that Penn might lay before it a letter from the King, requiring of Pennsylvania a contribution of £350 toward the erection of forts on the New York frontier. This business was embarrassing; Penn could not, as Governor, appear delinquent in obeying the royal command, neither could he, as a professor of Peace, press on his co-religionists such a measure. He declined, though urged, to make any accompanying speech in presenting the royal letter, but simply delivered it with due respect. The Assembly finally made answer in two parts—the representatives from Pennsylvania excusing themselves on account of other taxes, and quit-rents, but professing a readiness to serve the King, "as far as their religious persuasions would permit," while those from the lower counties asked to be excused from building forts at a distance while they had none at home.

The discussions of the Frame of Government were completed at the session in September, 1701, and a new "Charter of Privileges" was agreed on, and signed on the 28th of that month by Penn, by his Council, Edward Shippen, Phineas Pemberton, Samuel Carpenter, Griffith Owen, Caleb Pusey, and Thomas Story, and by Joseph Growdon, Speaker of the Assembly. Its chief provisions were an annual Assembly, of four from each county, "of most note for virtue,

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wisdom, and ability," to be elected October 1, and meet October 14 at Philadelphia (unless another place of meeting should be fixed by the Governor and Council); the Assembly to choose its own Speaker, to sit on its own adjournments, "to appoint committees, propose bills in order to pass into laws, impeach criminals, and have all other powers and privileges of an Assembly, according to the rights of the freeborn subjects of England, and as is usual in any of the King's plantations in America." No provision was made for the election of the Council; its members were left to be appointed by the Governor, but it was omitted from the legislative function, and it was provided that the laws should be styled, "by the Governor, with the consent and approbation of the Freemen in General Assembly met." Practically, the law-making power now passed into the charge of the one popular chamber, with the veto of the Governor reserved.[1]

COAT OF ARMS OF JAMES LOGAN.

Two clauses in the new constitution referred to the lower counties: one providing that if any county or counties should omit to send representatives (as Newcastle had done in 1699), those elected and assembled should have full power of an Assembly; the other that if, within three years, either the Province or the Territories should decide not to join each other in a common Assembly, they might notify the Governor or his Deputy and have separate Assemblies, each county in the Province, in that case, to send not less than eight members, and the city of Philadelphia, when incorporated, two.

And here it may as well be added, completing this matter, that little time was lost in effecting the separation of Pennsylvania and Delaware. At the Assembly of October 1702 representatives from the lower counties did not appear, and upon the Governor issuing new writs to the sheriffs, those elected would not meet with those from the province, whereupon the latter notified the Governor that they also demanded a separation. The Assembly of 1703 was, therefore, elected in Pennsylvania, eight members from each county, and two from the city, but being doubtful of its powers adjourned from October to the 1st of May following (1704). At that time delegates from the lower counties (four from each), appeared inclined to join, but the Pennsylvania members were now obdurate, and declined any further arrangement. The separation was therefore final, and may

[1] See Charter of Privileges in full at close of this Chapter.

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be said—as it commonly is—to date from 1702, when the Delaware members refused to enter the joint Assembly.

Penn's public labors included not only those connected with the Assembly, but attendance at the frequent meetings of the Council, conferences with the governors of the adjoining colonies, further treaties with the Indians, and many minor matters. The Council sat at Philadelphia, except the meetings at Newcastle during the Assembly's sessions there in the autumn of 1700. Its business as usual covered a wide range of subjects, from the enforcement of the laws against piracy and illegal trade to the relief of the city bakers in the weight of loaves of bread. The regulation of the slaughter-houses, the discussion of the perennial complaints of Colonel Quarry, the preparation of bills for the Assembly, the hearing of petitions for redress of various grievances, the laying out of roads, the regulations of the Indian trade, the procuring of news concerning privateers and alleged danger on the border, may form a suggestion of the Council's ordinary business.[1]

His house at Pennsbury was Penn's usual residence, at least in the season of pleasant weather. For travel between the house and the city he had his "barge," to be used on the river, and a coach and horses for driving by the road. The letters of Hannah Penn,

[1] Feb. 14, 1699-1700: "Upon complaint of y^e^ poor against y^e^ bakers of bread for sale not being of the lawful and due assize," eight bakers appeared, "who generally answered that though it was hard for them to live by it, wheat being now 5s 6d per bushel, and that they having but small stocks were outbid by the eminent merchants and bolters, yet hoped their bread was of due assize."

July 3, 1700: "William Southbee [clerk of the marke:] and some of the bakers appeared with their bread, which being weighed was found too light." They said that if they came up to the assize they could not live, "which was the general opinion of the Council." It was therefore ordered that they bake "but 3 sorts of bread, viz.: white, wheaten and household," with three kinds of loaves, "a penny loaf or roll, a five-penny loaf, and a ten-penny loaf," and if any baker made his loaves too heavy or too fine they were to be "equally seizable" as if under the requirements.

May 21, 1701: "A petition of Robert Guard and his wife being read, setting forth that a certain strange woman, lately arrived in this town, being seized with a very sudden illness after she had been in their company, on the 17th inst., and several pins being taken out of her breasts, one John Richards, butcher, and his wife, Ann, charged the petitioners with witchcraft, and as being the authors of the said mischief; and therefore desire their accusers might be sent for, in order either to prove their charge, or that they might be acquitted, they suffering much in their reputation, and by that means in their trade. Ordered, that the said John and Ann Richards be sent for; who appearing the matter was inquired into, and being found trifling was dismissed." (Col Rec., II., 20.)

Aug. 1, 1701: "Ordered that there shall be no slaughter-house suffered in or about the town of Philadelphia, but over the river De aware, where the tide may carry off all their garbage, gore, &c., the places to be appointed by the magistrates, under the penalty of forfeiting their meat." (Col. Rec., II., 27.)

May 31, 1701: "Agreed, that [the Indian Trade] shall be carried on by a Joynt Stock, into which all persons shall be free to enter, especially the old traders, they with all others observing and submitting to such rules as are and shall be concluded on by the Government for its reputation and safety, and for the public benefit. That no rum shall be sold to any but their chiefs, and in such quantities as the Gov'r and Council shall think fit, to be disposed of by the said chiefs to those about them as they shall see cause.

"Application being made to this Board for an order to defray the charges of a boat with 4 oars, sent down for intelligence to Newcastle upon the report that a French pirate had been seen above Bombay Hook, which amounted to 38 shs., 30s. thereof for the boat, and 8s. expenses for liquors; ordered that the Treasurer pay the same." Col. Rec., II., 21.)

May 21, 1701: "The Gov'r informed the Council that after the sessions [on the 17th] a certain young Swede arriving from Lechay [Lehigh] brought advice that on 5th day last some young men of that place going out a hunting, being but a little while gone, several shots were heard to go off very thick, which was suspected to have been some of the Senecas coming down upon them, and that therefore he had sent two messengers, viz: Edw. Farmer and John Sotcher, who returning brought advice that the alarm was false, and that the shot was only at some swans." (Col. Rec., II., 20.)

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and many of his own, preserved in the Penn-Logan Correspondence, with other documents of the time, give us an interesting view of the domestic life at the manor-house.[1] He received parties of the Indians there, and made them presents and friendly speeches. In September, 1700, he prepared to entertain Governor Blackiston of Maryland, and Governor Nicholson of Virginia, but both fell ill on the way, and the former turned back; Colonel Nicholson reached Philadelphia "very weak with his fever." Penn accompanied him and Colonel Hamilton, of New Jersey, to New York, at the beginning of October, for a conference with Lord Bellomont upon measures relative to the common interests of the Colonies.[2]

THE EARL OF BELLOMONT.

This conference of the four governors at New York is of interest as indicating at this early time the tendency toward a closer colonial union, growing out of common interests. Penn had already given the subject serious consideration. His "Plan for a Union of the Colonies," presented to the royal Board of Trade, at London, in February, 1696-7,[3] had gone over the ground carefully and intelligently. Governor Hamilton, who had been appointed as early as 1694 the King's Postmaster-General of North America, and who had had experience in the establishment of post-offices and post-routes by the action of the several colonies, could testify also how desirable it

[1] Deborah Logan (b. 1761, d. 1839), in a note to the Penn-Logan Correspondence (I., 4), says: "The house was standing since my memory, though in a very neglected and decayed condition . . . During the Revolutionary War a person of my acquaintance was there, when the house had fallen in, and was in ruins, a hedge pear tree growing among them. I have since seen the [place] but nothing of the mansion remained [but] an old malt-house and some other out-buildings, also an avenue of walnut trees planted along the road . . . The mansion was represented as having been large and handsome for the time in which it was built; the frames and other work were brought from England. The roof was of lead and probably supplied a leaden cistern . . . The garden was large and laid out with parterres and good fruit trees." A survey by David Powell, in 1700, showed the Pennsbury Manor to contain 6,543 acres, about 1,888 acres having been sold off since 1682.

[2] Penn's relations with all of these governors, perhaps excepting Blackiston, were friendly. Nicholson appears to have visited him again at Newcastle, after returning from New York, and hearing later that he was ill, Penn felt competent to send him a prescription. Dec. 31, 1700: "I was troubled to hear Col. Quarry's account of thy health, after leaving us so well and brisk. Thou must excuse my solicitousness for thy recovery, and that I therefore recommend an infusion of wormwood, centuary, agrimony, and chamomile flowers, in good spring water, at least the three first. Put them in water hot, and drink it as a tea and also cold, instead of other drink at meals, or without wine, and moderate the bitterness as it may be grateful, especially at meals. It is a course I am falling into for prevention, for it fortifies the stomach, and sweetens the blood." (Buck, 295)—Penn himself had been unwell at Pennsbury for some time the previous summer.

[3] State Paper Office, London, reprinted Memoirs Hist. So. of Pa., VI., 264.

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would be for them to have closer bonds of association. The governors separated, intending to meet again in the spring at Philadelphia —a plan frustrated by Bellomont's early death—but a memorandum was drawn up by Penn "in short terms," as presenting "the heads on which we discoursed." It is entitled "Heads of several things proper for the Plantations, to be recommended home to England," and is as follows:

"1st. We are humbly of opinion for the more easy and certain commerce of the Northern Colonies of America under the Crown of England, it would be convenient that there would be one standard or coin, or that money were of the same value; for in Boston that pieces of eight, 6 shillings, go in New York for 6s. 9d., in Jersey and Pennsylvania 7s. 8d., in Maryland 4s. 6d., Virginia at 5s. and in Carolina.

"2nd. It would be much for the despatch of trade and business if a mint for small silver to the value of 6d. were allowed in the city of New York for prevention of clipping, filing as well as wearing, which is very troublesome.

"3d. For the encouragement of returns it would be very expedient that due encouragement were given for the exportation of timber from hence for England by an import on foreign timber, there being great quantities and good for shipping in these parts.

"4th. That great caution should be observed to adjust the bounds with the French Commissioners or the loss will be great and irreparable. We take the south side of the River and Lakes of Canada to be our just and reasonable boundaries, soil and trade with the Indians being much concerned therein.

"5th. For prevention of runaways and rovers, and fraudulent debtors coming from one Province to another for shelter, that it were recommended to all these governments to make a law, with the same restrictions and penalties, as if the whole were one government.

"6th. Foreigners coming daily of divers nations, especially Dutch, Swedes, and French, it is humbly offered that a general law of naturalization pass in England that such foreigners that come to inhabit in any of the King's Colonies that are by Act of Assembly declared freemen in the said Province, shall enjoy the rights and liberties of English subjects, except being masters or commanders of vessels and ships of trade.

"7th. That it were generally signified to the respective governments for the prevention of vexatious and litigious practices, that no appeal for England should be admitted under the real value of £300.

"8th. That not only charges in apprehending of pirates, but a proportion of the prey may be assigned for such as shall take them, for the encouragement of their apprehension."[1]

During their stay in New York Penn and Nicholson employed their good offices to compose the difficulties between Bellomont and the New York merchants, growing out of the piracy and privateer controversy. They "took pains," a letter from Bellomont says, "to reconcile me and the merchants. I told them I had no advances to make unless it could be proved I had governed arbitrarily, and oppressed them in their trade, contrary to law; that for my part I

[1] "Col. Nicholson has been very ill, and relapsed once or twice, and thereby our conferences have been retarded, which truly are of importance to the weal of America." (Penn to Logan, Oct. 1, 1700.)

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was in charity with them and all the world, but if the merchants of New York expected to be reconciled to me, upon the terms of my indulging them in unlawful trade or piracy, they should find themselves still mistaken, for I would be as steady as a rock on those points." [1]

A deed for lands between the Pennypack and Neshaminy creeks had been made by Tammany, his brother Weheeland, and his three sons—whose Indian names had been aliased Nicholas, Andrew and Charles—in July, 1697, under Markham's negotiations. The delegation of Indians who visited Pennsbury in September, 1700, made a conveyance to Penn of the Susquehanna river, with "all the islands therein," and all the lands upon it, on both sides, "extending to the utmost confines of the lands which are or formerly were the right of the people or nation called the Susquehanagh Indians." This is dated September 13, (1700), and is signed by two chiefs, who are described as "kings or sachemas" of the Susquehannas.[2] Apparently some of them remained in Philadelphia during the succeeding winter, for in April an extended treaty of amity and trade was signed by the same two chiefs, with others of the Shawnees, and some of the tribes on the upper Potomac, whose rights might extend into Pennsylvania—twelve chiefs in all, whose names, needless to give here, may be seen in volume one of the "Pennsylvania Archives." Later, there were deputations from the Iroquois here, for at the meeting of the Council, August 7, complaint was made of the "firing of guns from on board some vessels" lying in the river, as it had not only "fright-

[1] Bellomont to the Lords of Trade, Oct. 17, 1700. He survived the writing of this letter but a few months, dying at New York—worn out by gout and worriment—March 5, 1700-1. Word of his death was sent to Penn, who addressed a letter of condolence on the 17th to the Council at New York, and also one to the widow, expressed in terms showing his regard for her husband. The earl was thirty years older than his wife; she returned to England in 1702, and was remarried three times afterward, the last time at the age of 72. Bellomont is fairly described by Dr. Vermilye as an honest and law-abiding man, "open to reason and justice. . . He might have lived on terms with the New York merchants had he been willing to shut his eyes, or accept a bribe, or let things go. . . The simple trouble was that their greed and practices, and law and the earl's honesty could not be made to run in harness together." (Mem. Hist. N. Y., II. 38.)

[2] This confirmed negotiations by Governor Dongan of New York, made during the incumbency of that official, (1683-88), with the Five Nations, and also conveyances which Dongan had made on the strength of these, to Penn, at London, in 1696. (Cf. Pa. Archives, I., 121 et seq.) The Susquehanna Indians, however, regarded their title as not to be extinguished by action of the New York tribes.

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ened some women and children," but had alarmed "some of the Senecar Indians that come hither to treat with this government," and caused them to leave town, whereupon Penn, "in open Council informed the three Senecar Indians that stayed behind the rest" that the ships' firing was but "a sign of joy and kind entertainment of their friends coming on board," and orders were issued to moderate the practice. In the summer of 1701 Penn rode into the woods to the Susquehanna, and saw for himself the country which lay in that direction. June 21, Isaac Norris writes to Daniel Zachary: "I am just come home from Susquehanna, where I have been to meet the Governor; we had a roundabout journey, having pretty well traversed the wilderness. We lived nobly at the King's palace at Conestogoa, and from thence crossed to the Scoolkill, where we fell in about thirty miles up from hence."[1] In the autumn, as it became known that he intended going away, the Indians gathered at Pennsbury. John Richardson, an English Friend, who had been on a religious journey south and east, describes the scene. Many of them, and "not the least" among them, assembled, he says, for "council and consultation concerning their former covenants." One "particular" was "they never first broke covenant with any people; for, as one of them said, and smote his hand upon his head three times, they did not make them there, but, smiting his hand three times upon his breast . . . . in their hearts." After eating and drinking, which "was in much stillness and quietness," they "went out of the house into an open place not far from it to perform their cantico or worship." Making a small fire, they sat down around it, men and women, and "sang a very melodious hymn, which affected and tendered the hearts of many" of the audience. This it appears was a chorus; afterwards they beat upon the ground with sticks, and first one then another sang separately, and then being done, "they rose up and danced a little about the fire, and parted with some shouting like a triumph or rejoicing."[2]

Affairs political and domestic compelled Penn to return to England. His wife and daughter were not willing to live here. "I cannot prevail on my wife to stay, and still less with Tishe. I know not what to do," he says in a letter to Logan, September 8, 1701.

[1] Penn-Logan Corresp., I., 23. I. N. does not mean that they fell into the Schuylkill, but that, about 30 miles above Philadelphia, they reached that stream. It was probably at this time, if ever, that Penn had the traditional adventure at Valley Forge, when he was lost on "Mount Misery," and found the way out on "Mount Joy."

[2] John Richardson's Journal.—The entertainment in the house included drink. Richardson quaintly says: "When W. P. and they had ended . . . their council [he] gave them match-coats, with some brandy or rum, or both, which was advised by the speaker for the Indians to be put in the hands of their cassacks or kings . . . Which being done, the said king used no compliments, neither did the people . . . but as the aforesaid king poured out his drams, he only made a motion with his finger, or sometimes with his eye, to the person which he intended . . . So they came quietly and in a solid manner, and took their drams and passed away."

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Three weeks before—August 22—he had laid before the Council letters brought by the ship *Messenger*, "giving an account of the great and strenuous endeavors used by several united interests to procure an act of Parliament for annexing to the Crown the several proprietary governments." It was resolved at this meeting to call the Assembly—whose action has already been stated—and Penn immediately made preparations to sail. In his address to the Assembly he repeated his preference to remain, "for my heart is among you as well as my body, whatever some people may please to think, and no unkindness or disappointment shall (with submission to God's providence), ever be able to alter my love to the country and resolution to return and settle with my posterity in it; but having reason to believe I can at this time best serve you and myself on that side of the water, neither the rudeness of the season nor the tender circumstances of my family can overrule my intention to undertake it."

CITY SEAL OF 1701.

He had intended to go back in the *Messenger*, which as we have observed had arrived in August, but he actually took passage in the *Dolmahoy*, Captain John Fitch, and sailed on the 2d of November. It was a late start, and the ship was crank, and had run aground in the bay, so that it was with no little uneasiness his friends saw him off, with his wife, his daughter, and the little John. It proved, however, that they went not only in safety, but in surprising time. "We had a swift passage," he wrote from Kensington to Logan, on the 11th of January—"twenty-six days from the Cape to soundings, and thirty to Portsmouth . . . Tishe and Johnne after the first five days hearty and well." The little boy was to see Philadelphia again, the others never.

And now, with Penn's departure, we must separate more distinctly the affairs of his City from those of his Colony. The essential act by which Philadelphia took on an independent rank and dignity was performed in the last days of the Governor's stay. He signed the Charter for the City on the 25th of October, appointing Edward Shippen Mayor, and Thomas Story Recorder, Thomas Farmer Sheriff, Robert Asheton Town Clerk and Clerk of the Courts, and eight aldermen and twelve common councilmen. "I have," says the charter, "by virtue of the King's letters-patent, under the great seal of England, erected the said town into a borough, and by these presents do erect the said town and borough of Philadelphia into a city; which said city shall extend the limits and bounds as it is laid out between Delaware and Schuylkill." The title of the new body corporate was "The Mayor and Commonalty

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of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania," and the corporation thus created was, in fact, a "close corporation" of the type of towns in England, from the close of the Middle Ages to the Municipal Reform Act of 1835. The aldermen and common councilmen held office for life, and filled their own vacancies; the recorder also held for life. The mayor was chosen annually, from the aldermen, by at least five of the aldermen and nine of the common councilmen, the mayor or recorder being present. "The important characteristic of such a charter, from which many local consequences followed, was that, strictly speaking, the corporation proper was not the place or inhabitants, but a close self-elected corporate body, existing as it were independently of the community in which it was constituted, and possessing certain powers to govern the inhabitants."[1] The formation of such a body was not anomalous in 1701, for the English system remained unreformed. Penn had received his charter from the hands of Charles, in the heyday of the Stuart restoration, and he could grant the city only such corporate form as the letter of the patent authorized. The ancient liberties of the free burghers of the Middle Ages had been curtailed, and the municipal corporation of the English realm, in 1682, "was reduced from the general body of the freemen to a close, self-elected body of a few men holding office for life, partly from a dislike of the kings of those times to popular elections, but still more in order to control the elections of members of Parliament"[2]

The charter of 1701 subsisted until 1776, and then was thrown aside by the disturbances of the Revolution; in 1789 the Legislature of Pennsylvania granted a second act of incorporation. The mediæval system consequently lasted precisely three-quarters of a century. Feeble and ineffective in important particulars, it offended naturally and reasonably the popular sense of the right to join in making and renewing the government. When at last the convulsions of '76 gave it the stroke of death there were few to mourn its departure.[3]

[1] Allinson and Penrose's Philad'a, p. 9.

[2] Ibid., p. 260.

[3] The Charter is given in full as a Note at the close of this chapter. The reader who desires further analysis of it should consult Allinson and Penrose's careful work. Its lack of taxing-power, a municipal weakness derived from the English system, was a conspicuous and almost fatal defect of the charter. We quote from Allinson and Penrose:

"In 1704 the common council made a primitive enough attempt to levy a tax, by ordering that every inhabitant keeping cows over two years old should pay twelve pence per annum for each cow . . . A small duty was also paid from time to time upon wood landed at the public wharves, which in later times was farmed out for a term of years. The main sources of revenue, however, were from fines, fees, freedoms, city property, and lotteries.

"Fines furnished a large part of the city revenue. They were levied upon persons refusing to accept office, and for the non-attendance of members of the common council; and they constituted the penalty for many violations of the laws and ordinances. Some cases of fines are curious. One person is fined, 'he being very poor, and his wife like to be a charge upon the town': and, after the sheriff's commissions were deducted, one Laughton McClane's fine, 'for kissing of Osborne's wife,' amounted to £24, 5s.—a very large sum for those days. The fines, indeed, were frequently severe; and although the corporation was frequently appealed to by the offender, who meanwhile lay in the gaol, to remit or abate them, such were the urgent necessities of the city that they seldom consented, although occasionally they allowed a certain number of days' grace, or took a note for part of the fine." (p. 24.)

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The city government no doubt began at once, but the minutes of the Common Council earlier than October 3, 1704, are lost. There was some clash, at the start, between the city and county officials, the aldermen claiming the right to sit as justices of peace for both city and county, which Judge Guest and others of his colleagues strongly resented. Moreover, in their Mayor's courts they appropriated the fines, including that for the unlicensed sale of liquors, touching James Logan closely, he said, "as it is the only one I have been able to get a farthing by."

FAIRMAN MANSION, KENSINGTON, OPPOSITE TREATY TREE. BUILT IN 1702 AND TAKEN DOWN IN 1825.

Referring now to the city's affairs more particularly, its growth, in the years just preceding the charter, had included some buildings of importance, besides the large private houses. At Wicaco, the Swedish Lutheran Church, Gloria Dei, placed very nearly upon the site of the old block-house church of the Swedish pioneers, had been begun in 1698 and dedicated July 2, 1700. Still standing, substantially unaltered, it is the most venerable public building in Philadelphia. A small church building for the use of the Anglican congregation had been finished 1697—the predecessor of Christ Church, but perhaps not on the same site as that structure. The Friends had built their third and most important meeting-house, long known as the "great" meeting, at Second and Market Streets, in 1695. There was as yet no town-hall, no court-house, no state-house, no public building of any sort, for the use of the magistrates, the courts, the city officials, the Council or the Assembly. "While every other county has their county house," said Joseph Growdon and Joseph Pidgeon, in a conference with the Provincial Council, April 5, 1708, "here in the capital town of the Government the magistrates are obliged to hold court in an ale-house." The first of the preserved minutes of the Mayor and Commonalty, for the meeting October 3, 1704, are made "at the house of Herbert Carey, innholder." The Assembly probably met for some years in the Bank meeting-house of the Friends; in 1695 a large room in Sarah Whitpain's great house, on the east side of Front street below Walnut, was secured, one member from each county going security for payment of the

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rent.[1] The next year it met at Samuel Carpenter's house. A minute of 1699 shows that on the 6th of February (1699–1700) there was an adjournment to "Isaac Norris's house, by reason of the extreme cold, for an hour." In 1705 the Assembly appears to have been meeting in the Friends' school-house, at Fourth and Chestnut Streets, and as Thomas Makin, the teacher, complained that by the use of his school-room so long, he had lost three scholars, he was granted three pounds compensation therefor.[2] This school, it may be noted here, was the predecessor of the Penn Charter School, now on Twelfth Street, between Chestnut and Market. Penn granted it a charter in 1701, and amongst its distinguished teachers, later than Makin, were Robert Proud, the historian, and Charles Thomson, secretary of the Continental Congress. Down to the middle of the Eighteenth Century, this school may be considered the educational centre of Philadelphia.[3]

Of the condition of the people we have some testimony in the description of the Swedish clergymen, Rudman (rector of Gloria Dei), Biorck, and Auren. They arrived 1697, at the end of June, and coming up to Philadelphia, "a clever little town," were received by Markham "with great kindness." "The country here is delightful," says Biorck, in his letter home, "and overflows with every blessing, so that the people live very well, without being compelled to too much or too severe labor. The taxes are very light. The farmers, after their work is over, live as they do in Sweden, but are clothed as well as the respectable inhabitants of the towns [there]. They have fresh meat and fish in abundance, and want nothing of what other countries produce. They have plenty of grain wherewith to make bread, and plenty of drink . . . The Indians and we are as one people: we live in great friendship with them . . . They mostly go naked [he saw them first in the summer], but some of them are clothed. They are very courteous in their behavior, and fond of obliging the Swedes." Rudman's description is very similar. The population

[1] Whitpain's great house had a curious history. It was built with poor mortar—made of "shell lime"—and soon fell into a ruinous condition. As early as 1705 it was considered a menace to adjoining houses. Later, it was pulled down.

[2] Makin was the successor of George Keith, as teacher of the Friends' School. A minute of the Council, August 1, 1693, shows that he was summoned before that body, told he must not teach without a license, and "ordered to procure a certificate of his ability, learning, and diligence from the inhabitants of note in this town . . . which he promised to do." He was probably the first teacher in Pennsylvania, observes Dr. Wickersham, who was required to have a certificate! He was appointed Clerk of the Assembly in 1699, wrote a Latin poem (in full, in Proud, Vol. II.), descriptive of Pennsylvania, in 1729, and died old and poor. Pennsylvania Gazette, Nov. 29, 1738: "On Monday evening last, Mr. Thomas Mekins fell off a wharf into the Delaware, and before he could be taken out again was drowned. He was an ancient man, and formerly lived very well in this city, teaching a considerable school; but of late years was reduced to extreme poverty."

[3] Robert Proud, whose history of Pennsylvania is so often cited, was born in England in 1728, was a relative of Dr. John Fothergill, and for a time a tutor in London. He came to Philadelphia in 1759, and from 1761 to 1791, except an interval during the Revolution, taught in the Friends' School. He began his history upon resigning his teaching, 1791, and published it in 1797–8. He was a loyalist in the Revolution, a writer of verse which later generations cannot read; in person tall, with Roman nose, and heavy brows, "curled gray wig, half cocked, patriarchal-looking hat, and long, ivory-headed cane." He died July 7, 1813, a bachelor; there was a tradition that he had come to this country on account of a disappointment in love. (Cf. notice of his life by Charles West Thomson, Memoirs Hist. So Pa., Vol. I.)

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(outside Philadelphia), he said, "is very thin, and scattered all along the river shore, so that some have sixteen miles to walk or ride to church. Nevertheless, they very regularly attend . . . The houses are built after the Swedish manner.[1] The women brew excellent drink, as in Sweden, and they have also a liquor of apples or peaches, which they call cider; it is very pleasant to the taste and very wholesome . . . As to the government it is very mild, and the people live quietly under Governor William Markham, who is exceedingly well disposed towards us. There are many Swedes employed in the administration of government; some of them are councillors, whom they call judges; many of them are officers —captains, constables, ensigns, etc."

QUEEN ANNE.

Until 1700 the city had no regular watch at night. July 1 of that year, the Council directed the employment of a watchman "to go round y^e^ town with a small bell in y^e^ night time, to give notice of y^e^ time of night and the weather, and if anie disorders or danger happen by fire or otherwise . . . to acquaint the constables thereof." At the meeting of the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council, October 3, 1704, it was ordered that the inhabitants be divided into ten parts, and that each furnish a certain number to "serve upon the watch," also that "nine persons beside the constable attend the watch each night." A watch-house was ordered to be "built in the market-place, 16 feet long and 14 feet wide." The city was formally divided into ten wards—the first of such divisions—in 1705, and the constables in 1711 were ordered to furnish the Mayor with a list of all persons in their respective wards, in order that the night watch might be better regulated. But the volunteer system was a lame one, and continued for half a century to be the subject of continual complaint. It bore, it was said, hard on the poor. At best it was feeble and inefficient. Some refused to pay watch money, on the ground of intending personal service, and then evaded it. At last, in 1750, the whole subject was dealt with in an Act of Assembly, which reorganized the watchmen, granted them regular employment and pay, provided for street lamps and lighting, and—what was vital, in the absence of any taxing-power of the city authorities—laid a tax to cover the cost.

As to the morals of the city, judgments might differ. The chief

[1] These details do not apply, of course, to the "city proper," but to Wicaco and the Swedish neighborhoods—mostly southwards toward Chester.

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vice, no doubt, was drunkenness. There had been, up to this time, apparently but one homicide in the city—young Joseph Rakestraw, shot in September, 1700, by a negro. The complaints of the grand jury, after the city corporation had been formed, throw some light on the subjects which orderly people were concerned about. A presentment in September, 1702, to the "Mayor and Commonalty" recounted under five heads the "nuciences and aggrieviances" which the jury thought needed amendment. These included (1) "the great liberty of men's sons and servants . . . robbing of orchards, and committing unruly actions, especially on the first day of the week;" (2) "the great multitudes[1] of negroes who commonly meete together in a riott and tumultuous manner on the first day of the week above said;" (3) "the great damage the inhabitants of this city do dayly sustain by the great loss of sleepe, and other dammages, by reasin of the unnecessary multitudes of doggs that are needlessly kept in this city;" (4) "hay and reed stacks being placed in close yards and in fences among the throngs of buildings," increasing the danger of fire; and (5) "the great annoyance that the inhabitants of this city doe dayly receive by reason of butchers killing their meat in the street, and throwing the blood [etc.] into the streets, which is very hurtful to the health of the said inhabitants."[2]

We may judge from this list of the most serious nuisances that if it had not been found practicable to enforce perfectly the Puritan rule proposed so sincerely in the Great Law of 1682, still, considering the problem which such a city presented, with its population newly gathered, of diverse nations, religions, and habits, the experiment had not altogether failed.

The trade conditions of the city may be judged from data which we get from the letters of merchants and others. Isaac Norris wrote, December, 1699, that seven ships had arrived that year from England, "some of them 300 tons." Penn wrote from England, after his return, to James Logan: "This year, 1702, the customs upon goods from Pennsylvania amounted to £8000; the year I arrived there (1699), but to £1500 at the most; a good argument for me and the poor country." Pennsylvania, he said, now had a greater regard at London on account of this increase of trade, which required an officer to be assigned to it at the custom-house, as was the case with the trade of Virginia and Maryland. "New York, not the half of it," he adds. Trade conditions, however, were extremely depressed in 1702, and for some years thereafter. Logan's letters to Penn are filled with

[1] The jury, in their anxiety to produce an impression on the Mayor, used words, we fear, quite up to the mark of the facts. The negroes of Philadelphia, in 1702, all gathered in one "riott," could hardly have made a single "great multitude."

[2] Apparently the order to place slaughter-houses over the river, had not been enforced.

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lamentations over the scarcity of ready money. Whatever there was flowed to England. Some thought Penn must have carried great sums away with him—a suspicion sadly negatived by his empty purse and pitiful appeals to Pennsylvania. "The country [people] cannot pay for want of money," Logan says in May, 1702; "all our trade is now by discount and transfer of debts . . . I must take the greater part of the province rents in wheat . . . The country must have time, or they cannot buy at all, and though their bonds be given, when the time comes there is scarce any money." Again he says, in June, the same year: "I can find no way to get in the rents below [Delaware] but in tobacco, and scarce in that now . . . I expect very few [bills], there being scarce any kind of money amongst us to purchase them with." At the close of the year, December, he writes again: "Wheat, that while thou wast here was our best commodity, goes now begging from door to door, and can scarcely find a buyer . . . so that very few ships have gone out this fall, which used to be the busiest time, and even these lie here long before freighted . . . The merchants thus forbearing to buy, the country can get no money. Wheat they offer in pay, but here is no vent for it, it is no better than nothing . . . The merchants buy goods of the vessels come in at 150 per cent., but how they will be paid for none can foresee. Unless corn rise in England, or a peace—which is not likely—open us the Spanish trade, this province seems in danger of being brought to an ebb."

VISCOUNT CORNBURY.

Logan speaks here of a possible "peace." England was once more at war. King William was dead. He had formed the new Alliance, of England, Holland, and the Emperor, in September 1701, and had died after the fall from his horse, March 8, 1702. Anne succeeded, and two months later—May 4—she declared war against France and Spain. The peace of Ryswick had lasted less than five years, and now the English standards, in the hand of Marlborough, were to be victoriously advanced into the depths of Germany.

The effect of the war on Philadelphia was serious. Trade to the Spanish West Indies—even by way of England—was cut off. French ships and privateers covered the coast. The price of wheat

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fell, as Logan describes, and there was no market for it. In a letter, at the end of 1702,[1] Logan speaks of a vessel from Philadelphia reported captured by the French, and carried into St. Malo, "laden with logwood and tobacco, which two commodities no other port [but] this in English America sends." If the report be true, he says, it adds one more "to the many [losses] this place has sustained the last year, in which they have suffered as much as in all the last war, there being seven vessels lost in and about the West Indies, (of which but one by the French), besides those bound to England."

It was in these times of depression that men of enterprise who had confided in the future, and taken up large holdings against a day of profit, found themselves embarrassed. The blight fell heavily on Samuel Carpenter—who in this narrative has so often been named as a worthy man and public-spirited citizen, prudent in council, steadfast in friendship. He may be definitely named as Philadelphia's first great merchant, the father of her early enterprises. After twenty years of activity he found himself, though long reputed the richest man in the Colony, overloaded with property, and encumbered by debt. "I know not," says Logan, in a letter to Penn, in 1702, "whether Samuel Carpenter writes to thee by this opportunity. He has been much depressed of late in his spirits, about his incumbrances, which are heavy, for he pays no less than ——[2] per annum interest. The great damp on trade, and the [dull] sale of land discourages him of the first." Isaac Norris, in August, 1705, writes of him to Jonathan Dickinson, in words of sympathy and appreciation: "That honest and valuable man, whose industry and improvements have been the stock whereon much of the labours and successes of this country have been grafted, is now weary of it all, and is resolved, I think prudently, to wind up and clear his incumbrances." Samuel himself wrote to Dickinson—his intimate and sincere friend—candidly exposing his situation, and offering to sell him some of his property, especially his mills, islands, etc., at Bristol.[3] In a later letter Logan said: "He lost by the war of 1703,

[1] Penn-Logan Corresp., I., 80. The letter, undated, is misplaced in that work; its allusions show that it belongs, not to 1701, as stated there, but to 1702, as above.

[2] The provoking blank was left by Deborah Logan, when she copied the letter. Penn-Logan Corresp., I., 232.

[3] Carpenter and Dickinson were friends and associates in various ways. The former came to Philadelphia from Barbadoes about 1685, and had suffered there (Besse, II.), for unwillingness to bear arms. Jonathan Dickinson came from Jamaica, with his family, in 1696, and was shipwrecked on the Florida coast. His graphic narrative of his experiences with the Indians, and safe deliverance, is well known, with the title "God's protecting Providence man's surest help and defence." (This was printed 1699, on the Friends' press, by Reynier Jansen, the successor of Bradford.) After coming to Philadelphia he went at times to the English West Indies, to attend to commercial affairs, but later resided more permanently here, and became a member of the Provincial Council (1711), member of the Assembly and Speaker, and one of the Judges. He died 1722.

Samuel Carpenter says to Dickinson: "Because I am much in debt, as I said before, I would sell the whole or one-half," of the Bristol property. "It has been my lot," he explains, "to lay out myself much in this country, so that upon the falling-off of trade and losses and disappointments many ways [he has been endeavoring] to sell what I can to pay off debts, and if it please

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because the profitable trade he before carried on almost entirely failed, and his debts coming upon him, while his mills and other estates sunk in value, he could by no means clear himself, and from the wealthiest man in the province in 1701 he became much embarrassed."

Trade, however, persists even under bad conditions. Merchants ventured, ships went forth. Isaac Norris, who in 1693 had come from Jamaica—where his father had perished in the great earthquake of 1692—and who soon became a prosperous merchant and leading citizen, described to Penn, in a letter written in London in 1707, the growth of the Pennsylvania trade. "I presume," he said, "that the province consumes annually of the produce and merchandise of England to the value of £14,000 or £15,000 sterling, and this is imported chiefly from England and the other plantations, chiefly Virginia, Maryland, Barbadoes, Jamaica, New England, and New York. Returns are made for the same, in part direct to England, and partly through the other plantations, viz., the West India islands, Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina, who take off our provisions and produce. The direct returns are chiefly tobacco, furs, and skins . . . There [are] now in England four vessels, two at London, and two at Whitehaven, which loaded at Philadelphia, and brought at least seven or eight hundred hhds. of tobacco besides twenty-five or thirty tons of skins and furs, and I have advice that there are four vessels likely or intending to come this summer." Four years later, 1711, in another letter, written from Philadelphia, he says: "I am apt to think the country has, within ten or twelve years, increased to near ten times its then produce of corn, wheat

FRIENDS' MEETING HOUSE AND OLD COURT HOUSE, SECOND AND MARKET STREETS.

God to disencumber myself before I die . . . although I am possessed of a considerable estate, I am very uneasy, and look upon myself as very unhappy, and worse than those that are out of debt, although but mean, or that have but little of the world's goods." He adds in this letter that besides the Bristol property, he would sell a tract of 5,000 acres, on Pennypack or Poquessing, or his house and granary on the wharf, "where I lived last," and the wharves and warehouses, or part of them. "also the Globe and long wharf," and three-sixteenths of 5000 acres, "called Pickering's mine." "I have sold Elsenborough to Rothero Morris . . . and my house and lot over against David Lloyd's to William Trent, [this was the "Slate-Roof House," price £850] and the scales to Henry Babcock, and some other things, and the Coffee House to Captain Finney, my half of Derby Mills to John Bethel, and a half of Chester Mill to Caleb Pusey, and his son-in-law, Henry Worley."

Samuel Carpenter's affairs were probably readjusted and a large part of his estate preserved to him. He remained in the Provincial Council to his death, 1714, having served in that body, (except some years in the Assembly), nearly continuously since 1689. He was also Provincial Treasurer, and died in that place. Samuel Preston, who succeeded him as Treasurer, served to his death, in 1743.

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especially. The market of Lisbon has been of great advantage to us. We have now going seven or eight vessels, and some of them large. The old crop near out, but a very full and likely one on the ground, if it please the Lord to give us a kindly harvest." [1]

Upon his departure Penn had commissioned Andrew Hamilton, of New Jersey, previously governor there, to be his Lieutenant-Governor. Hamilton's service was brief. He spent some time in Philadelphia—where his free expenditure occasioned concern to Logan—but felt insecure in his place for want of confirmation by the Queen.[2] After some months Anne confirmed him for a year, but the order had scarcely crossed the ocean when he fell ill, and after some weeks died at Amboy, N. J., April 26, 1703.[3]

At Hamilton's death, Edward Shippen, President of the Council, became the acting executive, and so continued until the arrival of John Evans, on the 2d of February, 1703-4, with a commission from Penn as Lieutenant-Governor. He gave way precisely five years later, to Colonel Charles Gookin, who had arrived in the city, on the last day of January, 1708-9, with a like commission from Penn. Gookin served to the end of May, 1717, when he was superseded by Sir William Keith, whose term of office extended to 1726, and will be particularly spoken of in the chapter to follow.

The successor to the Earl of Bellomont in the government at New York was a man of very different sort, Edward Hyde, Viscount Cornbury, son of that Earl of Clarendon whose sister became the wife, not too soon, of James the Second. He was therefore first cousin to Anne, and her favor, regarded as his stepping-stone to fortune, had served him in securing from William this important appointment—to assume which he sailed a week after the death of the King. Macaulay—whose inveterate dogmatism and frequent malevolence throw, it is true, a doubt upon all his judgments of men—describes Lord Cornbury as of slender ability, loose principles, and an arrogant and violent temper. "Impoverished by his vices, intent on gain without regard to methods, and with little capacity for administration," [4] he had come as an example of that class of colonial governors

[1] Wheat, he adds, is 3s. 3d. per bushel. In July, 1700, when the bakers' loaves were condemned for lightness (ante, p. 135, note) it was 5 shillings.

[2] The Lords of Trade charged him with not having suppressed illegal trade when governor of the Jerseys. Penn finally got him confirmed for a year, "on trial."

[3] Logan to Penn from Amboy, April 29, 1703: "The mournful occasion of my being here is the funeral of that worthy gentleman, our Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton. He lay sick of a putrid and hectic fever for about nine weeks, and departed the 26th instant, in his perfect senses, and was interred yesterday in the afternoon. We had advice of it at Philadelphia but the evening before by the post; and presently William Trent, Thomas Farmer and myself, being all who on that short notice could get ready, for Friends were mostly gone to Salem meeting, hastened away to pay this last respect, and came time enough to meet the corpse at the grave." (Penn-Logan Corresp. I., 186.)

This Andrew Hamilton must not be confounded with Andrew Hamilton, the lawyer, prominent a few years later in the affairs of Pennsylvania. The Governor had married (probably his second wife; he appears to have had three), Ann, widow of Robert Wharton, of New York, daughter of the former deputy-governor Rudyard. He left one son, John, who subsequently held some crown offices in New Jersey.

[4] Ellis H. Roberts's New York, I., 228.

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sent out by the "mother" country to grow fat quickly by preying upon her colonial offspring.[1] He is of interest to us in this narrative, as illustrating the hard lot of the colonists under such administrators, and the difficulty which the honest men amongst the new and raw communities must have had to maintain decent and just government. *Prima facie*, in every dispute between the governors sent from England and the people here, it may be assumed that the former represented methods, or were actuated by motives, which the latter were right in resisting. The exceptions to this rule of judgment are rare.

Isaac Norris

Cornbury interests us, too, because he was soon heard of at Philadelphia. It was during the uncertain tenure of Hamilton, and the party opposing Penn were sanguine of overthrowing the system set up under his patronage, and of substituting a royal governor, an established church, an organized military force, and those social concomitants in which there would be due opportunities for people of quality to get what they regarded as their own. The royalists at New York had fawned upon and flattered him. He had shown his disposition to reverse Bellomont's policy, to restore to office rascals who had discredited Fletcher, and to stigmatize once more the men who had supported the unfortunate Leisler. Such a great man, now towering above others in the sunshine of royal favor, sent word to Governor Hamilton, in June, 1702, that he was coming at once to Burlington to proclaim the Queen. He reached that Quaker town on the 21st, being the day called Sunday, Governor Hamilton and others having met him on the road to Crosswicks. The next day he came to Philadelphia, and was entertained by Hamilton at the slate-roof house. "I hasted down" from Burlington, says Logan, "and in a few hours' time had a very handsome dinner, really equal, they say, to anything he had seen in America. At night he was invited to Edward Shippen's, where he lodged, and dined to-day [23d] with all his company, thirty in number. He is just now gone off in the boat, very handsomely attended, expressing a great satisfaction in the place, and the decency of his entertainment in all its parts."[2]

Logan considered these efforts judiciously made. The entertainment, he said, cost some money, his lordship's retinue being so large,

[1] "When Lord Cornbury was appointed to the government of New York and the Jerseys, John Askew [an English Friend] wrote to a friend in the country that he came partly to get money, for that his quality greatly exceeded his purse." (Deborah Logan's Note, Penn-Logan Corresp., I., 376.)

[2] Logan to Penn, June 23, 1702. Penn-Logan Corresp., II., 109.

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"but if there remains any room for a favor from the court to this province, I believe there has seldom been any [attention?] better bestowed upon it, considering his near relation to the crown." Lord Cornbury was further invited by him to Pennsbury, and went up the river in fine style, "attended all the way with four boats besides his own," and about ten in the morning (24th) arrived there, his train now increased to fifty. Logan had sent up "wine and what could be got," and Mary Sotcher—John, the steward, had gone to England to get a legacy left him by his brother—had exerted herself to show Pennsbury at its best. By her "great diligence," continues Logan, "and all our care, we got ready a handsome country entertainment, which, though much inferior to those at Philadelphia, for cost, etc., yet for the decency and good order gave no less satisfaction, which he expressed at his departure to the highest degree, promising to acknowledge it to thee, and to serve us all that ever [may] lie in his power, either in England or here." [1] Not knowing, yet, whether the bill to change all the proprietary governments to royal ones might not pass Parliament, Logan intimated that they might do worse, in that event, than to have Cornbury govern also at Philadelphia. He had succeeded so well in taking his lordship in hand, and keeping him in safe company, that those who considered themselves the true royalists had been left behind, "and none of the chief of them waited on him up the river." With the near recollection of his three good dinners, he took horse again at Burlington, and rode back to New York, and whatever hopes might have been entertained of his helping to overset the Penn regime, it is certain they never bore any fruit of importance. His doings in New York, until, in 1708, news was received of the appointment of his successor, Lord Lovelace, and he was forthwith deserted by his followers, and thrown into the debtors' prison—these events belong to the history of that city.

Immediately on receiving news of Hamilton's death, Penn hastened to the Queen for another governor, and the business being expedited, and the royal confirmation quickly obtained, the new appointee presented himself at Philadelphia on the 2d of February, 1703–4. Mr. John Evans was a young gentleman "not above six and twenty," and this time Penn thought he had made no such mistake as with Blackwell. He considered him "sober and sensible," and expected him to be "entirely in my interest, as far as he may

[1] Penn to Logan, July 25, 1702.—"Edward Shippen and Samuel Carpenter, in the name of themselves and others, sent after him to New York, a pipe of excellent Madeira wine, imported lately in a vessel of our own, directly, and a tun of double beer, which has engaged him in all protestations of service possible in these parts, or wherever he has an interest." (Penn-Logan Corresp., I., 125.) Cornbury came over again in August, and another time, the following year. This last time he brought his wife, and young William Penn entertained them at Pennsbury. In the August (1703) visit, it was rumored his lordship was to have the government of Pennsylvania, for certain, and Logan kept watch on him very strictly, but there proved to be nothing in the story. (Logan to Penn, P.-L. Corresp., I., 220, et seq.)

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go." He was the son of an old friend, and Penn felt sure would be "discreet and advisable," and would be fond of the company of such solid counsellors as Samuel Carpenter, Edward Shippen, Isaac Norris, Richard Hill, and "honest Griffith Owen." Moreover, he was a Welshman, and the Welsh, Penn knowingly said—for was he not of that blood?—"are mightily akin," so that it might be he would have influence on "the parson,"—the Reverend Evan Evans, now in charge of the Anglican congregation at Philadelphia, with its outlying missions.[1]

PENN'S SIGNATURE AND SEAL TO CITY CHARTER OF 1701.

We need waste little consideration on the new Governor. Penn's expectations, characteristic of the unextinguished optimism which made him always hope for good of those not yet proved evil, were all doomed to disappointment. The young man proved to have neither a wise head, sound principles, nor clean morals. His five years' stay, viewed at this distance, is not without numerous elements of comedy, yet at the time its events were serious enough to those who had most at stake in Philadelphia. Penn's reliance on the clannishness of the Welsh was not prudently attended with the remembrance that the Celtic temper is liable also to domestic quarrel, and that in the mountains of Wales, as among the Scottish highlands, it was the feuds amongst the clans which always weakened their defense against the common enemy. Could he have foreseen, as he wrote so cheerfully to Logan upon Evans's appointment, how his two Welshmen, the young Governor in the executive seat, and that hardened veteran of many verbal battles David Lloyd, from his chair at the head of the Assembly, would exchange defiances for five long years, he must have dipped his pen instead in the sad-colored ink with which it was now becoming only too familiar.

The great question, to which all others were for the time subsidiary, was that of arming for war. The conflict with France and Spain was the overshadowing fact in the situation. It caused continual anxiety as to the two directions from which attack might come, the French in Canada, or their Indian allies, and hostile ships upon the seas. Of the latter, of course, Philadelphia thought most. The question was, How much shall be done officially, by

[1] Upon the decease of Thomas Clayton, 1699, noted in the text, (p. 120), Rev. Evan Evans was sent out by Compton, Bishop of London, as his successor.

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law, at the common cost, to raise and maintain troops, to build forts, to buy cannon and ammunition, to fit out ships of war?

There were several parties to this controversy. The Friends were mostly consistent in their policy of opposition to military equipment. They knew that the Colony, from its position, was com-

OLD SWEDES CHURCH, GLORIA DEI, AT WICACO.

paratively safe. The royalist party, on the other hand, considered that a community which did not regularly maintain an armed force must be contemptible at all times, and certainly delinquent and disloyal in time of war. Between these there were other parties. There were many who, without scruples as to fighting, were little inclined to the taxation which indulgence in it would entail. There were others who considered that the Colony had done and was doing as much as could be justly demanded for the common defense, and who regarded the frequent outcries over imminent attack by the French as theatrical devices to alarm and inflame the community.

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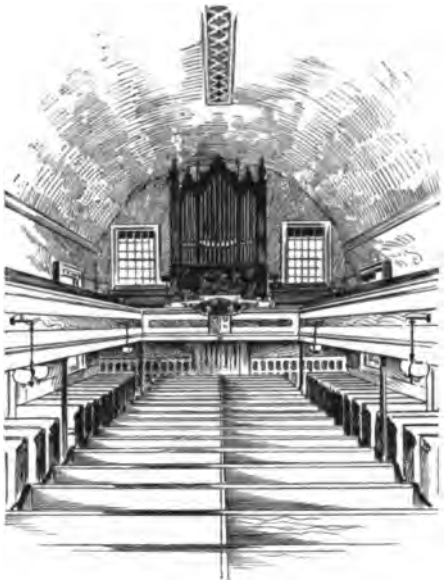
Governor Evans, as it turned out, was to bring these performances, so far as they were really spurious, into final contempt.

In the last analysis it came to this: the Assembly held the purse; the people elected the Assembly; the popular majority was largely against a military organization. It resulted finally that compromise methods were adopted. The Governor, who after Penn's departure was always one not scrupulous as to bearing arms,[1] exercised the military authority; militia companies of volunteers were formed; in time of war privateer ships went out to prey on the enemy,[2] and the Assembly laid its taxes, voted its money, used its credit, "for the service" of the sovereign, leaving to him or her, or their representative in the Governor's chair, the responsibility of applying the money. When Blackwell was pressing the Council to organize a military force, in 1681, the Quaker members had clearly enough intimated to him that as he exercised the powers conferred on Penn in the charter of 1680, "to levy, or muster, and train all sorts of men," etc., etc., and as he did not take their view of the Christian unlawfulness of war, they would not tie his hands. "We leave the Governor to his own discretion," said Griffith Jones. As for myself, declared Samuel Carpenter, "I had rather be ruined than violate my conscience in this case," but "we do not take it upon us to hinder any." These were the Friends, and Luke Watson, not of them, also said, "I suppose the whole power is in the King, and you as Governor." During the administration of Hamilton, a volunteer militia was organized. Orders reached him in July, 1702, "to proclaim the war," and he not only did this, but stimulated the effort of Captain George Lowther—"a gentleman of Nottingham, of the family of Yorkshire," bred to the law, but "retired from England until some storms blew over"—to raise a company. Lowther met with some difficulty; "on beating up the town with drums," he "found only the meaner sort came forward to enlist," the Quakers of course declining, and the "church party" considering that it was



INTERIOR OF OLD SWEDES CHURCH, LOOKING TOWARD THE CHOIR.

[1] We are not here counting Edward Shippen, in the interval between Hamilton and Evans.

[2] The first from Philadelphia, apparently, went in June, 1706, with a commission granted to Thomas Hurst, by Gov. Evans.

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not good policy in them to aid this compromise of their demand for an established militia. But there must have been, on the whole, a definite result accomplished, for in July, 1704, Logan wrote to Penn: "There are three good companies of the militia in town, under Captain Roche, late of Antigua,[1] young Captain Finney, and Captain Lowther, but the old party still are at all endeavors to discourage it." [2]

GOOKIN ARMS.

Governor Evans was accompanied to Philadelphia by two other gentlemen of high consideration, William Penn, Jr., son of the Founder, and Roger Mompesson, a lawyer, who had been sent out to be Judge of the Admiralty and Attorney-General. The party caught the town napping; "they arrived late at night," says a letter of Isaac Norris, "unheard to all the town, and at a time when we were big with the expectation of a Queen's governor." The next day (February 3, 1703-4), the Governor's commission from Penn, with the Queen's approbation,[3] was "published at the market-place, in solemn form and order, the said Governor being present, and attended with the Council of State, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Council of Philadelphia City, the principal officers, gentlemen, and inhabitants of the place, from whence returning to the Council chamber, the Governor took the chair and held a Council." The distinguished party went presently, with James Logan, to keep house in the large mansion which William Clark—he of Sussex County, whose house the pirates pillaged—had just built at the southwest corner of Third and Chestnut streets, "Clark's Hall." [4]

[1] "The person thou hearest of is one Capt. George Roche, from Antigua. He has bought Christopher Sibthorpe's, and last week has taken most of Samuel Carpenter's warehouses, and part of the dwelling-house, and carries on a great trade, especially to Antigua."—I. Norris to J. Dickinson, July 28, 1704. (Penn-Logan Corresp., I., 312.) And Logan also writes to Penn (Ibid, 287) of "George Roche, whom I mentioned to thee . . . a stranger, of a great estate, from Antigua, who is made of the Council, as I then proposed to thee." Subsequently he estimated him "a weak man, though generous."

[2] Forty years after, as we shall see, Franklin adopted the same expedient of a volunteer militia, and the plan then was esteemed so brilliant, that, as was not uncommon, he was awarded praise for it as something both new and ingenious.

[3] The latter was dated at Hampton Court, July 30, 1703. (Col. Rec. II., 115.)

[4] Logan to Penn, July 14, 1704: "The Governor at present lodges at Capt. Finney's, the sheriff of this county, but intends, if he can acquit himself of an engagement with Robert Asheton, to make one of our family in William Clark's house, in Chestnut street, which we were forced to take, the whole town not affording any suitable accommodation to thy son as a boarder . . . We have now been in it a month, having continued till then at Isaac Norris's, whose wife, though very obliging, could not bear so considerable an addition to the number of her family, especially of her children, now six in number, and small. Samuel Carpenter is now retired wholly to his plantation. Edward Shippen's wife is too humorsome, and it suited not his [? thy] son's circumstances to be with him."

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William Penn, Jr., was the youngest of the three children of Penn's first wife—Springett, Letitia, William—who had lived to grow up. Springett, as we have seen, had died in 1696. This other son was of a different character. His father had sent him over to Pennsylvania in the hope that he might profit by the visit in manners and morals. He left behind him his wife and child. Penn's letters to Logan and Logan's in reply pitifully record the failure of the experiment. The young man did not enjoy the narrow life here, nor incline to the rules of conduct prescribed by the Friends. A few months' experience sent him back to England.[1] Before he went, however, he had assisted at a performance which thirty years earlier, in London, might have passed unnoticed, but which, in Philadelphia, in 1704, caused scandals that echoed to England. On the evening of November 1, in the tavern of Enoch Story, in Coombs Alley—the chief hostelry, perhaps, of the town—William Penn, Jr., Governor Evans, Sheriff John Finney, and one or two others, all drinking there, began a dispute with James Wood, a constable, and James Dough, a watchman, over the militia question, and presently fell

FAIRHILL MANSION, RESIDENCE OF ISAAC NORRIS.

William Clark, the owner of Clark's Hall, was returned from Sussex county to the first Assembly, at Chester, in 1682, and was elected a member of Penn's first Council, 1683. He was a man evidently of much force of character, always prominent in affairs, and warmly attached to Penn. When the latter, after his long voyage over in the *Canterbury*, in November, 1699, reached the Capes at last, William Clark put out to meet him, evidently in bad weather, and at no small risk, for Penn wrote from Philadelphia his great satisfaction in hearing "that after the danger your kindness exposed you to in the sloop you all got so well ashore. The thoughts of it were a great concern to me till eased by the news of your safety." Clark was collector of the customs at Lewes, a justice of the peace, and almost continuously in the Council. He was made Speaker of the separate Assembly for the Lower Counties, at Newcastle, in 1705, and protested with the three other Friends, who were members, against the Militia act which was passed, though, as Speaker, he was obliged to sign the bill. "The same night he sickened, as he thought of a surfeit of cherries, and in two days died at Newcastle . . . I think, notwithstanding all the faults alleged against him, he was the best man in those parts." (Logan to Penn, July 4, 1705. Penn-Logan Corresp., II., 35.)

"Clark's Hall" was conveyed by William Clark, April 22, 1704, to his son, William Clark, Junior, and Rebecca Curtis, of Barbadoes, the deed reciting that the two were about to marry, and as the father was pleased with "such a worthy and virtuous person as the said Rebecca," "with whom he [William, Jr.] is likely to have a considerable estate," he made the property practically a gift, to be void, however, if the marriage did not take place in six months.

[1] Penn to Logan, Feb. 4, 1701-2, when the visit was proposed: "My son shall hasten; possess him, go with him to Pennsbury, advise him, contract, and recommend his acquaintance. No rambling to New York, nor mongrel correspondence. He has promised fair; I know he will regard thee . . . Be discreet; he has wit, kept the top company, and must be handled with much love and wisdom; and urging the weakness or folly of some behaviors, and the necessity of another conduct from interest and reputation, will go far . . . he is conquered that way, pretends much to honor, and is but over-generous by half, and yet sharp enough to get to spend. He cannot well be put on. All this keep to thyself." Again, in a letter of 1703: "Immediately take him away to Pennsbury, and there give him the true state of things, and weigh down his levities, as well as temper his resentments . . . Watch him, outwit him, and honestly overreach him for his good: fishing, little journeys (as to see the

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upon and beat them. There was a general row; the officers sought to arrest their assailants; the other tipplers in the place took sides with Penn and Evans, and a crowd gathered, and Wood and Dough were faring badly, when in came help for them, the Mayor, Griffith Jones, and an Alderman, Joseph Wilcox. Wilcox, it is said, professed not to know Penn, and beat him severely, while the young man called loudly for a pistol. The affair produced an indictment by the grand jury against Penn, Finney, and two others, but the Governor issued a proclamation forbidding the trial. With this discreditable business fresh in the minds of all, the young heir—as was then supposed—to the proprietorship of Pennsylvania quitted the town, laying up against it many serious grudges.

GEORGE I.

The Assembly, in October, 1703, had adjourned to May 1, 1704—the Council also "proroguing" it to that date, to save its claim of power to do so—but Evans summoned it for April 10. He had made a number of additions to the Council, among them Richard Hill, William Trent, William Clark, Jasper Yeates, William Rodney, and James Logan (who was already Secretary), and he also added William Penn, Jr., and Judge Mompesson. The Pennsylvania Assembly came as called, and twelve delegates from the Lower Counties also appeared. Evans exerted himself in vain to procure a united meeting. After several interviews with each party and finally a "free conference" with both, at nine in the morning of the 15th (April), "in the great chamber at Joseph Shippen's,"[1] the effort at

Indians), &c., will divert him; and pray Friends to bear all they can, and melt towards him, at least civilly if not religiously." But Isaac Norris wrote to Jonathan Dickinson, July, 1704: "Our young proprietary seems to like the country, and talks of fetching his family; but by endeavoring to sell off all his lands he must give me leave to think otherwise. He goes to no other worship, and sometimes comes to meetings; he is good natured, and loves company, but that of Friends is too dull." (Penn-Logan Corresp.)

The young man sold off his property (the manor of Williamstadt, 7,490 acres, now Norristown, and adjoining lands, he pressed upon William Trent and Isaac Norris for £850, Penna. currency), and returned to England by the *Jersey* man of-war, in November next after his arrival. Logan had had an unpleasant experience with him, but he begged Penn "to be very tender to him in thy resentment . . . He has much good nature, wants not very good sense, but is unhappy chiefly by indiscretion. 'Tis a pity his wife came not with him . . . Scarce anything has a worse effect upon his mind than the belief thou hast a greater respect for thy second children than thy first, and an emulation between his own and thy younger seems too much to rivet him in it . . . He is and must be thy son, and thou either happy or unhappy in him." Penn wrote, on his part, to Logan: "If my son prove very expensive I cannot bear it, but must place to his account what he spends, above moderation, while I lie loaded with debt and interest here . . If he brings not wherewith to pay his debts here his creditors will fall foul upon him most certainly." Again, after his return: "My son has come safe, though near foundering in the *Jersey* . . . He is my greatest affliction, for his soul's and my posterity's or family's sake."

[1] Joseph Shippen was the son of Edward, the Mayor, and married Abigail Gross, a Boston woman. Logan writes to Letitia Penn, Aug. 14, 1702: "Joseph Shippen is married at Boston; we expect him here in ten

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union was finally abandoned, the Delaware twelve withdrew home, and the Pennsylvania twenty-six convened in an Assembly of the Province alone.

The charter of 1701 had made the Assembly supreme in legislation. As we have already remarked, the Council was not mentioned as participating in this function. If that was a mistake, Penn had made it. And if he would look back over his own writing, he would see that in his letter (1681) to the settlers on the Delaware before his grant he had said: "You are now fixed at the mercy of no governor that comes to make his fortune great; you shall be governed by laws of your own making, and live a free . . . people"; and that in his letter to Robert Turner (1681), he had said: "For the matters of liberty and privilege I propose . . . to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief; that the will of one man may not hinder the good of an whole country." Doubtless he had at many other times spoken or written in the same way. His first Assembly at Chester, and the second one at Philadelphia in 1683, had fixed the impression that the people ought to have, and were to have, the substantial power of making their own laws. In England the outreach of the Parliament, after the enormous step of 1688, grew continually. All experience teaches that in government nothing is more futile and few things more dangerous than to make concessions from absolute to popular power, and then seek to recall them. In the year 1704, in Pennsylvania, the conditions illustrated this theme. Penn's revision of the fundamental law, at his departure three years before, had conceded to the Assembly its independ-

days." Logan was a suitor for the hand of Ann Shippen, Joseph's sister, but unsuccessfully; she married Thomas Story, 1706, and died of consumption, 1712. William Penn, Jr., aware of Logan's courtship, writes to him from England, Aug. 18, 1702: "I am sorry you are like to be unsuccessful in your amours. I assure you you have my good wishes, and should have my assistance were I there. Pray give her and her brothers my respects, and tell Joe I hope he will be your friend, for the friendship's sake he promised me when here, as well as for your own." Of Abigail, the Boston wife, Watson says: "And when she visited her relations some time after [her marriage] she came all the way from Boston on horseback; nor is this all, she brought a baby with her safely, resting it all the way on her lap. Think of that, ye ladies of the present day." (Annals, I., 369.)

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ence. This was final. Nothing could again successfully coerce the Assembly during the remaining years of the Colonial period, except pressure from the government at home, and the imminent risk of becoming a Crown colony. Penn might lament his generosity, Logan inveigh against the popular ingratitude, and the royalist party feel full of disgust at the presumption of the mob, but the concession had been made, the people had taken the Founder at his word in his day of hopeful good humor, and they meant to have the contract kept.

CARPENTER MANSION ON CHESTNUT ST., AS IT APPEARED IN 1720. AFTERWARD THE SITE OF THE ARCADE.

It was, however, not yet a settled question. We look back at it now and see that the manner of settlement was inevitable, but in 1704 the subject was still in the throes of controversy. "Some things seem to jar," said that level-headed citizen, Isaac Norris, "but I shall only take up the commonplace of our opinionated Judge Guest, and wish 'the due mean be observed between arbitrary power and licentious popularity, as it ought to be in a well-tempered authority.'"[1]

At the moment, and for years after with occasional brief periods of exception, the intensest force, the best writer, the readiest speaker, the ablest if not the only lawyer, in the Assembly, was David Lloyd. This man awaits a more complete and careful study. He has been usually described as black, indeed; it is surmised by some, now, that he was a Pym or a Hampden on a narrower stage. It is probable the truth lies between these extremes—that he was a dogmatic man, proud of his power of leadership, fond of a good dispute, overborne by his own logic, carried along by his own eloquence, an advocate too often, a statesman too seldom, inclined rather to harangue the Assembly than to guide it quietly—that in fact his temper had the Celtic faults of being strenuous at times when moderation would have been wiser, and vehement when good humor and tact would have better served the cause. But in the conflict between him and Logan, now begun, and long to continue, the latter's faults of tem-

[1] Norris to Penn, October 11, 1704. (P.-L. Corresp., I., 337.)

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perament also appeared. His letters show how he must many times have inflamed Penn and led him astray by his sharp and often censorious judgments of men. He did not know how keen his pen-point was. He writes of "that rogue Pentecost Teague," apparently for no other reason than Teague's unwillingness to subscribe to the fund for Penn's assistance.[1] He speaks of that "ridiculous old man, William Biles," "that weather-cock Judge Guest," "that composition of vinegar and wormwood, J. Moor;" "that insatiate office-monger, Captain Finney," and his descriptions of affairs are often drawn in terms to which these epithets make the key-note. As for David Lloyd, sometimes he has to tolerate him, but he is again and again spoken of in bitter words. "That disaffected man," and his "unparalleled piece of baseness" are moderate beside "that rascal," and "that lurking snake." He speaks of "the base ingratitude" with which Penn had been treated by people here, and he censures the slowness with which subscriptions to relieve his financial needs go on, though, as his letters show, he knew well how bare of money the people were, and that especially in the country, where the Friends were strongest, a gold or silver coin was almost a curiosity.

EVANS ARMS.

The effect of these letters on Penn was unhappy. Burdened by debts, consumed by anxieties, advancing in years, with a spendthrift heir, a grasping son-in-law, a wife of Martha's temperament, and a house filling with new children, he could not maintain the bright hopefulness of the days of the *Welcome*, nor dream anew the dreams he then enjoyed. Then he had before him a white sheet upon which to inscribe his generous intentions; now he found that other hands had written upon it many lines of cross-purpose. Gulielma Maria had shared with him the plans of a Utopian State; Hannah's mind ran on quit-rents, settlements, and the future of her growing family. The Father of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia, *pater patriæ* indeed, was rasped and distressed by his correspondence with his agent, and his letters hither, though in parts still vigorous and clear, become from this time on marked by passages dejected, querulous, and threatening. In these sad moments he turns this way and that for

[1] Deborah Logan feels compelled to deprecate this libel on P. T. (P.-L. Corresp., I., 67.)

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help, but mostly toward the scheme of transferring the Colony to the Crown.[1] Perhaps he did not note that Logan, who at heart was sound, and only resolute for what he considered the rights of the interest he represented, frequently took back his own censures, and reversed with equal positiveness the unfavorable judgments he had once expressed.[2] He was a keen, positive man, liable to be censorious, but thoroughly honest and completely faithful, put in a most difficult place, between the upper millstone of Penn's pressing demands and the nether one of the people's sense of their own necessities and interests. Both sides needed to be considered. Isaac Norris, sensible that Penn was not doing this, wrote him in February, 1704–5, a long and kindly letter, somewhat obscurely expressed—though he apologizes "for being thus homely and plain"—but intended to tell him that while Lloyd and his Assembly were "linking imaginary with the true interests of the country," and making demands which could not all be justified, he wished there was on the other side "a more ready condescension to what is reasonable, just, and for the true interest of the place, and that some punctillios were rather stept over than that we should be thus . . . stripped of laws and privileges that might be some barrier to arbitrary administration, if such a one should unhappily be our lot." And Logan himself, writing a few weeks later, in April, 1705, felt that he must admonish Penn to consider his attitude toward the people; he begs him not "set such a value as thou dost" upon the charter of 1701, nor to forget "that one part of the people's inducement to come over were the privileges thou proposed." Naming

HIGH STREET PRISON AND MARKET SHAMBLES.

[1] He writes to Logan, (June, 1702); "Let these ungrateful men [Anthony Morris and David Lloyd] see what I have suffered for them . . . They may meet with their match after a while that have so basely treated me—unworthy spirits!" Again [1702]: "I would also have Col. Markham have the registry and probate of wills, but let the records lie as they do that you may see I dare reward that base man [David Lloyd] according to his villainy, and I will not have thee pay him one penny more, let what will be due, as attorney-general." Again, discussing his intended surrender to the Crown, he writes, (Sept., 1705): "I will have that mischievous man, David Lloyd, brought on his knees as my letters express it, let his defenders do and say what they will . . . I am a crucified man between Injustice and Ingratitude there, and Extortion and Oppression here. The Lord uphold my spirit thro' it all!"

[2] For example, Griffith Jones. Logan writes, Feb. 11, 1704–5: "The present Mayor, Griffith Jones, direct contrary to what was expected"—by Logan, of course—"acquits himself with the greatest moderation and most temper that any in his place have done." And the next day to Letitia Aubrey (Penn's daughter, married to William Aubrey), in the same vein: "Griffith Jones, now Mayor, carries matters with great ease, and I hope the temper of the people generally is mending." In other letters he takes back frankly sharp things he has said of Jasper Yeates, and of Captain Finney. Griffith Owen he speaks of lightly in one or two letters, but in another as "steel to the back."

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some of these, Logan says, "thou was large in thy declarations and prints, which by their accepting of thy proposals altogether, becomes a part of the contract." "The baseness and ingratitude of some"—which he here dilates on—does not change the fact that "when they have all the privileges they at first contracted for, or were given to expect, 'tis certain they have no more than their due, and therefore these are not so much to be accounted acts of grace as performances of a covenant." These were true words. Logan would better have said some of them earlier, and kept them himself more frequently in mind. He adds a sentence or two which deserve to be quoted: "I hope this freedom will not offend, nor be judged . . . too uncourtly. It arises from the best of principles, true friendship, and is built on the most sacred basis of all things to me, the everlasting and unalterable standard of justice."[1]

Evans was probably provoked by his failure at the outset to maintain the Union. With this to begin with, he soon established his quarrel with the Assembly. It covered several points, and continued throughout most of his five years' service. It cannot be here dwelt on in detail. The Assembly's mind concerning him was soon formed, and David Lloyd had a case easy to argue. In November, 1704, old William Biles, a member, as so often before, from Bucks, cried out in disgust: "*He is but a boy; he is not fit to be our Governor! We'll kick him out! We'll kick him out!*" The old gentleman dated his residence in Pennsylvania further back than the days of Penn. His age and his temper might excuse his hasty words. But upon the adjournment of the Assembly the Governor sued him for £2000 damages, and David Lloyd's plea for him of privilege as an Assemblyman being overruled, a judgment for £300 was obtained. This it would seem met general approval, the supposition being that the Governor meant simply to teach him a lesson, and would do no more than make him pay costs. It proved otherwise, however. Being told by Edward Shippen that the Governor's anger was cooled, William ventured to town, shook hands with the Governor, felt that the old score was wiped out, and was surprised an hour or two later by the Sheriff with a warrant from Justice Robert Asheton, taken out by the Governor for the three hundred pounds. The Sheriff took the old man first to a tavern, then to jail. The news flew about the streets. William's friends in the Assembly—for he was "an ancient settler, that had borne offices," etc.,—rallied to his support. Logan found the Governor on the street, took him to a private house, and plead with

[1] He suggests to Penn, at this point, that in matters suitable he write to the Governor direct, "and rather refer me to him than him to me, for I would rather have one thing of importance go well than have the credit of being intrusted with ten."

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him not to press the matter, but in vain, and at the end of an hour told him, "with some vehemence," as he admits, "that he had stabbed his own interest in the people's affection, and [Penn's] also, to the heart." But Evans had begun to desire the money. It was this blood he scented.[1] The Friends exerted themselves in William's

FRIENDS' MEETING HOUSE AND ACADEMY, S. E. CORNER OF CHESTNUT AND FOURTH STREETS.[2]

behalf—though he was a troublesome member—and their "good women took good care of him in prison." He lay there a month, until finally Logan's threat to represent the matter to Penn loosened the Governor's clutch, and the old gentleman was released from gaol, humiliated, but certainly not conciliated, and rode up to his farm at the Falls.

All this, at various stages, was made part of Evans's quarrel with the Assembly. But he had more fuel in store for that fire. The old demand for an established militia was still pressed, and Evans was very anxious to show a complete preparation for the possible, if not probable, French invasion. He bethought himself of an ingenious plan to increase the warlike ardor. He prepared, with all due art, a letter, as from Governor Seymour of Maryland, and signed it with that gentleman's name. It contained alarming news of French ships off the coast of Virginia. Laying this document before the Council on the 14th of May (1706), that body resolved to put the town "in the

[1] In one of his letters, Logan describes him as keen to get money.

[2] From an old print. It represents a scene on a Second day morning in 1789.

The figures in this picture have been identified as follows: The one on the extreme right, Benjamin Chew; the third from the right, John (or Henry) Drinker; the large person emerging from the first gateway, Robert Proud; the isolated figure between the second and third gateways, William Waring.

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best posture of defence," that all who had arms should at once form companies, and that every house should be searched to see what ammunition could be collected. Next day the Common Council was given the news, and on its part exhorted the watch and the constables to extraordinary vigilance. Meantime Evans had also prepared dispatches to come from Newcastle, giving the reports of danger in much more alarming form. Then, on the following day, he rode "two miles out of town," to dine with Captain Roche, the rich West Indian, and waited events, giving orders—which afterward awakened Logan's suspicions—that if any word came to him from Newcastle it should be sent to him at once. The bomb exploded in due time. It was Fifth-day morning; Samuel Preston, Isaac Norris, and other sound Friends were about to gather in their meeting of "mid-week" worship. At 9 o'clock there rode in John French, of Newcastle, with William Toang, also, and "with all the symptoms of truth, consternation of countenance, and every gesture agreeable to express the same," spread their dire report—*six French brigantines passed Newcastle at two this morning, firing "not less than forty or fifty great guns on the town," and are now near, coming on the flood tide to attack and destroy Philadelphia!* Reports from the Delaware Capes they also spread—that the town of Lewes was plundered and burnt! The alarm which the news caused may be imagined. The Friends, it is true, who were on their way to meeting, went and held it. Some others of them went into their houses, shut their doors, and sat down. The Governor, being sent for, came at once, with every appearance of excitement, and rode up and down the streets "with his sword drawn," ordering all to arm themselves and muster on Society Hill. Powder was dealt out, some threw their goods into the wells, or places less nice, women were taken ill, children were sent to Frankford and elsewhere for safety, and ships at the city front made sail up the river. It was the first day of the Fair, and this, which had "become a general time for payments," "was utterly discomposed." A few of the younger Friends armed and joined in the muster on Society Hill.[1] But as no enemy appeared, Logan, at once distressed and suspicious, went down the river "with a light boat and four oars," and presently met a shallop which had been farther down, and had returned with the word that there was certainly no cause for the alarm. No ships were in sight. The river was clear, and as peaceful as ever before. Then, as the truth began to dawn on all, the revulsion may be imagined. What a scare! What a trick! What losses of property! What injury to the Fair! What an affront to all good people! Who had devised it? Evans's hand was perceived before long, and the disgust

[1] "Edward Shippen, Junior, John Hunt, Benjamin Wright, and two or three others, were all equip'ed themselves with guns," Samuel Preston says. (P.-L. Corresp., II., 122.)

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deepened. David Lloyd easily drove another nail into his official coffin. The event has lived for almost two hundred years in the history of Philadelphia as the False Alarm, and deserves for its many picturesque features far more than this hasty narration.

The Lower Counties, separated from the Province, showed no scruple about "bearing arms." The militia bill which William Clark had signed two days before his death had secured them several companies of militia, and the Friends, though supposed to be still under the peaceful ægis of Penn's system, found themselves sharply fined for not training. Governor Evans had his strongest following in Delaware. Failing now to induce the Pennsylvania Assembly to begin a system of defenses for Philadelphia—something after the manner of Vauban, perhaps—he procured from the Assembly at Newcastle an act to erect a fort at that place, and to inspect and control from it the commerce of the river. The law required all ships, up or down, to come to, send ashore, and obtain leave to proceed. If they had to be fired on, in order to stop them, fines, increasing in amount for each cannon-ball, were imposed. Ships bound up, not belonging to the river, were required also to pay "powder money"—half a pound of powder for each ton of the vessel's measurement.

This was indeed rendering void Penn's early toil to make the Delaware a free highway to his upper colony and its "capital city." The Philadelphia merchants and seamen were thoroughly alarmed. Precisely what effect it might have on their commerce could not be forecast. The Assembly resolved that it was destructive to trade, and threatened the depopulation of the Province. The fort was begun, all the same, and its construction hurried on under Evans's direction. He had gone privately to New York and procured there "Captain Redknass, the Queen's engineer," to lay it out for him.[1] In the spring of 1707 the merchants generally resolved to defy it, and gave orders to their captains accordingly. At the end of April Richard Hill and Samuel Preston had ready for sea their new sloop, the *Philadelphia*. She was loaded for Barbadoes, cleared, and lying in the river. Governor Evans learned that they proposed to pass the fort, and mounted his horse and rode for Newcastle. Richard Hill, a

[1] Evans, though called "rash," was not a man who advertised beforehand the plans he was revolving. "The difficulty is," said Logan, who was as much his friend as possible, "that when the nearest to him he is so hidden that he closes himself, like what is said of the cuttle-fish, with his own inbred darkness, and escapes the sight." And he adds that when he spoke to him, "only the first time," of paying his share of the bachelors' housekeeping at Clark Hall, he "broke off at once, never eat more," there, but left him to pay the whole bill, and bear the rent of the large house! "He is exceedingly dark and hidden . . . He has a sharp kind of short wit in conversation, with which his silence gives a greater advantage." Logan speaks in this letter (Aug. 10, 1706) of Evans's "education under his father, and his instructions in travels, with his dislike so deeply and early imbibed against our kind of people." (P.-L. Corresp., II.)

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Quaker from Maryland, who had been in Philadelphia since about 1700, had followed the sea in his youth, and was known when he came here as Captain Hill. He was a man of peace, but not less a man of courage.[1] Going on board the *Philadelphia*, himself, on the morning of the 1st or 2d of May, and accompanied by Samuel Preston and William Fishbourn, he proceeded down the river. Evans was at the fort. He had spent much of his time there of late, hastening its erection and equipment. What now happened is variously told, and there seems to be no one clear and certain account. But some of the facts are undisputed. Richard Hill took the helm of the sloop, and ran past the fort. The gunners fired on him, but he passed safely, one shot only going through his mainsail. Then he ran into Salem creek. There, to his surprise, lay a sloop, with the Queen's flag aloft, it being the yacht of Lord Cornbury, Governor of New York and the Jerseys. To him the case was submitted. French, the commander of the fort—the same who had been Evans's accomplice in the False Alarm—had followed in a boat, and so, also, Evans himself. Representations were made to Cornbury, and Hill and his companions made depositions before him, in order that if they were arrested and brought to trial in Delaware, they might not be deprived of evidence. Cornbury acted, it must be said, rightly enough. He reproved Evans, declared that the fort's interference with the river was unlawful, and presently let the *Philadelphia* proceed on her voyage. Richard Hill returned to the city a clear victor. He had beaten the Governor in the open field. Evans at first declared his purpose to persist, and Logan feared there would be a condition little short of war, but finding every one against him, his own Council as decidedly as the Assembly, he yielded, suspended the operation of the law, and, ostensibly at least, agreed to its repeal by the Delaware Legislature.

If we add now that the Assembly had sent in 1704 a memorial to Penn, somewhat irregularly prepared, and signed more irregularly by David Lloyd, representing its conceived grievances; that this was generally considered harsh and offensive when its purport came to be known; that it caused much scandal, and deeply wounded Penn—though it had a reasonable share of truth for its justification; that thereupon there was a reaction against the measure, and such a rally, especially of the Friends, to Penn's support, as put David Lloyd for a short time into partial eclipse; that the controversies of the Governor and the Assembly continued, with long addresses by Evans, and long replies signed by "David Lloyd, Speaker";[2] that the

[1] His wife was Thomas Lloyd's daughter Hannah, the widow of John Delavall.

[2] One of these, covering some pages of the Colonial Records, related to David's sitting down, while the Governor was conferring with the Assembly. David alleged that he had stood up as long as he could, but

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Assembly at length "impeached" James Logan as Secretary of the Council, on an extended list of technical charges, which Logan answered with rhetoric and epithets as strong as they sent; that the Council evaded the Assembly's demand for his trial, and the Governor declared for his part he had no jurisdiction; that finally, in November, 1709, as Logan was about sailing for England, the Assembly issued a warrant for his arrest and commitment to the county jail, until he should make satisfaction to the House, or it should order further; that this warrant Governor Gookin, who had now arrived, ordered Sheriff Peter Evans to disregard, and that Logan, departing a few days after, remained absent over two years, only returning in March, 1711–12;—this summary must serve for seven years of proceedings very tedious, complicated, and difficult to unravel, and which the exigencies of our narrative require to be cut short, as not of large importance to the history of the city.

James Hamilton

Colonel Charles Gookin, the successor of Evans as Lieutenant-Governor, reached Philadelphia on the evening of the last day of January, 1708–9. He had been expected. It had been known for some time that Evans's official consequence was drawing to a close.[1] Evans received the Colonel civilly, called on him "at his lodging," and accompanied him very formally to the market-place—still the one official centre of the city—where his commission, with the Queen's approbation of his appointment, was read, "with the usual acclamations."

was fatigued. The Governor insisted that as he was then representing the Queen's majesty, no one ought to sit in his official presence. (Col. Rec., II., 328, et seq.)

[1] Evans's conduct has no doubt been sufficiently condemned by writers on this period. It may be that his follies were chiefly those of youth, and there is testimony that he reformed his morals—whose deficiencies, in a place the size of Philadelphia, were not likely to be either overlooked or understated. Logan writes to Penn, Sept. 1, 1708: "He has very much altered his conduct for a considerable time past, living as regularly as most men in the place, and I believe now is from real conviction . . . firmly principled against immorality." He had become a suitor for Rebecca Moore, daughter of John Moore, Collector of Customs, who is described by Logan as a very beautiful and attractive girl. When word came from England, by Capt. Finney, that he was to be removed, it broke off the match, but it was resumed later, for November 8, 1708, Logan wrote of the "fair Rebecca" that she "is now the equally fair Madame Evans, which name she assumed in church the 28th of 8br. last, I hope to her much satisfaction." The young couple lived for a time in the Fairman mansion, at Shackamaxon, and later returned to England, where, Watson says, "he lived a long life." Logan, in his letter Sept. 1, 1708, states the pay he had received: out of the land tax £800; from the three years' impost about £500; from the three Lower Counties, near £200; about £300 or £400 by perquisites; £112 paid by Logan on Penn's account, at the beginning of his term; "and his part of the housekeeping [at Clark Hall] is still to be reckoned for." He had "fully resolved" at one time, Logan says, to stay here, "whether Governor or not," and bought a plantation at Swanhook near Newcastle, where he made considerable improvements.

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The new Governor was a bachelor, a soldier by profession, and though called Colonel Gookin here, had been "a captain in Earle's regiment." His grandfather, Sir Vincent Gookin, had been a large land holder in Ireland, in the "replanting" of that aggrieved island, under James the First. He had agreed with Penn to be moderate in his expectations as to pay. "He intends," Penn wrote, "if not ill treated, to lay his bones as well as substance among you, having taken leave of the war and both England and Ireland." The Colonel, we may say in brief, did on the whole fairly well—not so well as Markham, who, with all his gout and other drawbacks, had the best sense of any of Penn's queer party of lieutenants, but still greatly better than either Blackwell or Evans. He needlessly fell into disputes with the Assembly more than once, but for a part of his time—especially with the Assembly of 1710—he got on as well as could be expected. There were sure to be differences over some subjects, as military expenditure, the inability of the Friends to take or administer oaths, and the raising of money by taxation, and if Gookin and his Assemblies disputed over these it was no matter of surprise. He added to them, however, a few extra quarrels over the organization of the courts, and sundry nice questions as to methods of procedure in legislation—subjects which like points of order in a raw parliamentary body, might occasion the greatest heat and most prolonged discussion. At times it did seem as if the old Colonel was not altogether right in his mind, and an admission he made to the Council after Keith's arrival, as an apology for having charged Logan and Richard Hill with being "Jacobites," and disaffected to the King, has been taken to imply that he meant he had been at times insane. What he said was "that his physician knew he had been lately under a great indisposition of body which had disordered his head"—by which he probably intended to signify some temporary attack much short of insanity. That he turned his back on deputations from the Assembly, and once or twice refused to meet the Assembly itself, can hardly be regarded as proving him crazy.

The conflict of England with France and Spain, the "War of the Spanish Succession," resolved on by William III. at the edge of his grave, to check the power of France and the ambition of Louis XIV., and proclaimed, as we have seen, by Anne, in 1702, as she ascended her throne, continued eleven years, and therefore covers a large part of this period of our history of Philadelphia. It proved that no danger from Canada or the northern Indians really threatened this colony, though there was always more or less concern about it, and some of the measures of precaution adopted bore hard on citizens like poor Nicholas Gateau, "the French cook." He had lived here several years, but in 1704 found people so hostile—in time of war—

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William Penn Esqr Lord & Governor of the Province of Pensilvania & Territories thereunto belonging To all to whom these presents shall come Sendeth Greeting & Know Ye That I the humble Request of Diverse of the Inhabitants & Settlers of the Town of Philadelphia being some of the first Adventurers & Purchasers within this Province for their Encouragement & for the more Regular & Orderly Government of the said Town And for the more Regular & Orderly Government of the Inhabitants thereof I Have by virtue of the Powers & Authorities to me Granted by the Kings Royal Patent under the great Seal of England Erected the said Town into a Borough & by these presents Do Erect the s[aid] Town & Borough & the Liberties & Precincts thereof into One County & Call the same by the Name of the County of Philadelphia & the Inhabitants thereof & such as shall hereafter Settle there Shall & may Forever hereafter have & Enjoy all & Singular the Liberties & Privileges of the Freemen of the Counties of Bucks & Chester & of this Province & Territories & Shall & may Forever hereafter Send Two Persons Men of the most Sufficient Inhabitants of the said County to Serve & Represent them in Assembly for the Province aforesaid & Shall & may Forever hereafter Hold & Keep their Courts & Elections for the said County in the Court House of the said Town & Shall & may Forever hereafter have & Enjoy all & Singular the Liberties & Privileges of Markets Fairs Customs & Duties for the Use & Benefit of the said County & Inhabitants thereof as shall be Ordered by the Governor & Assembly of this Province for the time being And I do Nominate Constitute & Appoint Edward Shippen to be the present Recorder of the said County & Clerk of the Peace thereof to Hold the same for the Term of his Natural Life if he Behave himself well therein & Duly Executes the Office by himself or sufficient Deputy or Deputies And I do Appoint Thomas Holme Surveyor General to be the present Sheriff of the said County to Hold the same for the Term of One Year from the Date hereof if he Behave himself well therein & Duly Executes the Office by himself or sufficient Deputy or Deputies And I do Appoint Thomas Fairman to be the present Coroner of the said County to Hold the same for the Term of One Year from the Date hereof if he Behave himself well therein & Duly Executes the Office by himself or sufficient Deputy or Deputies And I do Appoint Thomas Lloyd Esqr to be the present Treasurer of the said County to Hold the same for the Term of One Year from the Date hereof if he Behave himself well therein & Duly Executes the Office by himself or sufficient Deputy or Deputies And I do Appoint Robert Asheton to be the present Town Clerk & Clerk of the Peace & Clerk of the Court & Courts And I do Hereby Nominate Constitute & Appoint Thomas Hazlehurst to be the present Sheriff of the said County to Hold the same for the Term of One Year from the Date hereof if he Behave himself well therein & Duly Executes the Office by himself or sufficient Deputy or Deputies And I do Hereby Nominate & Appoint Thomas Morris Gerard Cuthey Standen Stanbury Charles Read Samuel Mastor & William Carter [illegible] Gentlemen to be Justices of the Peace for the said County of Philadelphia & Justices of the Court of Common Pleas & Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the said County of Philadelphia & Clerk of the Peace & Justices of the Court of Common Pleas & Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the said County of Philadelphia And I do also Nominate & Appoint for a Jury for the first Year William Dawson Esqr William Coe Nehemiah Allen Thomas Paschall [illegible] Gentlemen to be Returned to Serve on Juries for the said County of Philadelphia

FAC-SIMILE OF PHILADELPHIA CITY CHARTER OF 1701.

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that he sought to depart, was arrested, his goods taken from him and he imprisoned nine weeks, and then ordered to give security in a thousand pounds that he would not leave the province, nor go more than twenty-five miles up or down the river, "nor above ten miles backwards in the country." The Indian traders of French blood were put to like trouble. James le Tort, an old trader, was put in jail also, and required to give security like poor Gateau.[1] In February, 1704–5, "upon an information" that Martin Chartier "and two other Frenchmen on Susquehanna" intended shortly to depart this Government, the sheriff of Newcastle county, "being the nighest to their place of abode," was ordered to watch them closely, and if they appeared about to leave, to arrest them forthwith. In June, 1705, an Indian, recorded in the Colonial Records as Kneeghnyaskoate, but much easier to quote as "brother to Indian Harry of Conestogoe," who had gone in the spring to the country of the Onondagas, in New York, and had been given "a small parcel of wampum for his credentials," returned with word that that tribe—and therefore the Five Nations—were friendly, and had no ill designs toward either the white or red men of Philadelphia. As a matter of fact the neutrality of the great Indian confederacy on the New York lakes, in this war, assured from Indian attack the whole country south of them as far as the Chesapeake.[2]

But the French ships—the Spanish made little figure, for Spain, once the great naval power of Europe, was reduced almost to impotency on the seas—continually threatened and frequently harassed the mouth of the Delaware, and the outward commerce of Philadelphia from 1702 to 1713 took great risks from the time it reached salt water. The letters of Logan and Norris, with others of the time, contain numerous details of ships captured by the enemy, and complaints as well of the inactivity if not cowardice of the royal men-of-war. In April, 1708, Logan writes that "we have for several months past succeeded here pretty well in our navigation, but now these coasts begin to be intolerably infested. This very week, in four days' time, we had three vessels of this river sunk and burnt, one of which was the unfortunate J. H. Sproegle's brigantine, bound out-

[1] Logan writes Sept., 1703, that Lord Cornbury was in Philadelphia on Aug. 15, and calling on him at J. Moore's after dinner, "a discourse arose of the Indians; and a complaint was made of J[ames] Le Tort returning from Canada . . . and being suffered to live at large, as also of P[eter] Borzalion, who by chance was then in town. Going out I unexpectedly met J. Le Tort about the door, passing by, whom I therefore brought in, requesting the Lord Cornbury himself to examine him, as we . . . had effectually done before. I told him also all the French traders were in town," and desired advice what to do with them, etc. (Cornbury thought it too hard to imprison them, but advised that security be required for their good behavior toward the government, and appearance when required. This was done in £500 each, Edward Farmer becoming surety for Le Tort, and T. Murray for Bazalion.)—(Penn-Logan Corr., I., 224.)

[2] Both Evans and Gookin had some interesting conferences with the Indians, during their terms of service. It may also be added here that in 1712, a part of the Tuscarora tribe migrated from the Carolinas to New York, and joining the Iroquois Confederacy, of which they were recognized as one in blood, made it thereafter known as the Six Nations, instead of the Five Nations.

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wards to Virginia, just outside our own Capes, and the men turned on shore. Port Royal, to the east of New England, has now become a nest of privateers . . . So that the navigation here, which formerly was so safe, has already become as dangerous as the West Indies. . . . We have now four English men-of-war upon these coasts, but they very exactly observe the late practice of the navy: that is, carefully to keep out of the enemy's way. They often see the privateers, but always something happens that they cannot fight them, tho' when the privateers spy a prize they rarely fail of giving such an account of it as they desire."[1] In 1710, on the 7th of May, a French ship landed a party of sixty men at Lewes, who "miserably plundered" that exposed place, and a few weeks later, July 6, another attempt was made, but the townsmen rallied and beat off their assailants. About the same time (July 3) Logan appealed to Lord Cornbury, at New York, "for the assistance of one of her Majesty's ships . . . to convoy out to sea divers of our vessels now ready to sail." The previous night, he says, there arrived from Egg Harbor, by land, three masters of vessels who had been taken by the French privateer *Castrau*. One of them was Captain Phillips, of Boston, taken on his way homeward from North Carolina; another, Captain Moody, "of this river, who sailed hence to Madeira, about a month ago; and the third, who carries by much the severest loss to this place, is Captain Young, in a ship from London, the only vessel bound hither in the Virginia fleet." Samuel Carpenter, in a letter, July 20, to Jonathan Dickinson, says: "I am glad thou did not come this summer, for Crapaut and several other privateers have been on our coast, and at our Capes, and have taken several vessels . . . it is hard for any to escape them." He mentions the capture of Captain Young's ship as "a great loss to the town," and says Capt. Bayley "was on shore, a little without Cape Henlopen. They [the enemy] attempted to burn her, but were kept off, and he unloaded his goods, and got off his

OLD COURT HOUSE, SECOND AND MARKET STREETS.

[1] A foot-note by Deborah Logan in the Penn-Logan Correspondence, (II., 281), says: "In 1708 the supineness of the commanders of the ships of war on the American and West Indian stations was much complained of. Shortly after, the courage of Admiral Benbow, and the example made of two of his delinquent captains, Wade and Hervey, who were shot for cowardice, seem to have proved an effectual remedy to the abuses here mentioned."

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vessel and brought her into Lewes creek." Cornbury appears to have sent the ship which Logan asked, for Carpenter adds: "Our vessels have kept in for fear of the enemy, and are now hastening down to meet the York man-of-war at the Capes to convoy them—being sixteen in number—out to sea."

These were probably amongst the worst experiences of the war. It does not appear that the French ships ventured much inside the Capes. They were very unlikely to run such a risk as the ascent of the river would appear to them to involve.

Two demands of importance were made on the Province for aid to the expeditions of 1710 and 1711, sent out from the Eastern Colonies, the former against Acadia, the latter with the intent to reduce Lower Canada. For that of 1710 no less than £4000 was demanded, and the Assembly granted—"for the Queen's use"—but £500. In 1711, £2000 was asked, and this was voted in the same way, very promptly. It went, probably, with the money of the other colonies, bestowed on this ill-starred enterprise.[1]

The treaties of Utrecht, completed in March, 1713, put an end to the War of the Spanish Succession, and set England and her colonies at peace with France and Spain. Thirty years were to elapse before the war vessels of France would again occasion concern at Philadelphia. It proved, too, that the reign of Anne, so closely identified with this war's events, was almost measured by it, for she died in the following year, August 1, 1714, and that precious Hanoverian, the first George, succeeded her.[2]

The private affairs of Penn came to a crisis at last in the winter of 1707–8. The claims of the Fords, widow and children of his old steward and agent, Philip Ford, had been in vain resisted at law. Utterly dishonest as they appeared to be when examined, with interest on advances compounded each half year at excessive rates, and no current deduction of partial payments, Penn had again and again incautiously approved the accounts rendered him, and had even given to Ford nearly, if not really, a conveyance of his proprietary rights in Pennsylvania, as security for the debt. The Ford heirs would now neither arbitrate their claim nor listen to proposals of compromise. They claimed a balance due them of £10,500, and finally, having

[1] Land troops, intended to attack Montreal, gathered at Albany; a fleet of 15 ships of war and 40 transports, to take Quebec, at Boston. The fleet sailed July 30, under Sir Hovenden Walker, a ridiculous commander, whose ill management, late in August, in the St. Lawrence, lost 8 ships and 884 men on the Egg Islands, and thwarted the whole expedition, the fleet turning back and the army not proceeding.

[2] In the Provincial Council, Oct. 23, 1714, "Mr. Logan acquainted the Board that Coll. Hart, Govr. of Maryland, had received by the last Post from Coll. Hunter, Govr. of New York, a Gazette and Proclamation relating to the Queen's death." It was the opinion of the Council that the King should be proclaimed, "with all expedition . . . And accordingly, on the 27th, the Elector of Hanover, by the title of George, by y^e^ grace of God, King of Great Britain, ffrance, and Ireland, was publickly proclaimed in the Markett place, by the High Sherif of Philadia., the Govr. and Council, with the Corporation & its officers & the Gentlemen of the City attending, who were all handsomely entertained by the present Mayor, Richard Hill." (Col. Rec., II., 575.)

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obtained a judgment, they issued a writ upon the person of Penn, and in February, 1707–8, he was arrested at the Friends' meeting at Gracechurch street, London, and committed to the Fleet prison. He had expected this, and had been advised to go to jail rather than pay. He lay in the Fleet throughout most of the year, until a compromise had been arranged with the Fords, and the money, about £7000, had been raised by his friends, on a mortgage to Henry Gouldney and others of his Pennsylvania property. This being paid over, he was released at the beginning of October, 1708. Isaac Norris, who had gone over to London in 1706, and remained until the summer of 1708, was active in forwarding the arrangement. His knowledge of Pennsylvania and his practical ability made him an important factor in the business. The representations from Pennsylvania had chilled some of the English Friends in their feeling toward Penn. Norris corrected the excesses of these complaints, and moderated the resentments they had produced, at the same time that he candidly admonished Penn that they were not without claims on his consideration. It must be said that in all the affairs of Pennsylvania, public and private, in these years, no one appears to better advantage than Isaac Norris.

OLD LONDON COFFEE HOUSE, S. E. CORNER OF FRONT AND MARKET STS.

The city's development meantime went on quietly and steadily. The court-house, demanded for the public use so urgently, was definitely planned in 1708, and probably completed and used in 1710. Markets were established under and about it, at nearly the same time. The cost appears to have been £616. A workhouse was proposed in 1711—without action—and in 1713 the beginning was made of the institution long known as the Friends' Almshouse, on Walnut street, above Third. Its buildings were afterward erected in 1729, and remained standing to 1841. In 1711 the city ordinances concerning fires showed a development of the legislation by the Assembly, previously noted, and "bucketts, hooks, and engines" were directed to be provided. The "Sunday law," an enactment famous ever since by that name, was passed by the Assembly in 1705, forbidding labor on the first day of the week, works of religion and charity excepted, but exempting also "the dressing of victuals in families," and other labor considered necessary. John Fontaine, an English traveler, who

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was here in 1716, describes the city as "built very regularly; the houses mostly of brick, of the English fashion. The streets are very wide and regular. There are many convenient docks for the building of ships and sloops here. There is a great trade to all the islands belonging to the English, as also to Lisbon, and the Madeira Islands."

The division of the city into wards has been mentioned in connection with the system of watchmen. It was done in February, 1705. The wards, ten in number, were these: 1. *Dock Ward.* From the Delaware to Seventh street, and from Walnut to Cedar (South). 2. *Walnut Ward.* From Walnut to Chestnut, and Front to Second. 3. *Chestnut Ward.* From Chestnut to High (Market), and Front to Second. 4. *Lower Delaware Ward.* From Front street to the Delaware, "from the end of Walnut to the end of High, both upon and under the bank." 5. *Upper Delaware Ward.* From Front street to the Delaware river, and from High street "to the north end of the city." 6. *High Street Ward.* From High street to Mulberry (Arch), and from Front to Second. 7. *Mulberry Ward.* From Mulberry street "to the extent of the city," and from Front to Seventh street. 8. *North Ward.* From Mulberry to High, and Second to Seventh. 9. *Middle Ward.* From High to Chestnut, and Second to Seventh. 10. *South Ward.* From Chestnut to Walnut, and Second to Seventh. The westward limit at Seventh street shows the utmost stretch of houses in that direction, and in 1707, a pool of water which required attention was described as standing in "the hollow in the head of Chestnut street, crossing the Fifth street," showing that Chestnut street was no further opened than that.

Let us return, now, as we close this chapter, to speak a little further of William Penn, and to make our reverential parting from him.

In 1707, at the time he had determined upon the recall of Evans, Penn was considering for a time the appointment of his son William as Governor. Isaac Norris, then in England, frankly pointed out the impossibility of such a plan. Penn therefore chose Gookin. But his purpose to sell his rights to the Crown had hardened, and the negotiations to that end went on, Logan's presence in England, 1709–11, enabling him to help with information and figures. The sale was on the verge of completion, when, in 1712, on the 4th of August, at Bristol, as the old gentleman—a man both gentle and manly—sat at his desk, in the midst of a letter to Logan, his hand suddenly stopped, and the pen fell, breaking the sentence. He had suffered a paralytic stroke—the second, if not the third. The others had not been seriously regarded; this disabled him for life. Though he survived six years, his mind had lost its power, and his memory of all recent events, mercifully enough, was gone. He was much like a

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child. His cheerful temper seemed to have cast off its load, and now rose once more, so that so far as his mind remained it was sunny and bright.[1] His family went to Ruscombe, in Berkshire, and there Hannah Penn, her strong practical qualities rising into a noble usefulness, kept the household as well as she could,[2] including the wife and children of William Penn, Junior—he himself, poor fellow, being "seldom seen there," and not to advantage when he came. The years passed by, and Penn's strength gradually declined. In the summer of 1717 he could scarcely walk without some one to lead him. Between two and three o'clock in the morning of the 30th of July, 1718, he died. On the 5th of August he was buried at Jordans, in Bucks, where Gulielma Maria, Springett, and the younger children had been laid years before. He was seventy-four years old. His life of early hope and high resolve it seemed had been ill rewarded. Yet it had borne great fruit. His character has been assailed. But detraction has not affected the judgment of mankind concerning him. He had in him such qualities appealing to human love and sympathy that his name remains, like the heroic statue which Philadelphia has raised to his honor, high over the common level. For the State he founded, that speaks for itself.

BURIAL PLACE OF WILLIAM PENN, JORDANS, ENGLAND.

[1] The decay of his faculties appeared progressive. In 1713 he could go to meeting, and speak "several sensible sentences, though not able to say much." In 1714, he was less strong. There was, however, "no insanity or lunacy;" he spoke, Thomas Story says, "some very clear sentences . . . in the life and power of truth in an evening meeting we had together there . . . so that I was ready to think this was a sort of sequestration of him from all the concerns of this life, which so much oppressed him." (Story's Journal, 463.)

[2] Hannah Penn to Logan, March 2, 1717: "I have for these last three or four years, continued on in this large house and expense, only to keep him as comfortable as I can; for he has all along delighted in walking and taking the air here, and does still when the weather allows; and, at other times, diverts himself from room to room; and the satisfaction he takes therein, is the greatest pleasure I have in enjoying so large a house, which I have (with the necessary expenses and loads I bear) long found too much for me and our shrunken income." (Janney's Penn, 532.)

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CHARTER OF PRIVILEGES FOR PENNSYLVANIA—1701.

WILLIAM PENN, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of *Pensilvania* and Territories thereunto belonging, To all to whom these Presents shall come, sendeth Greeting. WHEREAS King *CHARLES the Second*, by His Letters Patents, under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing Date the *Fourth* Day of *March*, in the Year *One Thousand Six Hundred and Eighty-one*, was graciously pleased to give and grant unto me, and my Heirs and Assigns for ever, this Province of *Pensilvania*, with divers great Powers and Jurisdictions for the well Government thereof.

AND WHEREAS the King's dearest Brother, *JAMES Duke of YORK and ALBANY*, &c. by his Deeds of Feoffment, under his Hand and Seal duly perfected, bearing Date the *Twenty-Fourth* Day of *August*, *One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty and Two*, did grant unto me, my Heirs and Assigns, all that Tract of Land, now called the Territories of *Pensilvania*, together with Powers and Jurisdictions for the good Government thereof.

AND WHEREAS for the Encouragement of all the Freemen and Planters, that might be concerned in the said Province and Territories, and for the good Government thereof, I the said WILLIAM PENN, in the Year *One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty and Three*, for me, my Heirs and Assigns, did grant and confirm unto all the Freemen, Planters and Adventurers therein, divers Liberties, Franchises and Properties, as by the said Grant, entituled, *The FRAME of the Government of the Province of* Pensilvania, *and Territories thereunto belonging, in* America, may appear; which Charter or Frame being found in some Parts of it, not so suitable to the present Circumstances of the Inhabitants, was in the *Third* Month, in the Year *One Thousand Seven Hundred*, delivered up to me, by *Six* Parts of *Seven* of the Freemen of this Province and Territories, in General Assembly met, Provision being made in the said Charter, for that End and Purpose.

AND WHEREAS I was then pleased to promise, That I would restore the said Charter to them again, with necessary Alterations, or in lieu thereof, give them another, better adapted to answer the present Circumstances and Conditions of the said Inhabitants; which they have now, by their Representatives in General Assembly met at *Philadelphia*, requested me to grant.

KNOW YE THEREFORE, That for the further Well-being and good Government of the said Province, and Territories; and in Pursuance of the Rights and Powers before-mentioned, I the said *William Penn* do declare, grant and confirm, unto all the Freemen, Planters and Adventurers, and other Inhabitants of this Province and Territories, these following Liberties, Franchises and Privileges, so far as in me lieth, to be held, enjoyed and kept, by the Freemen, Planters and Adventurers, and other Inhabitants of and in the said Province and Territories thereunto annexed, for ever.

FIRST.

BECAUSE no People can be truly happy, though under the greatest Enjoyment of Civil Liberties, if abridged of the Freedom of their Consciences, as to their Religious Profession and Worship: And Almighty God being the only Lord of Conscience, Father of Lights and Spirits; and the Author as well as Object of all divine Knowledge, Faith and Worship, who only doth enlighten the Minds, and persuade and convince the Understanding of People, I do hereby grant and declare, That no Person or Persons, inhabiting in this Province or Territories, who shall confess and acknowledge *One* almighty God, the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the World; and profess him or themselves obliged to live quietly under the Civil Government, shall be in any Case molested or prejudiced, in his or their Person or Estate, because

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of his or their conscientious Persuation or Practice, nor be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious Worship, Place or Ministry, contrary to his or their Mind, or to do or suffer any other Act or Thing, contrary to their religious Persuasion.

AND that all Persons who also profess to believe in *Jesus Christ*, the Saviour of the World, shall be capable (notwithstanding their other Persuasions and Practices in Point of Conscience and Religion) to serve this Government in any Capacity, both legislatively and executively, he or they solemnly promising, when lawfully required, Allegiance to the King as Sovereign, and Fidelity to the Proprietary and Governor, and taking the Attests as now established by the Law made at *New-Castle*, in the Year *One Thousand and Seven Hundred*, entitled, *An Act directing the Attests of several Officers and Ministers*, as now amended and confirmed this present Assembly.

II.

FOR the well governing of this Province and Territories, there shall be an Assembly yearly chosen, by the Freemen thereof, to consist of *Four* Persons out of each County, of most Note for Virtue, Wisdom and Ability, (or of a greater number at any Time, as the Governor and Assembly shall agree) upon the *First* Day of *October* for ever; and shall sit on the *Fourteenth* Day of the same Month, at *Philadelphia*, unless the Governor and Council for the Time being, shall see Cause to appoint another Place within the said Province or Territories: Which Assembly shall have Power to chuse a Speaker and other their Officers; and shall be Judges of the Qualifications and Elections of their own Members; sit upon their own Adjournments; appoint Committees; prepare Bills in order to pass into Laws; impeach Criminals, and redress Grievances; and shall have all other Powers and Privileges of an Assembly, according to the Rights of the free-born Subjects of *England*, and as is usual in any of the King's Plantations in *America*.

AND if any County or Counties, shall refuse or neglect to chuse their respective Representatives as aforesaid, or if chosen, do not meet to serve in Assembly, those who are so chosen and met, shall have the full Power of an Assembly, in as ample Manner as if all the Representatives had been chosen and met, provided they are not less than *Two Thirds* of the whole Number that ought to meet.

AND that the Qualifications of Electors and Elected, and all other Matters and Things relating to Elections of Representatives to serve in Assemblies, though not herein particularly expressed, shall be and remain as by a Law of this Government, made at *New-Castle* in the Year *One Thousand Seven Hundred*, entitled, *An Act to ascertain the Number of Members of Assembly, and to regulate the Elections.*

III.

THAT the Freemen in each respective County, at the Time and Place of Meeting for Electing their Representatives to serve in Assembly, may as often as there shall be occasion, chuse a double Number of Persons to present to the Governor for Sheriffs and Coroners to serve for *Three Years*, if so long they behave themselves well; out of which respective Elections and Presentments, the Governor shall nominate and commissionate one for each of the said offices, the *Third* Day after such Presentment, or else the *First* named in such Presentment, for each Office as aforesaid, shall stand and serve in that Office for the Time before respectively limited; and in Case of Death or Default, such Vacancies shall be supplied by the Governor, to serve to the End of the said Term.

PROVIDED ALWAYS, That if the said Freemen shall at any Time neglect or decline to chuse a Person or Persons for either or both the aforesaid Offices, then and in such Case, the Persons that are or shall be in the respective Offices of Sheriffs or Coroners, at the Time of Election, shall remain therein, until they shall be removed by another Election as aforesaid.

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AND that the Justices of the respective Counties shall or may nominate and present to the Governor *Three* Persons, to serve for Clerk of the Peace for the said County, when there is a Vacancy, one of which the Governor shall commissionate within *Ten* Days after such Presentment, or else the *First* nominated shall serve in the said Office during good Behavior.

IV.

THAT the Laws of this Government shall be in this Stile, viz. *By the Governor, with the Consent and Approbation of the Freemen in General Assembly met;* and shall be, after Confirmation by the Governor, forthwith recorded in the Rolls Office, and kept at *Philadelphia*, unless the Governor and Assembly shall agree to appoint another Place.

V.

THAT all Criminals shall have the same Privileges of Witnesses and Council as their Prosecutors.

VI.

THAT no Person or Persons shall or may, at any Time hereafter, be obliged to answer any Complaint, Matter or Thing whatsoever, relating to Property, before the Governor and Council, or in any other Place, but in ordinary Course of Justice, unless Appeals thereunto shall be hereafter by Law appointed.

VII.

THAT no Person within this Government shall be licensed by the Governor to keep an Ordinary, Tavern or House of Publick Entertainment, but such who are first recommended to him, under the Hands of the Justices of the respective Counties, signed in open Court; which Justices are and shall be hereby impowered, to suppress and forbid any Person, keeping such Publick House as aforesaid, upon their Misbehaviour, on such Penalties as the Law doth or shall direct; and to recommend others from time to time, as they shall see Occasion.

VIII.

IF any person, through Temptation or Melancholy, shall destroy himself; his Estate, real and personal, shall notwithstanding descend to his Wife and Children, or Relations, as if he had died a natural death; and if any Person shall be destroyed or killed by Casualty or Accident, there shall be no Forfeiture to the Governor by reason thereof.

AND no Act, Law or Ordinance whatsoever, shall at any time hereafter, be made or done, to alter, change or diminish the Form or Effect of this Charter, or of any Part or Clause therein, contrary to the true Intent and Meaning thereof, without the Consent of the Governor for the Time being, and *Six* Parts of *Seven* of the Assembly met.

BUT because the Happiness of Mankind depends so much upon the Enjoying of Liberty of their Consciences as aforesaid, I do hereby solemnly declare, promise and grant, for me, my Heirs and Assigns, That the *First* Article of this Charter relating to Liberty of Conscience, and every Part and Clause therein, according to the true Intent and Meaning thereof, shall be kept and remain, without any Alteration, inviolably for ever.

AND LASTLY, I the said *William Penn*, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of *Pensilvania*, and Territories thereunto belonging, for myself, my Heirs and Assigns, have solemnly declared, granted and confirmed, and do hereby solemnly declare, grant and confirm, That neither I, my Heirs or Assigns, shall procure or do any Thing or Things whereby the Liberties in this Charter contained and expressed,

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nor any Part thereof, shall be infringed or broken: And if any thing shall be procured or done, by any Person or Persons, contrary to these Presents, it shall be held of no Force or Effect.

IN WITNESS whereof, I the said *William Penn*, at *Philadelphia* in *Pensilvania*, have unto this present Charter of Liberties, set my Hand and broad Seal, this *Twenty-Eighth* Day of *October*, in the Year of Our Lord *One Thousand Seven Hundred and One*, being the *Thirteenth* Year of the Reign of King *WILLIAM the Third*, over *England, Scotland, France* and *Ireland*, &c. and the *Twenty-First* Year of my Government.

AND NOTWITHSTANDING the Closure and Test of this present Charter as aforesaid, I think fit to add this following Proviso thereunto, as Part of the same, *That is to say*, That notwithstanding any Clause or Clauses in the above-mentioned Charter, obliging the Province and Territories to join together in Legislation, I am content, and do hereby declare, that if the Representatives of the Province and Territories shall not hereafter agree to join together in Legislation, and that the same shall be signified unto me, or my Deputy, in open Assembly, or otherwise from under the Hands and Seals of the Representatives, for the Time being, of the Province and Territories, or the major Part of either of them, at any Time within *Three* Years from the Date hereof, that in such Case, the Inhabitants of each of the *Three* Counties of this Province, shall not have less than *Eight* Persons to represent them in Assembly, for the Province; and the Inhabitants of the Town of *Philadelphia* (when the said Town is incorporated) *Two* Persons to represent them in Assembly; and the Inhabitants of each County in the Territories, shall have as many Persons to represent them in a distinct Assembly for the Territories, as shall be by them requested as aforesaid.

NOTWITHSTANDING which Separation of the Province and Territories, in Respect of Legislation, I do hereby promise, grant and declare, That the Inhabitants of both Province and Territories, shall separately enjoy all other Liberties, Privileges and Benefits, granted jointly to them in this Charter, any Law, Usage or Custom of this Government heretofore made and practised, or any Law made and passed by this General Assembly, to the Contrary hereof, notwithstanding.

WILLIAM PENN.

THIS CHARTER of PRIVILEGES *being distinctly read in Assembly; and the whole and every Part thereof, being approved of and agreed to, by us, we do thankfully receive the same from our Proprietary and Governor, at* Philadelphia, *this* Twenty-Eighth *Day of* October, One Thousand Seven Hundred and One. *Signed on behalf, and by Order of the Assembly.*

per Joseph Growdon, *Speaker.*

Edward Shippen,	*Griffith Owen,*	Proprietary and Governor's Council.
Phineas Pemberton,	*Caleb Pusey,*	
Samuel Carpenter,	*Thomas Story.*	

*** This Charter of Privileges continued in force until the Revolution, 1776.

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THE CHARTER OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.

WILLIAM PENN, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of *Pennsylvania*, &c. to all, to whom these presents shall come, sends greeting.

Know ye, That at the humble bequest of the inhabitants and settlers of this town of Philadelphia, being some of the first adventurers and purchasers within this province, for their encouragement, and for the more immediate and entire government of the said town, and better regulation of trade therein, I have, by virtue of the King's letters patents, under the great seal of *England*, erected the said town into a borough, and by these presents do erect the said town and borough of *Philadelphia* into a *city*, which said city shall extend the limits and bounds, as it is laid out between *Delaware* and *Schuylkill*.

And I do, for me, my heirs and assigns, grant and ordain, that the streets of the said city shall for ever continue, as they are now laid out and regulated; and that the end of each street, extending into the river *Delaware*, shall be and continue free for the use and service of the said city, and the inhabitants thereof; who may improve the same for the best advantage of the city, and build wharves so far out into the river there, as the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, herein after mentioned, shall see meet.

And I do nominate *Edward Shippen*, to be the present Mayor, who shall so continue until another be chosen, as is herein after directed.

And I do hereby assign and name *Thomas Story*, to be the present Recorder, to do and execute all things, which unto the office of Recorder of the said city doth or may belong.

And I do appoint *Thomas Farmer* to be the present Sheriff, and *Robert Ashton* to be the present Town-Clerk and Clerk of the peace, and Clerk of the court and courts.

And I do hereby name, constitute and appoint *Joshua Carpenter*, *Griffith Jones*, *Anthony Morris*, *Joseph Wilcox*, *Nathan Stanbury*, *Charles Read*, *Thomas Masters*, and *William Carter*, citizens and inhabitants of the said city, to be the present Aldermen of the said city of *Philadelphia*.

And I do also nominate and appoint *John Parsons*, *William Hudson*, *William Lee*, *Nehemiah Allen*, *Thomas Paschall*, *John Budd*, junr. *Edward Smout*, *Samuel Buckley*, *James Atkinson*, *Pentecost Teague*, *Francis Cook*, and *Henry Badcocke*, to be the twelve present Common Council-men of the said city.

And I do by these presents, for me, my heirs and successors, give, grant and declare, that the said Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Common Council-men, for the time being, and they, which hereafter shall be Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Common Council-men, within the said city, and their successors for ever hereafter be, and shall be, by virtue of these presents, one body corporate and politic in deed, and by the name of the Mayor and Commonalty of the city of *Philadelphia*, in the province of *Pennsylvania:* and them by the name of Mayor and Commonalty of the city of *Philadelphia*, one body politic and corporate in deed and in name, I do, for me, my heirs and successors, fully create, constitute and confirm, by these presents; and that by the name of Mayor and Commonalty of the city of *Philadelphia*, be, and at all times hereafter shall be, persons able and capable, in law, to have, get, receive and possess lands and tenements, rents, liberties, jurisdictions, franchises, and hereditaments, to them and their successors, in fee simple, or for term of life, lives, years, or otherwise; and also goods, chattels, and other things of what nature, kind or quality soever.

And also to give, grant, lett, sell, and assign the same lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods, chattels, and to do and to execute all other things about the same, by

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the name aforesaid; and also that they be, and shall be for ever hereafter persons able and capable in law, to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered unto, defend and be defended, in all or any the courts and other places, and before any Judges, Justices, and other persons whatsoever within the said province, in all manner of actions, suits, complaints, pleas, causes, and matters whatsoever, and of what nature or kind soever.

And that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Mayor and Commonalty of the said city of *Philadelphia*, and their successors, for ever hereafter, to have and use one common seal, for the sealing of all businesses touching the said corporation, and the same, from time to time, at their will and pleasure to change or alter.

And I do, for me, my heirs and successors, give, and by these presents, grant full power and authority unto the Mayor, Recorder and Common Council of the said city of *Philadelphia*, or any five or more of the Aldermen, and nine or more of the Common Council-men, the Mayor and Recorder for the time being, or either of them being present, on the first third day of the week, in the eighth month yearly for ever hereafter, publicly to meet at a convenient room or place within the said city, to be by them appointed for that purpose, and then and there nominate, elect and chuse one of the Aldermen to be Mayor for that ensuing year.

And also to add to the number of Aldermen and Common Council-men, such and so many of those, that by virtue of these presents shall be admitted freemen of the said city, from time to time, as they the said Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council shall see occasion.

And that such person, who shall be elected Mayor, as aforesaid, shall within three days next after such election, be presented before the Governor of this province or his Deputy for the time being, and there shall subscribe the declarations and profession of his Christian belief, according to the late act of parliament made in the first year of king William's reign, intitled, "An act for exempting their majesties' subjects, dissenting from the Church of *England*, from the penalty of certain laws;" and then and there the Mayor so presented, shall make his solemn affirmation and engagement for the due execution of his office.

And that the Recorder, Sheriff, Aldermen, and Common Council-men, and all other officers of the said city, before they, or any of them shall be admitted to execute their respective offices, shall make and subscribe the said declarations and profession aforesaid, before the Mayor for the time being, and at the same time, shall be attested for the due execution of their offices respectively; which declarations, promises and attestations, the Mayor of the said city for the time being, is hereby empowered to take and administer accordingly.

And that the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen of the said city, for the time being, shall be Justices of the Peace, and Justices of *Oyer* and *Terminer;* and are hereby impowered to act within the said city and liberties thereof accordingly, as fully and amply as any Justice or Justices of the Peace, or Oyer and Terminer, can or may do, within the said province.

And that they, or any four or more of them (whereof the Mayor and Recorder of the said city, for the time being, shall be two) shall and may for ever hereafter have power and authority, by virtue of these presents, to hear and enquire into all, and all manner of, treasons, murders, manslaughters, and all manner of felonies and other crimes and offences, capital and criminal, whatsoever, according to the laws of this province, and of the kingdom of *England*, with power also to hear and determine all petty larcenies, routs, riots, unlawful assemblies; and to try and punish all persons that shall be convicted for drunkenness, swearing, scolding, breaking the peace, or such like offences, which are by the laws of this province to be punished by fine, imprisonment or whipping; with power also to award process against all rioters and breakers of the peace, and to bind them, and all other offenders, and persons of

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evil fame, to the peace or good behaviour, as any Justice or Justices of the Peace can do, without being accountable to me or my heirs, for any fines or amerciaments to be imposed for the said offences, or any of them.

And I do hereby impower them, or any four of them (whereof the Mayor and Recorder, for the time being, shall be two) with the city Sheriff, and town Clerk, to hold and keep a court of record quarterly, or oftener, if they see occasion, for the enquiring, hearing and determining of the pleas and matters aforesaid; and upon their own view, or after a legal procedure in some of those courts, to cause all nuisances and encroachments in the streets of the said city to be removed, and punish the parties concerned, as the law and usage, in such cases, shall require.

And I do by these presents assign and appoint, that the present Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen herein before mentioned, be the present Justices of the Peace, and Oyer and Terminer, within the said city; and that they, and all others, that shall be Mayors, Recorders and Aldermen of the said city, for the time being, shall have full power and authority, and are hereby empowered and authorized, without any further or other commission, to be Justices of the Peace, and of Oyer and Terminer, within the said city for ever; and shall also be Justices of the Peace, and the Mayor and Recorder shall be of the quorum of the Justices of the County Courts, Quarter Sessions, Oyer and Terminer, and Gaol Delivery, in the said county of *Philadelphia;* and shall have full power to award process, bind to the peace or behaviour, or commit to prison, for any matter or cause arising without the said city, and within the body of the aforesaid county, as occasion shall require; and to cause calendars to be made of such prisoners, which, together with all recognizances, and examinations taken before them for or concerning any matter or cause not determinable by them, shall be duly returned to the Judges or Justices of the said county, in their respective courts, where the same shall be cognizable.

And that it may be lawful to and for the said Mayor and Commonalty, and their successors, when they see occasion, to erect a gaol or prison and court-house within the said city.

And that the Mayor and Recorder, for the time being, shall have, and by these presents, have power to take recognizance of debts there according to the statute of merchants, and of action burnel; and to use and affix the common seal thereupon, and to all certificates concerning the same.

And that it shall be lawful to and for the Mayor of the said city, for the time being, for ever hereafter to nominate, and, from time to time, to appoint the Clerk of the market, who shall have assize of bread, wine, beer, wood and other things; and to do, execute, and perfom all things belonging to the Clerk of the market within the said city.

And I will that the Coroners, to be chosen by the county of *Philadelphia* for the time being, shall be Coroner of the said city and liberties thereof; but that the freemen and inhabitants of the said city shall, from time to time, as often as occasion may be, have equal liberty with the inhabitants of the said county, to recommend or chuse persons to serve in the respective capacities of Coroners and Sheriffs for the county of *Philadelphia*, who shall reside within the said city.

And that the Sheriff of the said city and county, for the time being, shall be the Water Bailiff, who shall, and may, execute and perform all things belonging to the office of Water Bailiff, upon *Delaware* river, and all other navigable rivers and creeks within the said province.

And in case the Mayor of the said city, for the time being, shall, during the time of his mayoralty, misbehave himself, or misgovern in that office, I do hereby impower the Recorder, Aldermen and Common Council-men, or five of the Aldermen, and nine of the Common Council-men of the said city of *Philadelphia*, for the time being, to remove such Mayor from his office of mayoralty; and in such case, or in case of the death of the said Mayor, for the time being, that then another fit person shall,

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within four days next after such death or removal, be chosen in manner as above directed for electing of Mayors, in the place of him so dead or removed.

And lest there should be a failure of justice or government in the said city, in such interval, I do hereby appoint, that the eldest Alderman, for the time being, shall take upon him the office of a Mayor there, and shall exercise the same till another Mayor be chosen as aforesaid; and in case of the disability of such eldest Alderman, then the next in seniority, shall take upon him the said office of Mayor, to exercise the same as aforesaid.

And in case the Recorder, or any of the Aldermen or Common Council-men of, or belonging to, the said city, for the time being, shall misbehave himself, or themselves in their respective offices and places, they shall be removed, and others chosen in their stead, in manner following, that is to say, the Recorder for the time being, may be removed (for his misbehaviour) by the Mayor and two-thirds of the Aldermen and Common Council-men respectively; and in case of such removal, or of the death of the Recorder, then to chuse another fit person, skilled in the law, to be the Recorder there, and so to continue during pleasure as aforesaid.

And the Alderman so misbehaving himself may be removed by the Mayor, Recorder and nine of the Aldermen and Common Council-men; and in case of such removal, or death, then within four days after, to chuse a fit person or persons to supply such vacancies; and the Common Council-men, Constables and Clerk of the market, for misbehavior, shall be removed, and others chosen, as is directed in the case of Aldermen.

And I do also, for me and my successors, by these presents, grant to the said Mayor and Commonalty, and their successors, that, if any of the citizens of the said city shall be hereafter nominated, elected and chosen to the office of Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council-men, as aforesaid, and having notice of his, or their election, shall refuse to undertake and execute that office, to which he is so chosen, that then, and so often, it shall, and may, be lawful for the Mayor and Recorder, Aldermen and Common Council-men, or the major part of the Aldermen and Common Council-men, for the time being, according to their discretion, to impose such moderate fines upon such refusers, so as the Mayor's fine exceed not *forty pounds*, the Alderman's *five and thirty* pounds, and Common Council-men *twenty pounds*, and other officers proportionably to be levied by distress and sale, by warrant under the common seal, or by other lawful ways, to the use of the said corporation.

And in such cases it shall be lawful to chuse others, to supply the defects of such refusers, in manner as is above directed for elections.

And that it shall and may be lawful to and for the Mayor, Recorder, and at least, three Aldermen for the time being, from time to time, so often as they shall find occasion, to summon a Common Council of the said city.

And that no Assembly, or meeting of the said citizens shall be deemed or accounted a Common Council, unless the said Mayor and Recorder, and at least three of the Aldermen, for the time being, and nine of the Common Council-men, be present.

And also that the said Mayor, Recorder and Common Council-men, for the time being, from time to time, at their Common Council, shall have power to admit such and so many freemen into their corporation and society as they shall think fit.

And to make (and they may make, ordain, constitute, and establish) such and so many good and reasonable laws, ordinances and constitutions (not repugnant to the laws of England and this government) as to the greater part of them, at such Common Council assembled (where the Mayor and Recorder, for the time being, are to be always present) shall seem necessary and convenient for the government of the said city.

And the same laws, ordinances, orders, and constitution so to be made, to put in

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use and execution accordingly, by the proper officers of the said city; and at their pleasure to revoke, alter and make anew, as occasion shall require.

And also impose such mulcts and amerciaments upon the breakers of such laws and ordinances, as to them, in their discretion, shall be thought reasonable; which mulcts, as also all other fines and amerciaments, to be set, or imposed, by virtue of the powers granted, shall be levied, as above is directed in case of fines, to the use of the said corporation, without rendering any account thereof to me, my heirs and successors; with power, to the Common Council aforesaid, to mitigate, remits or release such fines and mulcts, upon the submission of the parties. *Provided always*, that no person, or persons, hereafter, shall have right of electing or being elected, by virtue of these presents, to any office or place judicial or ministerial, nor shall be admitted freemen of the said city, unless they be free denizens of this province, and are of the age of twenty-one years or upwards, and are inhabitants of the said city, and have an estate of inheritance or freehold therein, or are worth *fifty pounds* in money or other stock, and have been resident in the said city for the space of two years, or shall purchase their freedom of the Mayor and Commonalty aforesaid.

And I do further grant to the said Mayor and Commonalty of the said city of *Philadelphia*, that they and their successors shall, and may for ever hereafter hold and keep within the said city, in every week of the year, two market days, the one upon the fourth day of the week, and the other on the seventh day of the week, in such place or places as is, shall, or may be appointed for that purpose, by the said Commonalty, or their successors, from time to time.

And also two fairs therein every year, the one of them to begin on the sixteenth day of the third month, called May, yearly, and so to be held in and about the market place, and continue for that day and two days next following; and the other of the said fairs to be held in the aforesaid place on the sixteenth day of the ninth month, yearly, and for two days next after.

And I do, for me, my heirs and assigns, by virtue of the king's letters patent, make, erect and continue the said city of *Philadelphia* to be a port or harbour for discharging and unlading of goods and merchandize out of ships, boats and other vessels, and for lading and shipping them in, or upon such and so many places, keys and wharffs there, as by the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the said city, shall, from time to time, be thought most expedient, for the accommodation and service of the officers of the customs, in the management of the king's affairs, and preservation of his duties, as well as for the conveniency of trade.

And I do ordain and declare, that the said port, or harbour, shall be called the port of *Philadelphia*, and shall extend and be accounted to extend into all such creeks, rivers and places within this province, and shall have so many wharffs, keys landing places, and members belonging thereto, for landing and shipping of goods, as the said Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council, for the time being, with the approbation of the chief officer or officers of the king's customs, shall, from time to time, think fit to appoint.

And I do also ordain, that the landing places now and heretofore used at the Penny-pot-house and Blue Anchor, saving to all persons their just and legal rights and properties, in the land so to be open; as also the swamp between *Budd's* buildings and the *Society-hill*, shall be left open and common for the use and service of the said city and all others, with liberty to dig docks, and make harbours for ships and vessels, in all, or any part of the said swamp.

And I do hereby grant, that all the vacant land within the bounds and limits of the said city shall remain open, as a free common, or pasture, for the use of the inhabitants of the said city, until the same shall be gradually taken in, in order to build or improve thereon, and not otherwise. Provided always, that nothing herein contained, shall debar me, or my heirs, in time to come, from fencing in all the

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vacant lands, that lie between the center meeting house and the *Schuylkill*, which I intend shall be divided from the land by me allotted for *Delaware* side, by a strait line along the broad street from *Edward Shippen's* land, through the center square by *Daniel Pegg's* land; nor shall the fencing, or taking in of any of the streets, happening to be within that inclosure on *Schuylkill*, be deemed or adjudged to be an encroachment, where it shall not interfere, or stop any of the streets, or passages, leading to any of the houses built, or to be built, on that side, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And I do grant, that this present charter shall, in all courts of law and equity be construed and taken most favourably and beneficially for the said corporation.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused my great seal to be affixed, dated at *Philadelphia*, the five and twentieth day of October, anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and one, and in the thirteenth year of the reign of king *William* the Third, over England, &c. and the one and twentieth year of my government.

WILLIAM PENN.

MAYORS OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1691–1718.

UNDER THE CHARTER OF 1691.

1691.—Humphrey Morrey.

Several allusions to Humphrey Morrey occur in the text. A careful sketch, presenting all known facts of importance concerning him, by J. Granville Leach, will be found in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, Vol. XVIII. He was a merchant, and came from New York to Philadelphia about 1685. He was a Justice of the Peace, member of the Assembly, member of the Provincial Council, and, by the unperfected charter of 1691, Mayor. He was among the well-to-do citizens; in the tax list of 1693 only six individuals are rated higher. He died February 2, 1715–16, having spent the closing years of his life at his country place in Cheltenham, (now Montgomery county).

UNDER THE CHARTER OF 1701.

1701.—Edward Shippen.

He is named Mayor in the charter. Details concerning him are given in the main text and in notes to it. He died October 2, 1712.

1702.—Edward Shippen.

The loss of the minutes of Common Council up to October, 1704, deprives us of the record of the election in 1702, but a letter of James Logan to Penn, (P.–L. Corresp., I., 157), December 1, 1702, says: "E. Shippen is their Mayor again."

1703.—Anthony Morris.

The minutes of Common Council, October 4, 1704, show "Anthony Morris, Mayor," as present, and record that Griffith Jones had been elected in 1703, but had refused to serve, had been fined twenty pounds, but excused himself on account of residence at his country place, outside the city limits, so that the fine was remitted. Anthony Morris came from London, where he was born, in the parish of St. Dunstan, Stepney, August 23, 1654, and was an early settler, about 1683, at Burlington, afterward removing to Philadelphia. He was a brewer by occupation, his brewery standing at the junction of Pear and Dock streets. He was a Friend, and clerk of Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting when the Pastorius protest against Slavery was received. In the tax-list of 1693 he is rated at £800, being among the highest.

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He was named in the charter of 1701 as one of the Aldermen. He served besides as a Justice of the Peace (by Fletcher's appointment, 1693), as Provincial Judge, member of the Provincial Council, and several times member of the Assembly. He died August 21, 1721.

1704.—GRIFFITH JONES.

He was of Welsh descent, and one of the early citizens of Philadelphia. He appears in the tax-list of 1693 assessed for £1000, on property on Front and Second streets, the largest valuation in the city except Joseph Pidgeon and Company, Samuel Carpenter and Joshua Carpenter. It is not easy to distinguish him, in the records prior to 1702, from another Griffith Jones, of Kent county, Del., a lawyer. (Cf. Logan's allusion to the latter as "Griffith Jones, the Welsh attorney in the Lower Counties," Penn-Logan Corresp., II., 235.) He served in the Assembly, and was named as Alderman in the city charter of 1701. His country place was near the Wingohocking creek, east of Germantown, and his house there is said (T. Ward, Pa. Mag., IV., 423) to have been built as early as 1686. He died in 1712. Of Mayor Jones's management of the city, Logan, though he had written unfavorably of him before, spoke in terms of praise.

1705.—JOSEPH WILCOX.

He is named as an Alderman in the charter of 1701. In the tax-list of 1693 he appears assessed for £150. He was a member of the Assembly, and was one of those who drew up the remonstrance of 1804, addressed to Penn, which caused so much offense. Gabriel Thomas (see ante, p. 121) alludes to him, 1698, as the principal ropemaker of the city.

1706.—NATHAN STANBURY.

He was one of the Aldermen named in the charter of 1701. At the election 1st October, (1706), Thomas Story, (one of the Aldermen), was elected, but refused to serve, and was fined, and Alderman Stanbury was then chosen instead. He was a Justice of the County Court, 1704.

1707–8.—THOMAS MASTERS.

He came to Philadelphia about 1700, probably from Bermuda. He was named as an Alderman in the charter of 1701, and chosen Mayor Oct. 7, 1707. He is assessed £300 in the tax-list of 1693. He served in the Assembly. He built, 1704, "a stately house at the southeast corner of Front and Market streets. . . . It was notable as the first 3-story brick house on the east side of Front street." He was the owner of a large tract in the Northern Liberties, long known as the "Masters estate." Master street is named after him. He died 1724.

1709.—RICHARD HILL.

He was a merchant, and is largely referred to in the main text, and also in notes to it. He was born in Maryland, came to Philadelphia about 1700, and was appointed to the Provincial Council 1703. He was elected an Alderman in 1707, with Isaac Norris and Samuel Preston, and Mayor Oct. 4, 1709. He was a member of the Assembly, and Speaker. After the service as Mayor this year, and three years more afterward (see below), in 1717 he declined re-election and was excused from the usual fine. He sided with Logan and Norris in the contest with Sir William Keith. He was several years a judge of the Provincial Supreme Court. His first wife was Thomas Lloyd's daughter, Hannah, (widow of John Delavall), his second, Mary, daughter of Nathan Stanbury, Mayor 1706–07. He died Sept. 4, 1729.

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1710.—William Carter.

He was named an Alderman in the charter of 1701. In the tax-list of 1693 he is rated at £200. He was Sheriff in 1686. He was chosen Mayor October 3, 1710.

1711.—Samuel Preston.

He was born in Patuxent, Maryland, 1665, moved to Delaware, served in the Assembly from Sussex, and came about 1703, to Philadelphia, where he was a merchant. He was chosen an Alderman, (as above), with Norris and Hill, in 1707, and the three were at the same time "admitted freemen," and therefore made eligible to be members of the corporation. His first wife was Thomas Lloyd's daughter Rachel. He was a member of the Provincial Council, and Provincial Treasurer from 1714, after the death of Samuel Carpenter, to his own death Sept. 10, 1743.

1712.—Jonathan Dickinson.

Allusion has been made to him in the main text, and in notes to it. He came from Jamaica about 1696, and was a successful merchant here. He was chosen Mayor Oct. 7, 1712. He was a member of the Provincial Council, and of the Assembly, and Speaker. He was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and died 1722. He purchased of the Proprietary, 1718, a large part of the Springettsbury manor (Northern Liberties).

1713.—George Roche.

This was the rich planter from Antigua, mentioned in the main text and notes. He was a member of the Provincial Council, a Justice of the County Court, and Judge of the Supreme Provincial Court, with William Trent and Jonathan Dickinson, in 1716.

1714–15–16.—Richard Hill.

1717–18.—Jonathan Dickinson.

*** The years given on the left hand in this list signify the time of election. The term was one year, beginning in October.

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CHAPTER V

1718–1740

UNDER THE YOUNG PROPRIETARIES

SIR WILLIAM KEITH, Governor from 1717 to 1726, fills a considerable place in the Pennsylvania annals of that time. He reached Philadelphia on the 31st of May in the former year, and his predecessor, Governor Gookin, with the "Aldermen, Commonalty, and Officers of the Corporation," received him at his landing. His commission, with the King's approbation, being produced, it was "published and proclaimed in due form at the court-house," this building having replaced the market-place for use on such occasions.

Sir William is a personage who has been variously described. Logan found him unsatisfactory. Hannah Penn concluded in less than nine years that he was not serving those who had him appointed. Franklin regarded him, first, as a gracious patron, and then as a contemptible deceiver. The author of the biographical sketch of him in the Pennsylvania Historical Society's Memoirs,[1] calls him, in brief, "selfish and artful." Franklin, on the whole—in spite of the trick played on him in 1724, in the trip to London—estimated the man very fairly. Admitting the dishonesty of giving assurances which he might not fulfill, he otherwise was "an ingenious, sensible man, a pretty good writer, and a good Governor for the people, tho' not for his constituents the proprietaries, whose instructions he sometimes disregarded."[2]

Franklin speaks of the "Proprietaries" as "his constituents." This was practically true. Hannah Penn and her advisers, with Logan to inform and suggest, made Keith the Governor, and in time unmade him. But so long as he continued in the office he pursued the course easiest and most profitable for him, and in the main, most favorable to the interests of the people of Pennsylvania. He was not unacquainted with the work he had undertaken. He had held the office, in the southern colonies, of surveyor-general of the customs, and had visited Philadelphia. He no doubt knew the lay of the land here, and was aware that he must look to the

[1] Vol. I., p. 453. The writer was probably Joshua Francis Fisher.

[2] Autobiography, I., 154. (Bigelow Edition, Phila., 1884.)

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Assembly for money. He came apparently with the definite purpose of conciliating that body, and succeeded well from the start.[1]

The Governor arrived "in Captain Annis's vessel." He was accompanied by his wife Ann—the widow of Robert Diggs, before her marriage to him—and his wife's daughter, a young lady of seventeen, likewise named Ann. With them there came also a young Scotch physician, Dr. Thomas Græme, a bachelor of thirty, born at Balgowan, 1688. Perhaps the acquaintance formed on the ship led to the union; at any rate Dr. Græme and Ann Diggs were married at Christ Church, November 12, 1719. Dr. Græme became a prominent figure in Philadelphia, a physician honored amongst the group who had been educated at the European schools, and a public official of importance.[2]

Keith approached the Assembly civilly and dexterously, assuring them of his good will. He had plausible and engaging manners, and it was probably soon seen that here was a person very different from the cranky Gookin, or any of his predecessors. The success of such an approach was shown in the grant which the Assembly promptly voted him, of £500 and subsequently £50 for house rent. (He was living in 1720, as it appears from a minute of the Common Council, in the Shippen mansion, known then and later as "the Governor's house.")

And now, almost simultaneously with the voyage of the ship which brought the Scotch party, Keith and Græme, and their companions, appeared the swelling front of the great German migration

[1] The commission Keith brought is said (Col. Rec., III., 1) to have been "from the Proprietor." It therefore must have borne Penn's signature, yet in the year 1717 his mental and physical disability must have been far advanced. In her letter of reproof to Keith, 1724, Hannah Penn said: "As thou wert chosen in the time of my husband's weakness, by means of his friends only, to that important trust," etc.

Keith was descended from the Keiths of Ludquahairn, in the North of Scotland, baroneted in 1629. He was appointed by Queen Anne surveyor-general of customs, succeeding Col. Quarry.

[2] He was appointed Naval Officer by Gov. Keith, in 1719, and by the same a member of the Provincial Council, 1725. From 1731 to 1750 he served as Justice of the Supreme Court. To the Pennsylvania Hospital he subscribed at its foundation, and he was one of the physicians from 1751 to 1753.

The property at Horsham, in Montgomery (then Philada.) county, originally 1200 acres, which Keith bought of Andrew Hamilton, 1718, and on which he built, 1722, the large stone mansion yet standing though unused, was later called "Græme Park." Sir William lived there for a few years, say 1723–6, in con-

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of the Eighteenth Century. The Germantown settlers were pioneers, and well in the lead; about 1717 the movement from the Rhine to the Delaware suddenly assumed what that age reasonably considered astonishing dimensions, filling the river front of Philadelphia, from early summer to autumn, with ship-loads of strange people.

As early as February, 1705–6, Penn wrote from England to Logan that he was hoping to sell considerable parcels of land to "Saxons and Swissers," and thus raise money to satisfy the Fords. "The Germans have been with me," he says, "and talk of buying about £2,000 or £3,000 worth of land. The Doctor, a Saxon, is now returned to his own friends with an account thereof . . . The Germans incline most to have the Susquehanna lands." And again, a month later: "The Germans press me not for the 30,000 acres at Newcastle, but for the Conestoga land." These passages contain a suggestion of the outset of the great procession across the sea. The desolations and persecutions in Germany were now bearing their fruit. From Neuwied, a town on the Rhine near Coblentz, built in 1653 by Count Frederick of Wied on the site of a village, Langendorf, totally destroyed in the Thirty Years' War, there set out, in 1707, a little company of Lutherans who had fled to Neuwied from persecution in other places. These sailed that year from a Holland port for New York, but were driven south by storms, came into the Delaware, landed at Philadelphia, and ultimately settled in northern New Jersey, along the Musconetcong, in what has been long known as German Valley.[1] This company marked the way which the emigrants would mostly take: down the Rhine to Rotterdam, thence

siderable style. He had 17 slaves, 4 coach and 7 riding horses, and 9 horses for farm work. Dr. Græme ultimately became the owner of this property in December, 1739, and retained it until his death, 1772. When Governor Keith left Pennsylvania, in 1728, he left his wife "Lady Keith" behind in Philadelphia, and she was dependent on the Græme Park estate for her support, which apparently was inadequate, for she lived "in a small wooden house, in Third street, between Market and Arch, with an old female attendant as companion, refusing all communication with society, and reduced to great difficulties for subsistence." (Mems. Hist. So. Pa., I., 457.) She died in Philadelphia July 31, 1740, aged 65 years, and was buried in Christ Church-yard. The story cited above of his poverty is said by Buck, (Hist. Mont. Co., 888), to be not true.—Sir William went back to England in the spring of 1728, sailing from Newcastle, "on board Capt. Colville's ship." He was subsequently Member of Parliament for Aberdeen, but died in London in 1749, it is said as a debtor within the Old Bailey prison.

The mansion at Græme Park is the most notable building of its kind now standing in Pennsylvania, being older than "Stenton," James Logan's residence (built 1728), and less altered than Joseph Growdon's "Trevose," in Bucks county. It is 60 feet long by 25. The thick walls, built of the stone of the neighborhood, were laid under the direction of John Kirk, of Abington, a famous master-mason of his time, with whom Sir William made a contract for the work, in December, 1721. A description of the house, in 1855 (since which, being unoccupied, it has much decayed), says each story has three rooms; the drawing-room in the north end is 21 feet square, and 14 feet high. This room's "walls are elegantly wainscotted to the ceiling, and the fire-place and mantel are composed of clouded marble brought from England . . . The rooms to the very roof are all handsomely finished, with mouldings on the ceilings. The stairs and bannisters are . . . of oak." Dr. Græme kept a herd of deer on the estate, at one time.

At Græme Park, Dr. Græme's daughter, Elizabeth, who married Henry Hugh Fergusson, and who is usually known as "Mrs. Fergusson," chiefly had her home, after her husband went to England at the outbreak of the Revolution. She died 1801, not at the Park, but a near neighbor's. She was one of the early literary lights of Pennsylvania, a poet of the average of her time on this side of the Atlantic. Details concerning her, especially with reference to the Revolutionary period, may be found in many local histories, etc. (Cf. chapter on Horsham, by W. J. Buck, in Bean's Hist. Montg. Co.)

[1] Rupp's Thirty Thousand Names. A. D. Mellick, Jr., Pa. Mag., X.

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to an English port, thence westward to the Capes of the Delaware. From these early years of the Eighteenth Century down to the very verge of the Revolution, this was the course for tens of thousands. The movement thus drained the whole of the Rhine country from the Swiss mountains to the borders of Holland, bringing people from Alsace and Lorraine, Baden, Wurtemberg, the upper and lower Palatinate, Hesse, Franconia, Saxony, Nassau, Westphalia, Hanover, and

GRÆME PARK, RESIDENCE OF SIR WILLIAM KEITH. AFTER PAINTING IN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTION.

still other of the divisions, great or small, where Protestant Germans dwelt—for, it must be noted, it was a Protestant movement entirely.[1] Not only Protestant, indeed, many of the new comers were Mennonites, and therefore as scrupulous as the Friends concerning war and oaths. In 1709 there arrived in Lancaster county Hans Meylin, his son Martin, and at least eight others, with their families. They took up ten thousand acres of rich land in a limestone valley to the north of the Pequea creek, and after providing shelter for themselves

[1] Though not a part of the history of Philadelphia, but of Pennsylvania, we may mention here the movement of the "Palatines" to New York, in 1708-10, under the patronage of Queen Anne. A small party, under Pastor Kocherthal, came first in 1708, and settled at Newburg on the Hudson; two years later no less than 3,000 came on a fleet of ships, in company with Governor Hunter, after encamping in the public places of London for a time, in great destitution. In the great German movement to America in the Eighteenth Century, this was the advance wave, and it is reasonable to suppose that New York might have had the great body of those who were to follow, had this party been satisfied. They fell into disputes with the New York government, and after a large number had removed in 1712-13 to Schoharie county, some of these broke away and removed a third time, in 1723, to Pennsylvania, floating 300 miles down the Susquehanna, "under the guidance of friendly Indians," and occupying the fertile lands in what we now know as the Lebanon Valley, along the Tulpehocken and Swatara. Conrad Weiser, of Tulpehocken, the interpreter and messenger to the Indians (father-in-law of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg), whose name is honorable in our Colonial history, was one of these settlers, in 1729. It was this failure of their colonization in New York which sent the Germans after 1710 to Pennsylvania.

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promptly sent one of their number, Martin Kendig, back to Europe, for kinsfolk and friends who had been left behind. Their own account, preserved and handed down, was that they came at the invitation of William Penn. They had reached Rotterdam in April, 1709, from the neighborhood of Worms and Frankenthal, and doubtless were of those who had preserved the tradition of Penn's visit there in 1677, and the Kriesheim migration of 1683. Jacob Telner, the Germantown settler, whom we already know, who returned to Europe and was living in London in August, 1709, wrote to his Mennonite brethren in Amsterdam and Haarlem: "Eight families went to Pennsylvania; the English Friends who are called Quakers helped them liberally." [1]

This party of 1709 were known as "Palatines." This was the country name also of the Germans who went to New York. They were from that district on the Rhine called the Palatinate, *i. e.*, the County Palatine, that electorate whose prince, Frederick, married Elizabeth, the daughter of James the First of England, and by his election as King of Bohemia, in 1618, was swept into the maelstrom of the Thirty Years' War. The name "Palatines," because it belonged to these first companies who came, was conferred usually on the whole German movement, though part of it, as has been said, was from other sections of Germany than the Palatinate, and from Switzerland and the Rhenish regions of eastern France.

Governor Keith had been here but a few months when he called the attention of the Council to the new comers. On the 17th of September (1717), he "observed to the Board that great numbers of foreigners from Germany, strangers to our language and constitution, having lately been imported into this Province, daily dispersed themselves, immediately after landing, without producing any certificates from whence they came or what they were; and as they seemed to have landed in Britain, and afterwards to have left it without any license from the Government, or so much as their knowledge, so in the same manner they behaved here, without making the least application to himself or to any of the magistrates." The Council thereupon directed that "all the masters of vessels who have lately imported any of these fforeigners be summoned to appear at this Board to render an account of the number and character of their

[1] These Mennonite settlers on the Pequea had been reduced to extreme poverty, before coming. The aid committee of their church, at Rotterdam, plead with them not to attempt the long and arduous journey, so ill provided. The aid of the London Friends was opportune. Barclay, in his Inner Life of Religious Societies in the Commonwealth, says that London Yearly Meeting, in 1709, contributed fifty pounds for the Mennonites of the Palatinate, who had fled from the persecution of the Swiss Calvinists. A description of the Pequea company says: "The men wore long red caps on their heads. The women had neither bonnets, hats, nor caps, but merely a string passing around the head to keep the hair from the face." Their clothing was home-spun and woven, very plain and coarse, and cut upon fashions of their own. Soon after arriving at Philadelphia, they departed together westward seeking a place to settle in one company. (Cf. E. K. Martin's The Mennonites, Hist. Lanc. Co.)

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passengers[1] . . . [and] that all those who are already landed be required by a proclamation" to take such oaths appointed by law as will give assurance of their being well affected to his Majesty, etc. It was added that as "some of these foreigners are said to be Menonists, who cannot for conscience sake take any oaths," they should be permitted to make "equivalent assurances in their way and manner." Further, the Naval Officer of the port was directed not to admit any inward bound vessel to entry until the master had first given him an exact list of his passengers.

Whether this last part of the Council's order was carried into effect may be doubtful. If such exact lists as it prescribed had been given in by the captains thereafter, we should no doubt have had some of them preserved to us. It was not until ten years later that the rule was made imperative, and those lists of the Palatine immigrants began to be kept which now form the basis of our knowledge concerning the first coming hither of many German families.

It is to be noted that the new comers took a risk in thus transplanting themselves to a country in which they had no citizenship. The lines between one nation and another were drawn in that day hard and fast, and the German lands were very foreign indeed—however related by blood—to the realm of England. Being aliens in Pennsylvania, these immigrants could neither hold land nor convey it, without some enabling legislation. About the time of the arrival of these three ships, Logan wrote (Sept. 25) to Henry Gouldney, representing the surprise felt here that "such numbers, and in so many vessels," should be sent out from England "without the least notice taken of it that we could find." "There are divers hundreds arrived here," he added, "who have not one word of English, and bring no credentials with them. 'Tis said there are many more yet to come; but 'tis a pity but they were sensible that no foreigners can hold lands here more than in England till they are qualified to do so."[2] The disability was serious, and Gookin, in 1716, had recom-

[1] In Council, Sept. 19, 1717: "Capt. Richmond, Capt. Towor, & Capt. Eyers waited upon the board with the list of the Palatines they had imported here from London: by which list it appeared that Capt. Richmond had imported 164, Capt. Towor 91, and Capt. Eyers 108." (Col. Rec., III., 22.)

[2] In 1709, under an act of Assembly, replacing one which had been disapproved in England, Pastorius

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mended a general act to deal with the subject. When the Assembly of 1724 met, a petition was presented "from a great number of persons born under the allegiance of the Emperor of Germany," who had removed themselves and families within this province, asking for legislation which would enable them to hold and convey lands. Some steps were taken to meet this petition, but nothing resulted at this time, except that a special act was passed naturalizing Caspar Wister, John Crapo, and Nicholas Gateau. The first of these three was one of the immigrants in the September ships, whose arrival had excited the attention of Governor Keith, and called forth the letter of Logan. He was the son of a Lutheran at Hillspach, near Heidelberg, in the lower Palatinate, and when he landed—a man just past twenty-one—he brought with him the jäger's rifle with which he had assisted his father, who was huntsman to the Prince Palatine, in the care of the prince's forests. It illustrates the opportunity then open to him here that in nine years the young German had become well known and prosperous; in 1726 his name appears in a list of "principal merchants of the city," who advertised their willingness to take "Newcastle and Kent bills" in the course of their business.[1]

In due time we shall speak further of the continuing and still increasing arrival of the Germans. Logan's uneasiness concerning them, in letters written in 1724, referring to their seizure without warrant of tracts of lands not regularly sold to any one, is well known, and has occasioned numerous expressions from their descendants, signifying varying degrees of resentment. As a matter of fact his concern was natural under the circumstances, and not expressed excessively. The peaceful and industrious character of the immigrants proved in time that the risk to the young province of so great and sudden an inflow of people, differing in language and otherwise, was less than it had been supposed at the beginning. In 1719 there is this passage in a letter of Jonathan Dickinson: "We are daily expecting ships from London, which bring over Palatines, in number about six or seven hundred. We had a parcel who came about five years ago, who purchased land about sixty miles west of Philadelphia, and proved quiet and industrious.[2] Some few came from

and a large number of others of the Germantown settlers, with some who had removed upward to Towamensing and Skippack, were naturalized, so as to secure them a good title to the lands they held. In the list, besides that of Pastorius appear the names of many prominent in the early immigration—Dennis Kunders "and his three sons," Dirck Keyser "and his son Peter Keyser," William Strepers, Abraham Tunis, Reinier Tyson, Leonard Ahrets, Matthias Van Bebber, the four Shoemakers, Jacob, Peter, George and Isaac, and others.

[1] Gateau, also naturalized at this time, was no doubt "the French cook," who, as we have seen, in 1704, in war-time, was so sharply put under surveillance. John Crapo, designated as a "merchant," as well as Wister, we may be sure from his name was a Frenchman like Gateau.

[2] These were, no doubt, the Lancaster county Mennonites; they began to come, as we have seen, more than "five years before." Dickinson may refer, however, to a later party.

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Ireland lately, and more are expected thence. This is besides our common supply from Wales and England."

We mark the statement that "some few" had then lately arrived from Ireland, and that "more are expected thence." It has its importance. It signifies the appearance of the pioneers of the other great army which was about to move upon Pennsylvania, the Protestant agriculturists from the Ulster province of Ireland, that "Scotch-Irish" stream which has given Penn's commonwealth so many men of rugged, resolute, and aggressive qualities.

The time when the Scotch-Irish began to land in Philadelphia in considerable numbers is hard to state more precisely than in this allusion of Jonathan Dickinson in 1719. Logan, as we have seen, had come twenty years earlier, but his transplanting does not afford a clue to the causes which sent tens of thousands of these tough and earnest men out of Ulster, in the first half of the Eighteenth Century. Like the Germans, they had been bred in a school of adversity, experiences scarcely less hard than those of the dwellers along the Rhine. The Ulstermen were filled with bitter memories of English ill-treatment, as the Palatines were of persecution and ravage at the hands of Continental princes and potentates. Each class cherished deeply its resentments, but the Germans the more sedately. The Scotch-Irish who poured to America from 1720 to the outbreak of the Revolution furnished in large part the armies with which American Independence was won. We shall see proof of this, in due time, in the present narrative. England was blindly sending abroad the fruitful seed of many troubles when she practically drove out of northern Ireland the legions of strong haters and hard hitters whom she saw depart in that period from Derry and Belfast, and her other Ulster ports, to the American shores. The Germans recalled their wrongs with a memory persistent like their habits of patient toil, but the Scotch-Irish were of a different and rougher temper. "The sword and the sickle went together in Ulster." [1]

Various causes had brought the discontent of the Protestants of Ulster—a people mainly of Scotch blood, but also including elements of English Puritan, French Huguenot, and Dutch Calvinist origin—to the point of escape to America. The causes were the outcome of English policy in Church and State. Ulster had been planted as a favored province under James the First, but a century later, in the time of Anne, it had come to be treated after England's usual manner with her colonies—as the servant, simply, to her own convenience and profit. The English Church system offended and indeed outraged in various ways the feelings and consciences of the non-conform-

[1] Address of Rev. Dr. J. S. McIntosh, at Scotch-Irish Congress, Pittsburg, 1890.

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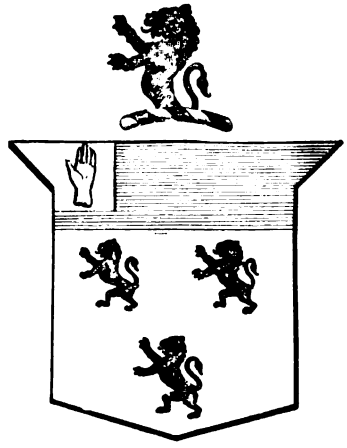
ing people of Ulster, especially as to marriage, baptism, and the burial of the dead in the parish churchyards. The land system, then as afterward, was made up largely of rack-rent and eviction. There was practically no public education for non-conformists. And finally the laws passed at London concerning trade and commerce struck the very bread from the people's mouths, forbidding the export from Ireland of wool, of horses, of cattle, of butter and cheese, of slaughtered meats, and depriving Irish ships of the benefits of the Navigation Act. With one hand, therefore, the policy of England outraged the religious convictions and social usages of the Ulstermen, while with the other it snatched away their opportunity of a livelihood. They were not a class to be thus dealt with.



THOMAS ARMS.

The indications of the first coming of the Scotch-Irish to Philadelphia, already cited, concur with other evidence as to their migration. In August, 1718, five shiploads of them had reached Boston, one hundred and twenty families, making perhaps seven hundred and fifty souls. In September of that year, Rev. William Tennent, a Presbyterian minister, born in Ireland, was in Philadelphia, and then and there delivered to the Synod his reasons for dissent from the Established Church in Ireland, in which he had been a minister. The Synod received him as a member, and its minutes on the subject give reason for supposing that he had come here as early as 1717.[1] He was from county Armagh, in Ulster, and his son, Gilbert Tennent, a man equally or more famous, who accompanied him hither, had been born there in 1703. These were the Tennents of the "Log College," at Neshaminy, in Bucks county, and their coming indicated a larger movement than that of two persons. We identify, by their appearance here, the advent of the Ulster Irishmen.

A few weeks before his apoplectic seizure William Penn had made his will—the second of which we have knowledge, an earlier one having been made and left behind, at his departure from Pennsylvania in 1701.[2] The one latest made is dated at Ruscombe, in Berk-

[1] Francis Makemie, the famous Presbyterian missionary in America, organizer of that body on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, had been in Philadelphia as early as 1692, and had gathered here a Presbyterian congregation which met in a store-house belonging to the Barbadoes Company at the northwest corner of Second and Chestnut Streets. In 1705 the Presbytery of Philadelphia was formed, and in 1716 the Synod of Philadelphia, composed of the four Presbyteries of Snow Hill (Md.), Newcastle (Del.), Long Island, and Philadelphia.

[2] Both the wills, the one dated at Newcastle, Oct. 30, 1701, and that in England, 1718, are printed in full in Memoirs Hist. So. Pa., Vol. I. The latter is also given as a Note to this chapter.

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shire, May 27, 1712; it became operative by his death six years after. By this will, which subsequently was fully sustained in the English courts, his proprietary rights, after allowing some special devises, passed in bulk to the four sons by his marriage with Hannah Callowhill. These sons were John, the baby born in Edward Shippen's house in Philadelphia a few weeks after the arrival of the *Canterbury*, and three younger brothers, Thomas, Richard and Dennis. John was in his nineteenth year at the death of the Founder. Thomas was sixteen. Dennis died in childhood. It resulted therefore that John Penn, Thomas Penn and Richard Penn became the Young Proprietaries of Pennsylvania.

The surviving son of the Founder by his first marriage, William Penn, Jr., whose visit in 1704, with its unpleasant incidents, we have seen and noted, had doubtless regarded himself as the heir-apparent to his father's interests in Pennsylvania. The will naturally disappointed him; he decided, after a time of hesitation, to assert his claims.

At the meeting of the Provincial Council, in Philadelphia, November 3, 1718, Governor Keith announced the news of Penn's decease, and on the 28th of April following he laid before it a letter of instructions and a new commission, which he had received from William Penn, Jr. In this document, dated January 14, the writer directs the Governor "immediately to call together the Council, and with them in the most public manner to make known my accession to the Government of the . . . . Province and Counties." He instructs Keith to retain Logan in the Council, to observe "the law for liberty of conscience," to "slip not the opportunity" of procuring "a militia to be settled by law," if one should present itself; to be careful of the interests of the Church of England, to encourage and protect its clergy, and employ its members equally with others; and to "discountenance all antitrinitarians and libertines." The Council, as well as Keith, appears to have received the communication seriously. The Assembly was called, and on the 7th of May the Governor read it to that body. The Assembly, in response, confessed their perplexity, upon considering the provisions of the Founder's will, as to the powers which his son now assumed. They reminded Governor Keith that by a law passed in Anne's reign, and confirmed by her, the government, at the death of the Proprietary, was to continue as then settled till further order from the Crown, or the Proprietary's heirs. They therefore suggested that the document received from the young Claimant be for the present withheld from publication, and the Council, a few days later, by "a majority above two to one," voted that this advice was good. "Other letters or accounts . . . by Captain Annis," they said, had been received from England,

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since they had advised the Governor differently on the 28th of April.[1]

It may be here said that young William Penn accomplished nothing by his claims or suits. The family property in England and Ireland had been settled on him, and its remnants descended to his heirs. As his father had intimated in his will, he considered this a provision as good as was made for the children of the second marriage; the lands in Pennsylvania were encumbered and their ultimate value then uncertain. It depended upon Logan's success in selling them, upon the inflow of immigrants, upon the outcome of struggles with the Assembly over taxation of the Proprietary holdings, upon changes wrought by the Revolution, how much these lands might be worth in the life-time of the three Young Proprietaries who received them under the will.[2]

The Peace of Utrecht had relieved the shipowners and merchants of Philadelphia of their terror of "French ships," but now pirates swarmed again on the coast, as they had done in the peace interval from 1697 to 1702. Logan wrote to Henry Gouldney in 1717 that "we have been of late extremely pestered with pirates, who now swarm in America, and increase their numbers with every vessel they take." He estimated them as being "at least fifteen hundred strong," and described them as mostly Englishmen. He expressed uneasiness as to Philadelphia's situation, for many of them had visited the place, and some were born here, and these therefore knew very well that the government was not well prepared to fight. The minutes of the Council have many allusions to the subject. On the 22d of February, 1717, John Collison and four others, "just arrived in this Colony in the sloop *William's Endeavour*, Richard Taylor master," claimed the benefit of a late proclamation of the King, pardoning pirates who should give themselves up and quit the business, if they had not

[1] These further advices may have been the letters of Simon Clements, Hannah Penn's uncle, from London, Dec. 30, 1718, and March 6, 1718-19, to James Logan, given in Mems. Hist. So. Penna., I. William Penn, Jr., is there described as at first "obstructing" the probate of the will in the Prerogative Court (of the Archbishop of Canterbury), but later consenting to it. (It was proved there, "in common form," Nov. 4, 1712.) Dec. 30, Clements says: "We are now also upon proving the will in Chancery, but there are some disputes yet subsisting between the young gentleman and his mother in-law [step-mother, Hannah Penn] which they have mutually promised shall be settled by an amicable bill in Chancery." With the letter of March 6 he sent a certified copy of the will, and its probate, in the Prerogative Court. He also said that young Penn had shown himself "fickle and unconstant, and . . . ready to fly out once or twice, and has gone again to France without putting in his answer to the bill for proving the will [in the Chancery court] which must therefore be at a stand till his return." Clements was probably unaware of the commission and instructions which young Penn had sent to Keith, though he adds in the letter that "his agents talk as if he believes the will has not sufficiently conveyed the power of government from him, and that he will send over a governor. But I should think either he has more discretion than to offer it in earnest, or that he would not find anybody fool enough to go on such an errand."

The will was finally probated, "upon a proper suit for that purpose brought against the Heir at Law of William Penn [Sen.] and established by decree in his Majesty's Court of Exchequer at Westminster." (Cf. Breviate in Boundary Proceedings, Pa. Archives, 2nd Series, XVI.)

[2] William Penn, Jr., died in France, two years after his father. His eldest son, Springett Penn, joined in 1726 with the widow, Hannah Penn, in the appointment of Governor Gordon.

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committed capital crimes. They "acknowledged their lately having been guilty of piracy." July 22, 1718, the Governor reported that Richard Appleton and eleven other mariners had made their escape from the pirates, and "were come hither for protection." The eleven were called before the Council and told their story, through Richard Appleton, and the account "taken from his mouth, to which they all agreed," was in brief that they had sailed from Jamaica, six months before, in the sloop which they now had brought to Philadelphia, the *Nathaniel and Charles*, their object being to "go upon the wrecks" on certain "keys" or small islands, probably in the Bahamas. Ill luck attended them; instigated by the captain of a sloop with which they were in company, some of the two crews mutinied, overpowered the rest, and set off with both ships on a cruise of piracy. Two vessels they took, and some others they plundered, but released, when an opportunity offering, the party who had now reached Philadelphia seized the Jamaica sloop, set their pirate companions, eight in number, adrift in a canoe, and escaped. They were chased as they came, but all had "resolutely determined," so Richard Appleton averred, "to blow ourselves up before we should be taken by any pirate." The Council accepted the story at its face, and were unanimously of the opinion that the men should be allowed to depart freely, and were deserving of praise; the sloop was held, subject to the claim of the "first adventurers" who had sent it out of Jamaica.[1]

An expedition against the pirates about the mouth of the Bay was now resolved on. In October (1718), Logan writes to the Governor of New York: "We are now sending down a small vessel to seize these rogues, if not strengthened from sea. We are in manifest danger here, unless the King's ships take some notice of us. They probably think a Proprietary Government no part of their charge. It is possible indeed the merchants of New York might not be displeased to hear we were all reduced to ashes." The "small vessel" appears to have had a companion; on the 17th of October the Governor laid before the Council a bill for ninety pounds, being the "several disbursements on the late expedicon of sloops to the Capes in pursuit of the pirates, who [the sloops, not the pirates] were commanded by Capt. Raymond and Capt. Naylor." It did not appear that great success had attended the expedition, but the Governor assured the Council that it was worth all it cost.

In August of this year (1718), the Governor announced that he had information "that one Teach, a noted pirate"—he known as

[1] An inventory of the armament, stores, &c., of the sloop, will be found in the Council's minutes, Aug. 11, 1718 (Col. Rec. III., 53), and has some interest. She had "10 great guns and carriages, 2 swivle guns, 3 pateraroes, 4 chambers, 30 muskets, 5 blunderbusses, 5 pistols, 7 cutlasses, 53 hand granadoes," 32 barrels of powder, and other minor munitions of war. For colors she carried "1 black flagg, 1 red flagg, 2 ensignes, 2 pendants, 1 jack, 8 sloppers."

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"Blackbeard"—"who has done the greatest mischief of any to this place, has been lurking for some days in and about this town," and that a warrant for him had been issued.[1] Two years later (1720) we hear more on the general subject. The sloop *Samuel and Sarah*, of Philadelphia, was taken by pirates, and some of the crew put ashore at Santa Cruz. The sloop *Glasgow*, of Philadelphia, coming from Barbadoes to South Carolina, was taken by a Spanish "privateer," and a prize crew of five men put aboard her; the crew of the sloop rose, recaptured her and escaped into Philadelphia. The neighborhood of the Capes was still a dangerous place for merchant craft; the *Barthelmy*, of Surinam, was chased just outside by a privateer brigantine and two sloops, but escaped; the sloop *Mary*, less fortunate, fell into the hands of her pursuers. In 1723 a worthy successor to Blackbeard, "Low, the pirate," captured the sloop *Hopeful Betty* at the Delaware Capes, and took out her goods, but released the master, Greenman, and gave him his vessel. The story was that Low had on board his own ship "£60,000 to £80,000 in gold." But, as we all know, such stories are liable to exaggeration.

The First Printer's son, Andrew Bradford, as we have seen, returned in 1712 to the place where his father had, according to his own view, suffered such harsh treatment, and had set up a press. In 1719 he began the issue of a newspaper, *The American Weekly Mercury*. It was the beginning of Philadelphian journalism, and not only the first newspaper here, but one of three then printed in all North America. Two others were printed at Boston, none elsewhere. It needs hardly be said how modest in all respects the *Mercury* was. It appeared as a half sheet, "pot" size, and announced that it was "Printed by Andrew Bradford, and sold by him and John Copson." A single advertisement appeared in its second issue, December 29, 1719, offering five pounds for a runaway slave, "Johney," a mulatto man, "as white as any Englishman." He was the coachman for Philip Sudwell, of Green Spring, Virginia, and had absconded on the 4th of July—significant date!

If the slave Johney had come to Philadelphia he would join here many of the people whose kin he, though in small part, as his complexion proved, was considered to be. The city had many negroes, some free, others slaves.[2] The question of their treatment had been more than once under discussion. In 1688, four of the settlers of Germantown, Pastorius, Gerret Hendricks, and Derick and Abraham

[1] The life of Teach or Blackbeard, in the "Pirate's Own Book"—said to be a reprint of a book printed in Philadelphia by Andrew Bradford in 1724—says he was killed in the waters of Virginia, Nov. 21, 1717, and his head carried into Bath Town, Virginia, on the end of a ship's bowsprit. These dates may be confused. In 1717, Logan wrote of Teach that "he was here as a mate from Jamaica, about two years ago."

[2] The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1712, in an epistle to the Yearly Meeting at London, said the number of negroes was greatly increased in the province.

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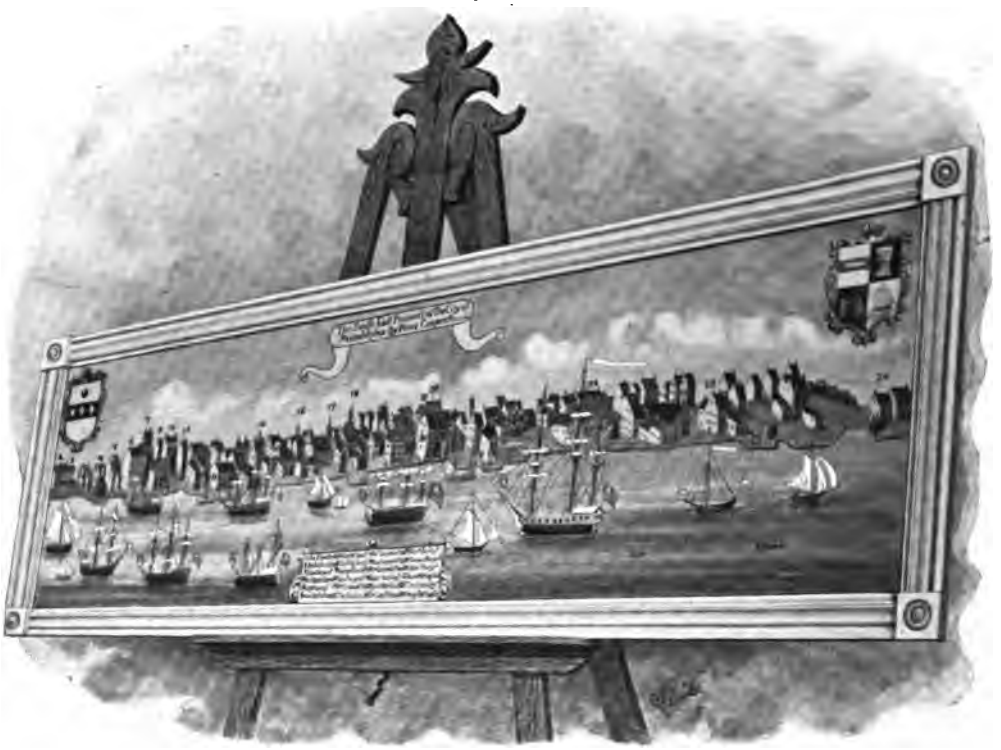
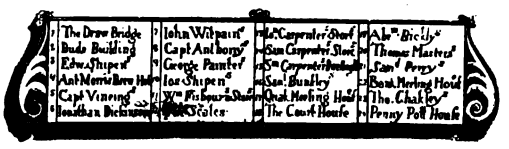
Op den Graeff, had sent to their monthly meeting of Friends held at Richard Worrell's, an earnest and able letter, protesting utterly against the enslavement of the blacks—a document famous in all modern times, anticipating by its statements and arguments a large part of much that was said afterward against Slavery. The four abolitionists set forth in cogent language "the reasons why we are against the traffick of men's body," and they expressed their surprise



NORTHEAST PROSPECT OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1718. AFTER PAINTING BY PETER COOPER IN PHILADELPHIA LIBRARY.

and distress at the most part they saw here heither against consent, and



hearing that of the negroes "are brought their will and that many of them are stollen." The monthly meeting, the quarterly meeting, and ultimately the yearly meeting, to whom the protest in succession came, declined cautiously to take up the subject, "it having so general a relation to many other Parts." Negro slavery was the rule in all the Colonies, since the unhappy import of the historic shipload to Virginia in the very year the Pilgrims reached Cape Cod, and an attack upon it involved serious considerations.

Later than Pastorius and his associates, the seceding Friends' meeting established by George Keith recorded itself (1696) against

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slavery, this being an effort, perhaps, to show the delinquency of the main body of the Friends in not doing the same. In his will of 1701 Penn inserted a clause giving "my blacks their freedom, as under my hand already"; he had, it is probable, one woman and three men slaves on the estate at Pennsbury. The subject had been on his mind, for he had introduced it as a "concern" into the monthly meeting at Philadelphia, in 1700, and the meeting had made a "minute" concerning both Indians and negroes, directing Friends to be "very careful in discharging a good conscience toward them in all respects," and appointing "a meeting for the negroes, to be kept once a month," which their masters were urged also to attend.

But it was not a subject easy to dispose of. There was already prejudice amongst white work-people against those of color. It was only too evident that the negroes, especially those free, made a large contribution to the idle and dissolute class. Crimes by the negroes particularly excited the public mind. Two lines of legislation therefore resulted, one to check and discourage the importation of negroes, the other to provide special punishments for crimes which negroes should commit. As to the former, an act passed in 1705 provided that any Indian slaves or servants imported by land or water should be forfeited by the owner, and set free, or otherwise disposed of by the Governor and Council. An act of 1710 laid a duty of forty shillings per head on the import of negroes, and another in 1712 increased the duty ten-fold, to twenty pounds. Similar acts were passed, time after time—in 1715, in 1717–18, in 1720, in 1725–26, in 1729—this continual reënactment being explained in a word by the fact that every such law was disallowed and annulled in England. The policy here was to stop the slave-trade. The policy there was to promote it. No one feature of the Peace of Utrecht, in 1713, had brought to England so much profit, or indeed so great a measure of satisfaction, as the transfer to that country of the "Assiento," giving her the monopoly of the West African trade, and making her thus the great slave-trader of the world.[1] The determination at London was to suppress at once every effort in the colonies to limit the extent and profits of the trade.

The legislation providing severer punishments for negroes appears as early as 1705. An act that year provided that negroes convicted of heinous crimes, such as murder, manslaughter, bribery, rape, should suffer death; a negro carrying arms without his master's consent should receive twenty-one lashes; and more than four meeting together without their masters' permission should receive not exceeding thirty-nine lashes. But slaves were property, even if they were also persons. It resulted that in 1708 two negroes, Toney and

[1] Cf. Lecky's England in the 18th Century, I., 138.

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Quashy, belonging to William Righten and Robert Grace, being convicted of burglary and condemned to death, their masters petitioned the Governor and Council for a mitigation of the sentence, as they could not bear the loss. The Council therefore ordered that the men be punished on "three market-days successively." "They shall be led from the market-place up through y^e^ Second street, and down thro' y^e^ Front street to y^e^ [draw] bridge, with their arms extended and tied to a pole across their necks, a cart going before them; and . . . they shall be severely whipt all the way, as they pass, upon their bare back and shoulders." In the meantime they were to "lie in irons in the prison at the owners' charge," and finally be transported out of the Province.

JOHN PENN, THE AMERICAN.

The grand jury in 1702, as we have seen, complained of the riotous gatherings of negroes on the first day of the week. Another grand jury, 1720, of which Joseph Shippen was foreman, in very defective orthography but vigorous rhetoric, returned to the subject, referring especially to gatherings "after it is duskish." The Assembly, in 1726, enacted that any slave negro convicted of capital crime, and therefore put to death, should be paid for out of the fund raised by the duty on imported negroes. And free negroes being pronounced to be "idle and slothful," masters or mistresses freeing slaves were required to give security in £30 that the manumitted one would not become a public charge. Many other provisions accompanied this, providing restraints, regulations and punishments for the free negroes. This legislation may have grown out of petitions presented to the Assembly in 1723, one of which related to the hiring out of slaves, and complained that the blacks did nearly the whole of the servile work of the city, to the injury of the (white) petitioners; while another protested, *inter alia*, against "setting negroes free when they are old and incapable of making a living."

There are some more cheerful features of the subject. The Friends' epistle to London, 1714, stated that they did not know of any Friend who was concerned in importing negroes from Africa, and urged the Yearly Meeting of London to continue its advice and assistance to Friends in the other slave-holding colonies. In 1715, 1716, and 1717, the yearly meeting here issued its advices urging that Friends should not only be clear of importing negroes, but of buying them when imported by others. Some one concerned on account of the negroes' lack of religion[1] advertised in the *Mercury*, in 1722, that

[1] It appears that it was Samuel Keimer, the printer, for whom Franklin first worked.

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he was prepared to teach them how to read. His advertisement ran thus:

"There is lately arrived in this city a person who freely offers his service to teach his poor brethren the Male Negroes to read the Holy Scriptures, &c., in a very uncommon, expeditious and delightful manner, without any expense to the respective masters or mistresses. All serious persons, whether *Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, Water Baptists*, or the people called *Quakers*, who are truly concerned for their Negro Servants' salvation, may advise with the said person at his lodgings (relative to the time and place of his so instructing them), at the dwelling house of John Read, Carpenter, High street, every morning till eight o'clock, except seventh day.

"The great Jehovah from above,
Whose Christian name is LIGHT and LOVE,
In all his works will take delight,
And wash poor HAGAR'S Blackmoors white.
Let none condemn this undertaking
By silent thought or noisy speaking;
They're fools whose bolts soon shoot upon
The mark they've looked but little on."

If, however, the question how to treat the children of Hagar was perplexing to the lawmakers, there was another subject not less so. This related to money, to the value of the different coins which were supposed to be in circulation, to the pressing need for currency of some sort wherewith to make exchanges of goods and lands. We have seen that one of the laws of the second Assembly fixed the legal value of gold and silver coins, and that Penn, in his interviews with Bellomont and the other governors at New York, in 1700, presented as a serious trouble their varying values in the different colonies. In 1702 he wrote to Logan, advising him of a proclamation about to be issued by the Queen, reducing the money in the colonies "to sterling," and in another letter next year referred to the subject,[1] asking Logan's opinion upon the effect of such an order. Logan wrote in reply: "The proclamation about the money was duly published, but the people do not as yet regard it; there is not a man in the province but takes money at the old rate." In 1722, twenty of the business men of the city advertised that they were agreed to take coins at these rates: Lyons dollars at 5 shillings, English crowns at 7 shillings, sixpence; half crowns at 3 shillings, ninepence; English shillings at 18 pence, English sixpences at 9 pence. As indicating who were then amongst the principal business men, the list of the signers is worth giving, as follows: John Cadwallader, Henry Hodge, Edward Roberts, Andrew Bradford, John Copson, Robert Ellis, Charles Reid, David Brientnall, Richard Clymer, John Hyatt, Thomas Tresse,

[1] Penn-Logan Corresp., I., 165, 210 et seq.

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Oliver Galttery, William Bowell, George Calvert, John Brooks, Benjamin Paschall, Thomas Nickson, William Branson, Anthony Morris, William Bantofee.

To the Assembly of 1723 the whole money question was sharply presented. The trade of the province was done with great difficulty. It was plain that something was needed to facilitate the exchange of commodities. The bank which Thomas Budd and Samuel Carpenter and their associates had proposed in Blackwell's time would have served a good purpose. Petitions presented to the Assembly "from sundry freeholders and inhabitants of the city and county of Philadelphia" set forth that they were "sensibly aggrieved in their estates and dealings, to the great loss and growing ruin of themselves, and the evident decay of this province in general, for want of a medium to buy and sell with"; they prayed, therefore, for the issue of a paper currency. A petition presented from inhabitants of Chester county took a different view; the signers asked that the value of the current money of the Province should be raised, that the Assembly would not make a paper currency, that the produce of the Province be made currency, and that the export of money be prohibited. A petition somewhat similar was presented from persons in Philadelphia county, who also opposed paper money, but urged that wheat and other grain, beef, pork, hemp, and flax should pass on all occasions as ready money.

Out of these demands, the Assembly resolved upon a combination of measures. It authorized the issue of "notes of credit," and enacted also that produce should be used as currency.[1] The controversy over the paper money was earnest. The Governor strongly advocated it, while James Logan and Isaac Norris made opposition in an elaborate memorial, as the "sentiments of several gentlemen and merchants." They in turn were answered by a counter memorial, which drew out a third and longer paper on the "hard money" side.[2] The arguments sound familiar to us, since in our time we have had the "greenback" question elaborately discussed; much then said reminds us that this controversy is one not easily settled. It is no part of our present purpose, certainly, to re-argue the question; we need only record the facts. Whether paper money was bad or good, the general demand for a "medium to buy and sell with" was too strong for the Assembly to resist, backed as it was by Keith's earnest advocacy. The Governor and the Assembly were the law-making power.

The measure, it is to be noted, was not a surprise to the public. It had been proposed in 1721, and discussed meantime. Other colonies, Massachusetts, New York, and Carolina, had already issued paper

[1] The latter measure the Governor disapproved. [2] All these in full in Proud, II., 152, et seq.

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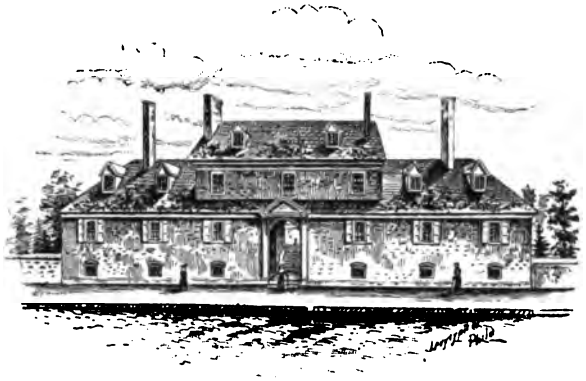
money—in excessive quantities, as it appeared. The members of this Assembly, chosen in October, 1722, had probably been elected with this legislation in view. From Philadelphia county they were Samuel Carpenter,[1] Francis Rawle, Matthias Holstein, John Swift, Robert Jones, Anthony Morris, Hugh Evans, and Benjamin Vining; from the City, John Kearsley, Charles Read. Joseph Growdon, of Bucks, was once more Speaker, and among other members from that county were William Biles (the second), John Sotcher, and his son-in-law, Joseph Kirkbride, Jr. It looks at this distance like more than an average legislature, and it is evident that it had a number of men advanced in years.



THE FRIENDS' ALMS HOUSE.[2]

The plan adopted was practically the establishment of a bank, with functions of loan and issue. Governor Keith's message, sent to the Assembly in answer to Logan and Norris, shows that the idea of banking was substantially entertained. He cites the operations of the Bank of Amsterdam and the Bank of England, and argues from their experience what may and may not be expected here. The law as passed, March 2, 1722–3, authorized the establishment of a Loan Office, with four Trustees, Samuel Carpenter, William Fishbourn, Jeremiah Langhorne, and Nathaniel Newlin — representatives of Philadelphia County, the City, and the counties of Bucks and Chester. This Loan Office was to lend £15,000 in paper money, upon the security of plate or real estate. Loans on plate were made for one year; on fee-simple estates in land or ground rents for eight years. The interest paid by the borrower was five per cent. per annum. The notes had a face value of one shilling to twenty shillings, were a legal tender for all payments, and were signed by Charles Read, Francis Rawle, Benjamin Vining, and Anthony Morris. Forgery of them was to be severely punished—by the loss of ears, whipping, and a fine of one hundred pounds; if unable to pay the fine the offender might be sold to labor for seven years. The amount to be loaned any one person was not less than twelve pounds, nor more than one hundred, unless at the end of four months after opening the Loan Office there should still be money unissued, when the limit was raised

[1] Not the first of that name; he had died in 1714.

[2] This building, which stood on Walnut, near Third street, was erected in 1729 and removed in 1841. The ground plot was given to the Friends by John Martin.

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to two hundred pounds. The loans were to be repaid in eight annual installments, payable either in current money or bills of credit, and the bills thus returned, and those bought with the "current money" were to be destroyed. The whole plan was thus to have a life of eight years, so far as the loaning and repayment were concerned, and the paper currency, it was probable, would be nearly all "sunk" at the end of that period. The law was carefully drawn, and was evidently a conservative effort to answer the demand for a paper currency. The mistakes of the other colonies it was hoped would be avoided. That the measure was popular soon appeared. The next Assembly authorized the issue of £30,000, double the amount provided for in the first bill, making £45,000 altogether. And this or later legislation directed the re-issue of the money as it came in. It had been perceived that the "sinking" of the money, year by year, was a process of contraction which would directly defeat the whole purpose of providing a currency.

Whatever might be said, then or since, the paper money certainly gave a stimulus to trade, and public opinion supported the policy of its creation. In 1729 an emission of £30,000 was authorized, and in 1731, the eight years' term of the 1723 emission being nearly out, an act was passed continuing it for eight years more. "The amount of the bills of credit," said a report of the Assembly, presented to Governor Thomas, in 1739, "in this present year, by virtue of the several aforesaid acts," amounted to £69,889 15s., and the Assembly then, considering "the daily increase of the inhabitants, and the continued importation of foreigners," believed that amount insufficient, and authorized the further issue of £11,110 5s., so that the whole amount of paper money current in the Province in 1740 was £80,000, "which sum being computed, as now purchased, and reduced to sterling money of Great Britain, makes £50,196."

The Assembly of 1726 declared that the new currency had worked well. In their address to the Governor (Gordon), they said: "There has been more goods imported and more ships built in this place on British account, than was ever known of at any time before." And in an address to the descendants of William Penn they repeated that the emission of the paper money had been of great use. Many iron works had been established, and many ships built, and more ships were then on the stocks. The Assembly of 1739 summarized the experience of seventeen years by the statement that though "merchants and others have given some advances to purchase gold and silver," they believed this was due to the fact that the import of English goods had been greatly increased, through the domestic activity of business, "for the adventurers advancing the price of their commodities, and encouraged by meeting with a ready sale,

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became great gainers, while wheat, flour, and all the valuable produce of the province continued at or near the usual prices, and are, at this time, to be purchased with our bills of credit as low or lower than has been almost ever known, when gold and silver were the medium of our trade; and all tradesmen, hired servants, and other laborers,

THE JOHN BARTRAM HOUSE.

have been, and are still, paid at the same rates, and no more, for their labor, than they formerly received, before the creating or issuing our bills of credit."

The fact that wages had not advanced was due, no doubt, to the enormous inflow of immigrants, many of them only used to the ruder forms of labor. We must speak of this in a moment. Meantime we must turn to James Logan. He had found Sir William Keith not a satisfactory governor. The difference of opinion concerning the paper money was doubtless part of a larger quarrel. Logan was a member of the Council, and probably a stronger force in it than the Governor. "In the second year after Keith's arrival," says Franklin's "Historical Review," [1] "Logan had divided his Council against him, and carried off a majority." At the meeting of the Council May 20, 1723, the Governor announced that "he had thought fit to appoint Patrick Baird, his secretary, to be Clerk of the Council"—thus displacing Logan—"and that he would in a fuller board give his reasons for so doing." The reasons do not appear until later,

[1] An Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania, published in London, 1759, without the name of author, but usually ascribed to Franklin. Its value as a side-light is considerable; but it must not be taken too seriously. Its support of the Assembly is generally just.

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but very soon Logan's name disappears from the list of members of the Council (he held a seat as a member, as well as the place of secretary) recorded as being present. He had been elected Mayor of the city in October, 1722, and at the end of his year he went to England to report to Hannah Penn. On the 5th of August, 1724, he returned, and was once more at the Council board. He had brought a letter to Keith from Hannah Penn, dated on the 20th of May, in which she admonished her Governor sharply. "It is required," she said, "that thou advise with the Council upon every meeting or adjournment of the Assembly, which requires any deliberation on the Governor's part; that thou make no speech, nor send any written message, but what shall first be approved in Council, if practicable at the time, and shall return no bills to the House, without the advice of the Council, nor pass any whatever into a law, without the consent of a majority of the board."[1] To this letter Henry Gouldney and Joshua Gee, representing the mortgagees of the Province, had added an endorsement notifying Keith that he could only hold his place upon his maintenance of a good understanding with Hannah Penn.

This was one more instance of that injudicious policy to which Logan was too often committed—disregarding the concessions which Penn had made, and attempting to recall or ignore an earlier understanding. The Charter of Privileges, as settled in 1701, designated the Governor and the Assembly as the law-making power, and nowhere signified that the Governor was to be the mere agent and mouthpiece of his Council.[2] The Assembly, in January 1724–25, took this view, and David Lloyd, who once more came to the front in a time of controversy, furnished it and Keith with law to sustain that side of the case. But Keith had taken too great a risk in opposing Logan, and putting himself in the position of defying Hannah Penn. He doubtless thought that in the present unsettled condition of the Proprietary affairs a new governor could not be appointed. This was an error, as he presently found. Logan had no doubt arranged for his removal, while in England, in case the letter of admonition did not serve. Keith made his contest and lost. David Lloyd, though he enjoyed at first a new dispute with Logan, and gave Keith his help, changed front later, and when Governor Gordon arrived, and Keith, being elected a member of the Assembly, (in October, 1726), became a candidate for Speaker, he took the field

[1] She lectured him, as we might suppose, on his course as to the paper money. No doubt Logan had represented that to her in a very unfavorable light.

[2] Keith, in his reply to Hannah Penn, declared that the powers of the Council as to legislation had been settled in Governor Evans's time. The Council then, though containing Logan himself, Judge Mompesson —then the leading lawyer of the Province—and young William Penn, had decided that the reservation made in the commission to the Governor, from the Proprietary, that he would be guided altogether by the Council, was void.

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Benj. Franklin

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against him. Whether in this strange bedfellowship of politics Logan and Lloyd now felt their old jealousies quieted, it is certain they made common cause against Keith, and that later they acted in concert in other matters. On the day the Assembly met, "Sir William made his public entry into the city with about eighty horse, composed of butchers, tailors, blacksmiths, journeymen, apprentices, and carters, marching two and two, Sir William being at the head of them, some ships firing their guns."[1] Yet David Lloyd, once more taking the Assembly by storm, carried "every vote but three."[2] Keith was beaten, and more, humiliated. He lingered at Philadelphia for a time, striving, his enemies said, "to divide the province, embarrass the governor, and distress the proprietaries," and at least succeeding in destroying whatever remains of popularity he might have had. No doubt Logan's face relaxed into a smile of contentment as he saw the baronet depart to avoid his creditors. When, twenty-one years later, Keith died in poverty in London, Logan himself was nearing the close of his career.[3]

While Keith was yet Governor, and before his star appeared to be declining, at the time, indeed, when he was pushing on his Loan Office measure with full success, and completing his fine mansion-house at Horsham, a new inhabitant had been added to Philadelphia, not one of the Palatines, not another from Ulster, but one of a different sort altogether—a lad of English blood born in Boston, who by every inheritance of character and experience of life had been prepared for becoming a most shrewd and politic manager of his fellow-men. This lad of seventeen, a printer by trade, coming from Boston by way of New York, reaching Burlington on a Saturday, in the Autumn of 1723, had come down the Delaware from that place that evening, had lain with the boat's party on the river shore, just above the city, for the night, with a fire of fence rails to keep off the October chill, and had landed at Market street wharf at "about eight or nine o'clock" the next morning. Such was the entrance of Benjamin Franklin into Philadelphia, according to his own vivacious narrative. "You may in your own mind," he says, "compare such unlikely beginnings with the figure I have since made there. I was in my working dress, my best cloaths being to come round by sea. I was dirty from my journey; my pockets were stuff'd out with shirts and stockings, and I knew no soul, nor where to look for lodging. I was fatigued with traveling, rowing, and want of rest. I was very hungry, and my whole stock of cash consisted of a Dutch dollar and about a shilling in copper." The latter he magnificently forced upon the boat people for his passage, part of the dollar he

[1] Gov. Gordon to John Penn.

[2] Note by Deborah Logan to Penn-Logan Corresp., I., 155.

[3] Keith died 1749, Logan 1751.

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spent at a baker's in Second street, who gave him three rolls for three pence, so large in comparison with Boston loaves that he was surprised at first, and then satisfied with eating one. Still munching it, he went up Market street as far as Fourth, passed by a house where a young woman stood in the front door, Miss Deborah Read, who remarked what an awkward-looking youth it was that passed, and seven years later very willingly married him. Then, walking to Chestnut and Walnut streets, he came round to the river again, took a draught from its uncontaminated flood, and seeing "many clean-dressed people," "all walking the same way," joined them, went into "the great meeting-house of the Quakers near the market," sat down among them, and the gathering being silent, and he very drowsy, slept through meeting, and was kindly wakened up at the close. On the whole, the morning's experiences were almost an epitome of Franklin's life in Philadelphia—forming acquaintanceships easily, getting a great deal for his money, making use of the crowd, taking his rest in a comfortable place, and having some one to inform him when the time for sleep was over.

But Franklin had made no figure in Philadelphia at the close of Keith's administration. We shall meet him presently at the front of the city's life, but not yet. Keith had taken notice of some pieces he had written, had proposed to him to set up a new printing-office, and have the "official" printing, and had let him go off to London in Captain Annis's ship—which we have heard of before—with the idea that he was to have the money furnished him for procuring the outfit. This was in the autumn of 1724. Keith had begun to feel poor, and he was busy, no doubt, over the letter Logan had brought from Hannah Penn, when Captain Annis took his departure. That Franklin was disappointed, when he reached London, and found no letters, no money, for him from Keith, is a well-known circumstance in his career.

From the city down the river as far as Newcastle there was also on board the ship which took Franklin, "Mr. Andrew Hamilton, a famous lawyer of Philadelphia," intending for London, with his son James, but at Newcastle he was "recall'd by a great fee to plead for a seized ship," and so came back, and Franklin took his place in the

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cabin. We must note here another eminent figure in Philadelphia annals. Andrew Hamilton, born in Scotland, about 1676, quite mysterious as to his family and early life, had come to Philadelphia from the Eastern Shore of Maryland, about 1714, with a good repute as a lawyer, and had been appointed Attorney-General in 1717, and a member of the Provincial Council in 1720. We shall see more of him in due time. If he turned back, as Franklin relates, from the voyage with Captain Annis, he set off again for London soon, appeared there in the Chancery suit for the final probate of Penn's will, and in December, 1726, just when Keith was making his futile effort to take the Assembly out of David Lloyd's hands, he was back again. The attorney-generalship he had resigned in 1724, when resolved upon his visit abroad.

The Philadelphia which Franklin found when he began work as a printer, late in the year 1723, had two printing-offices, Andrew Bradford's and Samuel Keimer's. In the latter Franklin obtained work. Keimer had come to the town in 1722, and had a small font of poor old type, possibly that which Reynier Jansen used before Andrew Bradford came over from New York.[1] Bradford, Franklin says, had not been bred to the printing business, and was very illiterate; Keimer, though something of a scholar, was a compositor only, and knew nothing of press-work. The *Weekly Mercury* was still the only newspaper of the town.

Some paving of the streets had been begun. The minutes of Common Council, November 24, 1718, record that "several of the inhabitants of this city have voluntarily gone into the paving from the kennel to the middle of the street before their respective tenements, with pebble stones, and many others are leveling to follow their examples." This paving, however, was "very much damnified," the Council said, by the heavy loads which carters would persist in hauling, and an ordinance was passed restricting their loads, as well as fixing their rates of pay. Half a cord of wood was prescribed as a load for two horses, but in 1720, the Council yielded to a representation that it was "impracticable to hawl half a cord of wood with two horses in y^e^ winter time," and three were allowed to be then used. The first fire engine was procured in 1718, of Abraham Bickley, for £50. It was, of course, simply a large force-pump, mounted on wheels, the water for which was passed in leather "fire buckets" along a line from the nearest well or stream.[2] The establishment of post routes and letter carriage had made some progress.

[1] Keimer, Franklin says, "had been one of the French prophets," and it is suggested was one of the Camisards, the Protestants of the Cevennes, persecuted and scattered by Louis XIV. He was the person, it seems, who advertised (see ante, p. 203), to teach colored men to read the Scriptures.

[2] Cf. a very interesting study of an early fire company and its operations, that of the Middle Ward of Germantown, (organized 1764), by Thomas H. Shoemaker, Pa. Mag., XVIII., 43 ff.

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In the severe winter of 1704–5, the hardest the English residents had known here, not only was the snow deep and the Delaware frozen over, so that people brought loads over it, as in 1697–8, but as Isaac Norris wrote in February, "the post has not been here these six weeks, which makes the time pass on very melancholy."[1] In 1718 Jonathan Dickinson wrote: "We have a settled post from Virginia and Maryland unto us, which goes through all our northern colonies, whereby all advices from Boston in New England, to Williamsburg, in Virginia, is completed in four weeks from the latter end of March to the beginning of December, and in the winter season the double of that time." Precautions against disease from arriving vessels had advanced in 1720 to the appointment by the Governor of a health officer, Patrick Baird, chirurgeon, being assigned to that duty.

The manufacture of iron began to attract the attention of the city's men of enterprise. In 1717, or the year previous, Thomas Rutter, of Germantown, had bought a large tract of land at Manatawny, on the Schuylkill, above Pottstown, and removed there, and begun "of his own strength"—*i. e.*, with his own capital—the operation of a forge. Its product had a good repute at once; "the smiths say," reported Jonathan Dickinson, "that the best of Swede's iron doth not exceed it." Rutter was thus the pioneer ironmaker of Pennsylvania. Two years later, 1719, Jonathan Dickinson again wrote: "Our iron promises well. What has been sent over to England hath been greatly approved. Our smiths work up all they make, and it is as good as the best Sweedish." He spoke also, in the same letter, of the excellent bricks now made at Philadelphia, the best he declared, "on the continent." "We have been," he added, "upon regulating the pavements of our streets—the footway with bricks and the cartway with stone"—which had made bricks in great demand and sent the prices up. Other iron-works were built in the ore regions, by Philadelphians, in the years following. Pool Forge, near Rutter's at Manatawny, was built about 1725, or earlier, by Francis Rawle and others. In the furnace at Colebrookdale, in the same region, about 1730, Anthony Morris was one of the capitalists,[2] and he was also one of the company formed in 1726 to erect iron-works at Durham, in Bucks county, the company including, besides, James Logan, Charles Read, Clement Plumsted, Andrew Bradford, William Allen, and others. These were the beginnings of Philadelphia's great interest in the iron manufacture, which has continued to the present day, and we are to consider not only the personal connection of the city's men of enterprise with these outlying furnaces and

[1] Penn-Logan Corresp., I., 359.

[2] Not Anthony Morris, the elder, but his son; the former was deceased, 1721.

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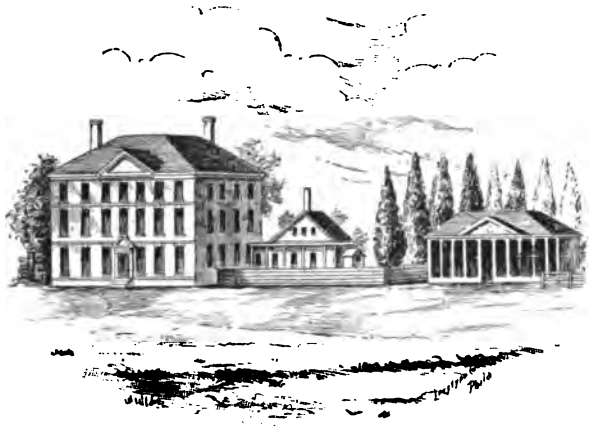
forges, but the fact that the iron produced came here for its market. It was hauled to the city, warehoused, sold to the blacksmiths and other workers, or shipped away from the wharves. Of the shipping interest and that of ship-building we have figures, from a return made to the Assembly in 1736. These showed that the commerce of the port had been represented, since 1719, by an average of 118 vessels per year. The aggregate tonnage averaged per year about 5,000 tons. The vessels built here were small, but the industry showed an increase; 10 had been built in 1722, 13 in 1723, 19 in 1724.



THE BUSH HILL MANSION.[1]

The first city debt was incurred in 1724, when £300 was borrowed from the Provincial Loan Office, under the operation of the acts of 1723.

Governor Patrick Gordon, who succeeded Keith, presented himself in the city June 22, 1726. At the meeting of the Council, that day, his commission "from Springett Penn, Esquire,[2] with the assent of Mrs. Hannah Penn, and his Majesty's royal approbation thereof," was read, and Major Gordon introduced, after which the commission "was forthwith published at the court-house." Governor Gordon, as his name suggests, was a Scotchman, and had been a soldier.[3] He said to the Assembly when he met it on the 2d of August, that he accounted for his appointment by the Proprietary's family, by his attachment to them and the King, "for knowing that [he] had been bred to the camp, remote from the refined politicks which often served to perplex mankind," and that he had only "an honest plainness, free from art or disguise," they would believe he was not attempting to deceive them, or betray their trust. It

[1] This was the residence of Andrew Hamilton, by whom it was built about 1714. It stood on a portion of the Springettsbury Manor, purchased by Hamilton from the Penns in 1734, a tract of land containing one hundred and fifty-three acres, extending north of Vine Street to Fairmount Avenue and in width stretching from about Twelfth to Twentieth streets.

[2] As already stated he was the eldest son of William Penn, Junior, and therefore not interested in the Proprietary rights in Pennsylvania, by the terms of Penn's will. But the suits in Chancery were not yet concluded, and the joint action of the two branches of the family was obtained no doubt in order to put the appointment beyond question, and secure approval by the Crown.

[3] He had for his seal a shield, bearing quarterly the arms of Gordon, Badenoch, Seton and Frazer. Burke, in his General Armory, says that John Taylor Gordon was descended from the Gordons of Cluny, "through his great-great grandfather Maj.-General Patrick Gordon, Governor of Pennsylvania, who was descended from Alexander Gordon, Laird of Strathaven, 3d son of Alexander, 3d Earl of Huntley." (Notes by D. McN. Stauffer, Pa. Mag., VIII., 348.) Governor Gordon was a Major, not a Major-General.

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may be said in brief that Major Gordon, on the whole, made a good governor. He was free from many faults and follies of his predecessors. The measure of his success may be judged indeed by the single fact that he served more than ten years, a longer term than any other colonial Governor of Pennsylvania, and then was not removed, but died in office.

A soldier and a loyalist, the new governor did not forget the birthdays of the royal family. Not much attention, it must be confessed, had been paid to them theretofore. The anniversary of that happy event the birth of George Augustus, the Prince of Wales—soon to be his majesty George the Second—was duly observed on the 30th of October, and the town was roused to unwonted gaiety. A gathering at the Governor's house drank the Prince's and his Majesty's healths, the ships in the river fired their guns and displayed their colors, and in the evening the Governor illuminated his mansion and gave a ball, the first, so far as history knows, in the experience of the Quaker City. The birthday of the King was honored, of course, when it came around, May 31. Though it was the first day of the week, a large number of ladies and gentlemen repaired to the Governor's, where they drank the health of his Majesty, to the accompaniment of discharges of artillery—sounds which, we may be certain, did not fall agreeably upon the ears of the congregation assembled in the meeting-house at Second and Market streets. The next day the festivities were renewed. There were again calls on the Governor, and more health-drinking and congratulations. At night another ball crowned the occasion. The monarch for whom all this incense was burned was near his end; he died ten days later—June 11, 1727—in his carriage, as he rode toward Osnabrück, in his beloved Hanover. News of his death reached Philadelphia at the end of August, "by several accounts from London, as well as the printed proclamation from New York and Boston," and the accession of the new George was proclaimed on the 31st, at the court-house, "with the solemnity and ceremony suitable." A little later, when his birthday recurred in October, the loyal demonstration far outdid all previous occasions. The account of the event in Bradford's *Mercury* rises to the dignity of a local news report. An entertainment was given at the house of William Chancellor, sail-maker. In the garden were placed no less than twenty-one pieces of cannon, whose salutes gave emphasis to the general joy. In the evening the Mayor, the Recorder, and the Aldermen waited upon the Governor's lady, and presented their congratulations, and again a ball was given, which lasted until three next morning. Next day the Mayor, Charles Read, gave a feast, and the following day the grand jury completed the rejoicing with an entertainment. No one

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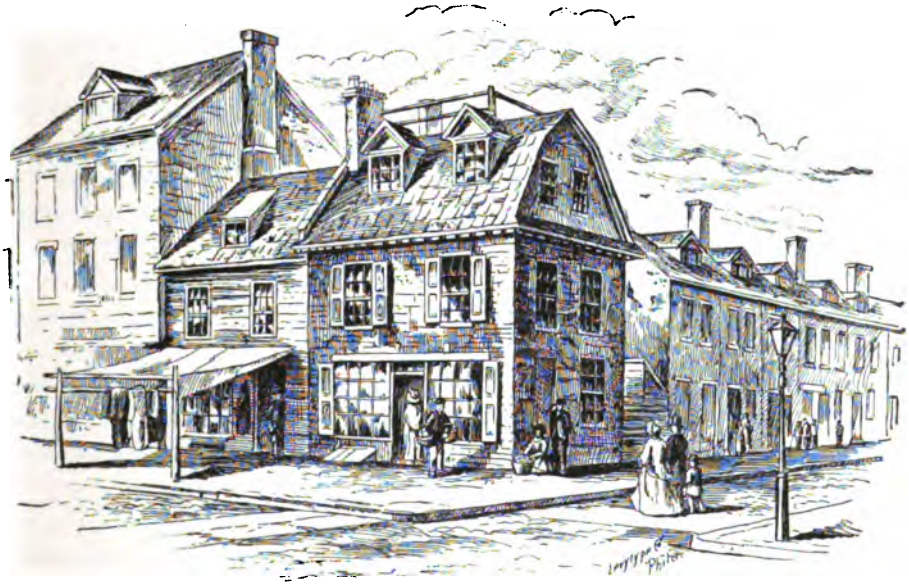
could deny that Philadelphia, under Major Gordon, showed its loyalty to the House of Hanover, and gave a chill to the plots of the Jacobites.

An advertisement in the *Weekly Mercury*, in 1722, briefly says:

"Thomas Denham to his good country friends adviseth: That he has some likely servants to dispose of. One hundred Palatines for five years at £10 a head."

We may take this as signifying the beginning of the "Redemptioner" system. These Palatines, being without money to pay their



STEPHEN ANTHONY'S HOUSE.[1]

passage to America, had bound themselves for a term of years, as "servants," to the owner or master of the ship that brought them over, and were now offered here by his agent for sale to those who would buy. This system of modified bondage became very extensive in Pennsylvania. It accompanied and stimulated the great movement from Germany, and made an important feature, likewise, in that from Ireland. By far the largest number of indentured servants in the Province, and probably in Philadelphia, during the period from this time down to the Revolution, were the Redemptioners—those who redeemed the amount of their passage money by service for a term of years. Their labor usually brought from £2 to £4 a year; the advertisement cited above, it will be noted, names the former rate. Free labor then commanded £10 to £20 a year, but

[1] This house, at the northeast corner of Gray's Alley and Second Street, below Chestnut, was built about 1730. The frame house adjoining on the left side was reputed to have been for a time the residence of Robert Fulton.

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the redemptioner had to be clothed, as well as fed and lodged, at the master's charge, and no doubt his labor was considered less effective. Besides that, such servants were continually absconding, especially the Irish, who were incorrigible runaways; the scanty array of advertisements in the early newspapers received an important contribution in the notices by masters, offering rewards for the return of their fugitive redemptioners. They were not all common laborers; the advertised lists include men of almost all the common trades and handicrafts—millers, butchers, weavers, blacksmiths, brickmakers, bricklayers, carpenters, joiners, coopers, sawyers, chairmakers, hatters, tailors, shoemakers, saddlers, tanners, staymakers, and even barber surgeons. The class corresponding to free journeymen assistants to small master tradesmen was apparently derived in large part from these bound servants, quite independently of the apprenticeship system, and in 1741, Governor Thomas, in a report to the royal government on the industries of Pennsylvania, referred to it as a means by which the colonists could manufacture cheaply, and thus compete with English trade.[1]

Later than the period we now describe, the system of collecting these unfortunates in Germany, shipping them from Rotterdam and the English ports, and selling them here, became attended with features so nearly approaching the slave-trade of Africa that it naturally fell under condemnation. In 1722 and the eighteen years following the business was in its earlier growth.

In the Provincial Council, September 14, 1727, Governor Gordon told the members present—Logan, Hill, Norris, Fishbourn, and Clement Plumsted—"he had called them together at this time to inform them that there is lately arrived from Holland a ship with four hundred Palatines, as 'tis said, and that he has information they will be very soon followed by a much greater number." The ship was the *William and Sarah*, William Hill master. She had sailed from Rotterdam, but was last from Dover, in England, where she had clearance papers "from the officers of his Majesty's customs." The Council decided that the master of this and other such ships should be examined "whether they have any leave granted by the Court of Britain for the importation of these foreigners," and further that a list should be taken of the immigrants, their names, their occupations, and the places whence they came, and that they should be required to sign a declaration of their allegiance to the King, and "fidelity to the Proprietary of this Province." A week later this order had been measurably carried into effect, and "a signed list" was laid before the Council, "of the names of 109 Pala-

[1] Cf. a careful study of the Condition of Labor in Early Pennsylvania, by Prof. Edward P. Cheyney, in The Manufacturer, Philadelphia, 1891.

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tines," who with their families made "in all about 400 persons," who had come in the *William and Sarah*. "They were then called in and the several persons whose names are subjoyned did repeat and subscribe the . . . declaration" of allegiance and fidelity which had been prepared.[1] The record of the "Palatines," thus begun, was continued thereafter with a tolerable degree of care and accuracy, down to the Revolution, and a study of the lists of the vessels and their passengers discloses pretty definitely the character and extent of the movement. Mr. Rupp, in his book, "A Collection of Thirty Thousand Names of German, Swiss, Dutch, French, Portuguese and Other Immigrants in Pennsylvania,"[2] gives the lists of the male passengers above the age of sixteen, "who were made to repeat and subscribe the declaration of allegiance with their own hands, if they could write," or by a mark if they could not. Beginning with the *William and Sarah*, forty-three vessels bringing immigrants of foreign nationalities are recorded in the ten years down to and including the year 1736. The passengers in these numbered about 8,000. The largest number in one ship was four hundred, the average 187. Forty-one are described as bringing "Palatines," one "Palatines and Switzers." One other, the billender *Oliver*, Samuel Merchant master, which arrived August 26, 1735, brought forty-five "Switzers, late inhabitants of the Canton of Berne, in Switzerland," now from South Carolina.[3] Nearly all the ships sailed first from Rotterdam, but as it was necessary to clear from an English port for the colonies, they were "last from" Dover, Falmouth, Deal, Plymouth, Bristol, or Cowes. Two came here from Boston.

REDUCED FAC-SIMILE OF PROVINCIAL CURRENCY.

In the ten years, 1737 to 1746, the movement more than doubled.

[1] Colonial Records, III., 283. The list makes fifty names only; at the bottom it is said: "Sundry of these foreigners, lying sick on board, never came to be qualified." The list as thus given in the Colonial Records is headed by the name of G. M. Wey, V. D. M. This should be, Rupp says, (Thirty Thousand Names, p. 2), G. M. Weis, V. D. M. He was born at Stebbeck, in Neckerthal, Germany, graduated at Heidelberg, was for some years pastor of the German Reformed congregation in Philadelphia, and died at Goshenhoppen, (now in Montgomery Co.) in 1763.

[2] By I. Daniel Rupp. Harrisburg: 1856. The same lists are substantially given in Penna. Archives, 2nd Series, XVII.

[3] These were no doubt some of the colony of Swiss, settled in 1732, under the lead of Jean Pierre Pury, of Neuchatel, at a place called Purysburg, on the north bank of the Savannah river, thirty-six miles above its mouth. (Cf. Rupp, p. XXI).

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The arrivals of "Palatines" in that decade approached 20,000.[1] There were sixty-seven ships arrived, and they brought larger lists, the average per ship being 254. Nearly all were from Rotterdam, but there were three from Amsterdam, and five from London, and in the clearance from English ports one came "last" from "the Orkneys," having probably been driven by a storm upward through the North Sea, and around the head of Scotland. The greatest number of these arrivals was in 1738, when sixteen ships came in. The war with France, begun in 1744, had its immediate effect; none came in the following year, and only two in 1746.

These ships had a regular period to arrive. The emigrants left their German homes in the spring of the year, passed down the Rhine, and were ready to sail in May or June. The ocean voyage, therefore, was usually completed in the last month of summer, or early in the autumn. Most of the ships are recorded here as arriving in August, September, and October. Of the first one hundred vessels that came, 4 arrived in May, 1 in June, 1 in July, 14 in August, 50 in September, 19 in October, 5 in November, 4 in December, and 1 each in January and February. In the month of September, 1738, eight of the ships came in, and in the same month, 1749, fourteen. A few ships came more than once, some several times, but among the first hundred a hasty inspection shows the names of seventy different vessels. The *Samuel*, of London, Captain Hugh Percy, seems to have made six voyages; the *St. Andrew*, Capt. John Stedman, four; the *Royal Judith*, five; the *Friendship*, four; the *Pennsylvania Merchant*, Stedman master, four; and others more than one. There were all sorts of craft; they are usually called ships, but occasionally classified as snows, pinks, brigantines, brigs, billenders, etc. Altogether, in the period from 1727 to 1775 inclusive, 321 foreign immigrant ships are reported in Rupp's lists, forty-three in the first ten years, sixty-seven in the second, one hundred and twenty-three in the third, only one in the six years, 1757–62,[2] and eighty-seven in the last thirteen years. The ten years from 1747 to 1756 brought the greatest number of passengers, say 40,000 or over, out of the estimated one hundred thousand total. The ships must have greatly increased in size, for the average had grown to about 320 per vessel, and some brought over five hundred; one reported 596.

Andrew Hamilton returned from England, as has been mentioned, at the close of 1726. Franklin had come back a little earlier. He landed in Philadelphia, he says, "on the 11th of October, where I found sundry alterations. Keith was no longer Governor, being superseded by Major Gordon. I met him walking the streets as a

[1] Rupp's lists indicate about 17,000.

[2] The war with France was then in progress.

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common citizen. He seem'd a little asham'd at seeing me, but pass'd without saying anything." Both Hamilton and Franklin had before them an important share of the public affairs. The former, much the older man, was about to round out, with striking success, a career already remarkable, and in the fifteen years that remained to him he would see the young printer move rapidly forward to a foremost place. Hamilton died August 4, 1741. Meantime he had become the head of the Assembly. Elected Speaker in 1729, he held that position, excepting 1733, for ten years, and declined it at last in 1739, because of failing health. Notwithstanding his profession, like David Lloyd, he had taken the lead on the popular side. "He was no friend to power," said Franklin, "as he had observed an ill use had been frequently made of it in the colonies, and therefore [he] was seldom upon good terms with the governors." He was drawing toward the end of his labors when, in 1735, he went, without fee or reward, to New York to defend the printer, John Peter Zenger, on his trial for an alleged libel upon the government of that province, in his paper, the New York *Weekly Journal*. Zenger was being persecuted as well as prosecuted; it was the purpose of the government and the court party there to destroy him. Hamilton's defense came, therefore, in the nick of time, and its triumphant result, in the jury's verdict of not guilty, gave him a fame there and here which at this long distance still seems fresh. He offered to prove the truth of the printer's statements as the justification for them, and though the Chief Justice, De Lancey, ruled out this testimony, Hamilton still plead his case before the jury substantially on that ground. It was the dramatic character of the lawyer's timely appearance, the boldness of his course, the courage with which he adhered to his client in the face of the overbearing judges, and finally the jury's determined endorsement of his plea—it was all this which made the case famous, and gave it a place in the "State Trials" of England. A London letter to the Pennsylvania *Gazette* declared that "a Goliath in Learning and Politics" in that city had said of the argument that "if it is not Law, it is better than Law, it ought to be Law, and always will be Law wherever justice prevails;" and that "the greatest men at the Bar have openly declared that the subject of libels was never so well treated in Westminster Hall as at New York."[1]

Hamilton, however, had already rendered a service quite as notable to his own city, at the time of the Zenger trial. He was

[1] Upon the commonly-asserted novelty of the plea advanced by Hamilton in Zenger's defense—the truth as justification of alleged libel—see ante, p. 102, remarks by Judge Pennypacker on the trial of Bradford before the Philadelphia judges, 1692.—How Hamilton regarded the government of Pennsylvania in 1735 may be inferred from one passage in his speech. "I live," he declared, "in a government where liberty is well understood and freely enjoyed." As Speaker of the Assembly he knew the temper of the body of the people, and the history of their representatives' action.

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the leading spirit in the erection of that building which now stands the most interesting and precious, for its historic associations, in all America, Independence Hall. The Assembly, in 1729, perceiving at last that the little court-house at Second and Market was altogether inadequate,[1] had appropriated £2000, part of a paper issue of thirty thousand, to erect a building for provincial use. Thomas Lawrence, Andrew Hamilton, and Dr. John Kearsley were appointed commissioners for the work. There was the usual difference of view as to the proper location, but the ground where the old Hall, the "State-House" of 1735, now stands, was ultimately selected, the lots purchased, and ground broken in the spring or summer of 1732. Hamilton was then Speaker of the Assembly, and he took the lead in the enterprise. He drew the plans, and supervised the erection. The inside arrangement and the exterior appearance are his work, and proclaim his simple and admirable taste.[2]

THOMAS LAWRENCE.

By the autumn of 1736 the new building was sufficiently completed for the use of the Assembly, and that body held its October session in the main hall on the first floor, the room where afterward the Continental Congress sat, and the Declaration of Independence was adopted. The room, however, was opened to public use somewhat earlier. That rich and rising young man, William Allen, the son-in-law of Andrew Hamilton, closed his year's service as Mayor at the end of September, and as was usual with the outgoing Mayor, he gave a public dinner, using the new Assembly hall for the purpose. September 30, 1736, the Pennsylvania *Gazette* reported :

"Thursday last, William Allen, Esq., Mayor of this city for the year past, made a Feast for his citizens at the Statehouse, to which all the Strangers in Town of

[1] The Assembly, however, had not lately been meeting in the court-house. In January, 1727–8, it sat at the house of John Eyer. In October, 1728, it met in "the house that Capt. Anthony formerly lived in," on Second street below Chestnut, corner of Gray's alley. (See illustration, ante, p. 215.)

[2] The erection of the State-House took some time. October 15, 1730, William Allen, who later married Andrew Hamilton's daughter, began to buy the lots in Chestnut street, between 5th and 6th, for the site, paying the cost out of his own pocket, and taking conveyances in his own name. In the Assembly, in August, 1732, the whole subject was considered, the location approved, and William Allen ordered to be reimbursed. "Mr. Speaker [Hamilton] then produced a draught of the State House, containing the plan and elevation of that building, which being viewed and examined by several members, was approved of by the House." Dr. Kearsley, the third commissioner, opposed both the place and the plan, but unavailingly, and the Assembly, declining to release Hamilton, resolved that he "be the person appointed by this House, with the advice of the two gentlemen before nominated, to superintend and govern the building of the State House, and that for his trouble therein, the House will give him compensation."

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Note, were also invited. Those who are Judges of such Things say That considering the Delicacy of the Viands & the Excellency of the Wines, the great Number of Guests, and yet the Easiness and Order with which the whole was conducted, it was the most grand and the most elegant Entertainment that has been made in these parts of America."

The room was thereafter used, for years, for public dinners, and on other ceremonial occasions. The building continued to be in process of erection and finishing for a long time after. The staircase in the tower, leading to the rooms on the second floor, was "raised" in 1741. In October, 1748, the Governor's Council obtained the use of the western room of the second story, which thereafter became known as "the Council chamber." The western room on the first floor, now separated from the Hall of Independence by the passage-way, appears to have been an open room, used for public gatherings.[1] The order for the great bell was given by a resolution of the Assembly, October 16, 1751, and November 1 of that year, Isaac Norris, Thomas Leech, and Edward Warner, committee, wrote to Robert Charles at London, directing him to get them "a good bell, of about two thousand pounds weight, the cost of which we presume may amount to about one hundred pounds sterling, or perhaps, with the charges, something more . . . . Let the bell be cast by the best workmen, and examined carefully before it is shipped, with the following words well shaped, in large letters around it, viz.:

THE LIBERTY BELL.

"By Order of the Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, for the State House in the City of Philadelphia, 1752.

and underneath:

"Proclaim Liberty through all the Land to all the Inhabitants Thereof. Levit. xxv. 10"

The bell duly arrived in August, 1752, and was soon hung in the tower. To the mortification of those who had procured it, when it was tested in September it cracked, "by the stroke of the clapper, without any other violence," so that it had to be recast. This was done by "two ingenious workmen" of Philadelphia, Pass and Stow,

[1] See An Historical Account of the Old State House of Pennsylvania, by Frank M. Etting, second edition (1891), with Continuation by F. D. Stone.

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and more copper was added to the metal.[1] When it was rehung, it was found that too much copper had been put in, and Pass and Stow, vexed at their failure, asked to cast it again, which finally they were allowed to do, and at the beginning of June, 1753, it was once more in place. It rang then, for many years and many purposes, but above all for the proclamation, at the State-House, in July, 1776, of the Declaration that the Thirteen Colonies were, "and of right ought to be, free and independent States." The motto directed by Isaac Norris and his associates then seemed to have been indeed prophetic.

Franklin, resuming his business as a journeyman printer, soon after his return from England, had established a printing-office in partnership with Hugh Meredith, and on October 2, 1729, they issued the first number of *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, making now, with Bradford's *Mercury*, two weekly newspapers regularly published in the city.[2] The growth of the press was typical of the general progress of the city. The inflow of new people gave enterprise a stimulus. The issues of paper money made domestic trade easy. The Lords of Trade and Plantations had viewed with some disapproval the action of 1723, but had contented themselves with cautioning the Assembly on the subject. The Assembly of 1727 addressed them in reply, and its statements as to the operation of the new system are worth our attention. The address said:

"Gold and silver being principally required by our trade to the West Indies, which, depending on contingencies that are not in the power of man to direct, we therefore, at divers times had less or more of those species, in proportion as our commodities were in demand; but by the general damp that was given to our trade in 1720, and the great fall of our produce about the same time, we were, in the years 1721 and 1722, so effectually drained of our coin, which for want of other returns was generally shipped off to Britain, that the inhabitants of every degree were reduced to the greatest straits. Debts could not be discharged, nor payments made; the rents of houses fell, many whereof were deserted, and the value of lands and improvements sunk considerably. Families who had lived well could scarce find the means to purchase necessary provisions for their support, and therefore both artificers and traders were obliged to quit the country in search of employment and sustenance elsewhere. But above all our ship building, by which the most advantageous returns from Britain had been made, was so generally declined that our yards appeared most empty, and all trade discouraged. Such was the distressed condition to which the country was at that time unhappily reduced."

Proceeding to a statement of the effect of the emission of the bills of credit, the address said:

"The country began to feel a general relief; debtors, who lay under a heavy

[1] "When we broke up the metal," says Isaac Norris, "our judges here generally agreed it was too high and brittle, and cast several little bells out of it to try the sound and strength, and fixed upon a mixture of an ounce and a half of copper to one pound of the old bell."

[2] Keimer had printed thirty-nine numbers of "The Universal Instructor in All Arts and Services, and Pennsylvania Gazette," beginning December 28, 1728. This Franklin and Meredith bought, and cut off all the title but the conclusion. It had ninety subscribers when it passed into their hands!

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pressure of obligations that they could not before discharge, and such as mortgaged their estates being in hazard of losing them, now found an easy method of relieving themselves and answering their just debts by taking up the money at a low rate of interest, to be gradually repaid in parcels and in a manner that they could easily comply with. Such, also, as had lands or other real estate, and wanted stock, were on the same terms supplied. The whole quantity that was struck being thus in a short time emitted and diffused into the people's hands, the face of our affairs appeared entirely changed. Traders exerted themselves: the produce of our country came into demand, and bore a price whereby the people were better enabled to pay the proprietary's quit-rents, and answer other demands. Our city filled again with inhabitants; artificers found employment; our British trade increased, and strangers, from the encouragement of finding ready pay, resorted to us. Ship-building was vigorously carried on, and both our shipwrights' yards and our port were filled with shipping, insomuch that this present year, as appears from the list of registers, double the number of vessels have been built at Philadelphia that have been in any year before a paper currency . . . "We must further beg leave to add that we have now a fair prospect of being able to supply Britain with large quantities of pig mettle from the furnaces or works already erected, or carrying on, which, without this currency, would have been impracticable to most of the undertakers; and these, it is hoped, will be followed by returns of hemp and silk, toward the raising of which some considerable advances have been made."

WOODLANDS, RESIDENCE OF THE HAMILTONS.[1]

The extent of the "Palatine" immigration has already been described. But we must keep in view that this was but a part of the immigrant movement. Its lists do not include or indicate in any way the other arrivals of new people. Those who came from the United Kingdom or any of its dependencies, not being "foreigners," but subjects, like the people of Philadelphia, of the royal Georges, did not need to make declaration of their allegiance.[2] A statement in Bradford's *Mercury* of the arrivals of vessels at Philadelphia between March, 1735, and March, 1736, showed a total of 212, while

[1] This mansion was built about the middle of the eighteenth century on a large tract of land purchased by Andrew Hamilton, Sr., in Blockley township west of the Schuylkill, south of Market street and extending down to Naugansey (or Mill) creek. Here resided Andrew Hamilton 2d, his son William and the latter's nephew, William Hamilton.

[2] A return made at the close of 1729 gave the figures of the arrivals of all kinds for the preceding twelve months, which it may be observed was one in which the German arrivals were few:

"Account of passengers and servants landed in Pennsylvania, from Christmas, 1728, to Christmas, 1729:

English and Welsh passengers	199
Servants	68
Irish passengers	925
Servants	230
Scotch passengers	
Servants	43
Palatine passengers	243
Total	1708"

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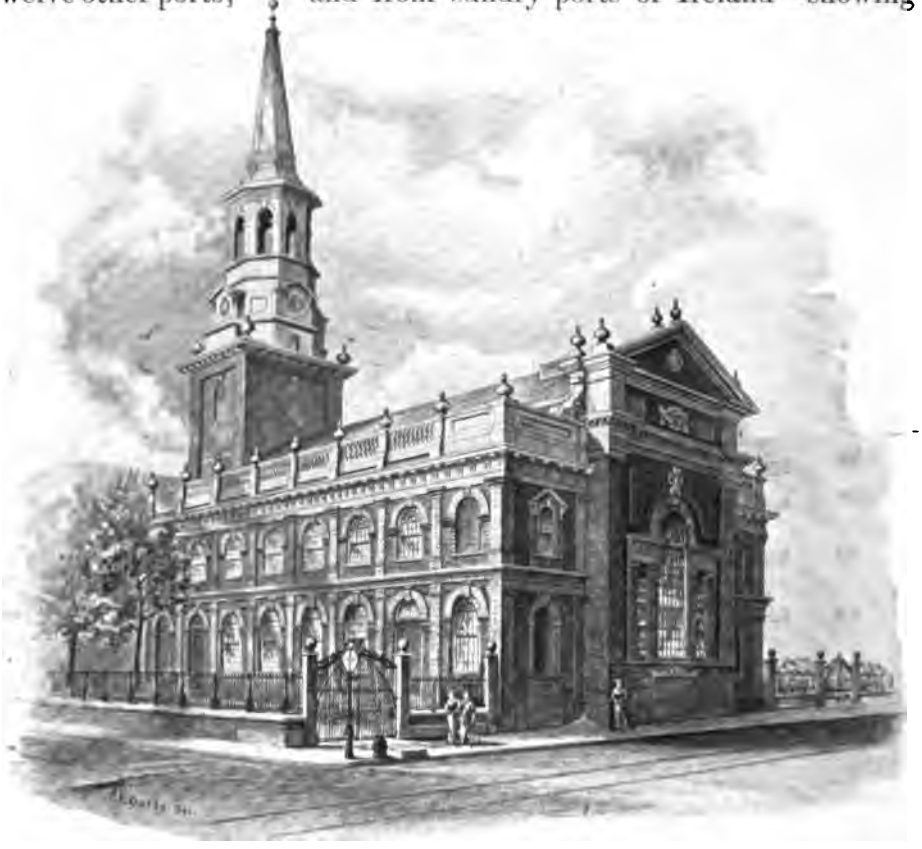
the clearances were 215. Classifying these craft technically there were 53 ships, 18 snows, 1 billender, 50 brigantines, 14 schooners, and 76 sloops. Seventeen came from Antigua, 20 from Barbadoes, 5 from Bermuda, 6 from Bristol in England, 4 from Cadiz, 7 from Jamaica, 9 from Lisbon, 13 from London, 5 from Fayal, 5 from Newfoundland, 14 from St. Kitts, 3 from Turk's Island, one each from twelve other ports; and from sundry ports of Ireland—showing



CHRIST CHURCH.

the Irish trade and exodus at that time—33. By 1740 about three hundred ships went up and down the river to and from Philadelphia in the course of a year.

A work published at London in 1731, and cited in Proud's second volume, "The Importance of the British Plantations in America," describes very fully the character and extent of the commerce of Philadelphia about that time. It says:

"The product of Pennsylvania for exportation is wheat, flour, biscuit, barreled beef and pork, bacon, hams, butter, cheese, cider, apples, soap, myrtle-wax candles, starch, hair-powder, tanned leather, beeswax, tallow candles, strong beer, linseed oil, strong waters, deer skins and other peltry, hemp (which they have encouraged by an

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additional bounty of three half-pence per pound weight over and above what is allowed by Act of Parliament), some little tobacco, lumber, *i. e.*, sawed boards and timber for building houses, cypress wood, shingles, cask-staves and headings, masts and other ship timber; also drugs of various sorts, as calamus aromaticus, snake root, &c. The Pennsylvanians build about two thousand tons of shipping a year for sale, over and above what they employ in their own trade, which may be about six thousand tons more. They send great quantities of corn to Portugal and Spain, frequently selling their ships as well as cargo; and the produce of both is sent thence to England, where it is always laid out in goods and sent home to Pennsylvania.

"They receive no less than from four to six thousand pistoles from the Dutch isle of Curacoa alone for provisions and liquors. And they trade to Surinam in the like manner, and to the French port of Hispaniola, as also to the other French sugar islands; from whence they bring back molasses, and also some money. From Jamaica they sometimes return with all money and no goods, because their rum and molasses are so dear there. And all the money they can get from all parts, as also sugar, rice, tar, pitch, &c., is brought to England to pay for the manufactures, &c., they carry home from us, which has not, for many years past, been less than one hundred and fifty thousand pounds per annum. They trade to our provinces of New England, Virginia, Maryland and Carolina, and to all the islands in the West Indies, excepting the Spanish ones; as also to the Canaries, Madeira and the Azores isles; likewise to Newfoundland for fish, which they carry to Spain, Portugal, and up the Mediterranean, and remit the money to England, which, one way or other, may amount to sixty thousand pounds yearly. But without their trade to the French and Dutch colonies in the West Indies, they could not remit so much to England; neither could they carry on their trade with the Indians if they did not take off the rum and molasses, as well as the sugars of those colonies in part of payment of the cargoes they carry thither."

Like Independence Hall, that other historic building, Christ Church, belongs particularly to the period now under view. There had been, as we have seen, a church building, as early as 1695. In 1711 this was enlarged or rebuilt. Queen Anne had honored the church, in 1708, with a royal gift of a silver flagon and chalice for its communion service. In 1719, the lot for the churchyard, at Fifth and Arch streets, was acquired, and beneath its earth the burials of the congregation were generally made down to about 1850. But in 1727 the rebuilding of the church was undertaken, resulting in the form in which it now stands. The structure was enlarged, the steeple added, and an organ procured from London. Dr. John Kearsley, a member of the congregation, who, as we have just noticed, opposed Hamilton's site and plans for Independence Hall, was the architect of the church, and supervised the work of its reconstruction. On the 27th of April, the corner-stone was laid, Governor Gordon performing the ceremony, with the Mayor, Charles Read, the Recorder, Andrew Hamilton, and others of distinction assisting. The work, however, progressed slowly, like that of the state building on Chestnut street. In August, 1744, the wardens reported the church all finished but the tower and steeple. Ten

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years later, these also were completed, and the chime of bells, brought from England, was placed in position.

A place for an almshouse was bought of Aldran Allen by the City, in 1731—the lot bounded by Third and Fourth, and Spruce and Pine streets. Here buildings were erected within a year or two thereafter,[1] and the systematic public care of the poor, the sick, and the insane began. Provision against fire was increased. A law of 1730 forbade the placing of any haystack in the city, within a hundred feet of a building. In April of that year, the Common Council ordered that three new engines, and two hundred leather buckets be "sent for to England," and that "two hundred buckets, twenty ladders, and twenty-five hooks with axes be purchased here." Zeal in this direction was stimulated by a fire which had just then occurred, "the most serious since the settlement of the city." It began in a store on Fishbourn's wharf, below Chestnut street, burned all on the wharf, and several houses on the same side of King (Water) street, and crossing to the other side destroyed some there also. The loss was estimated at five thousand pounds, a great sum in that day. Two of the English engines arrived by January, and the Common Council voted "that one corner of the great meeting-house yard will be a proper place to lodge one," and the other "at the corner of Francis Jones's lot, which fronts the Front street and Walnut street," while the "old engine" should be placed "in a corner of the Baptist meeting-house yard, (if leave can be obtained)," and "that the buckets be hung up in the Court House." Home mechanics presently undertook to build another engine, and the *Mercury*, January 22, 1732–3, reports that "on Wednesday last at the court house was played a new fire engine, made in this city, which played water higher than the highest this city had from London." The builder was Anthony Nicholls, who doubtless was gratified by this triumph, but the Common Council criticised his machine as being too heavy, and not well made, and disputed his

INTERIOR OF CHRIST CHURCH, LOOKING TOWARD THE CHANCEL.

[1] The building fronted to the east, and was placed nearer Third street than Fourth. From the former there was an entrance by a stile. The great gate was on Spruce street. The building was used for sick and insane, as well as paupers. (Westcott, Chap. lxxxviii.)

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bill. At length the first fire company of the city was organized, December 6, 1737, the "Union Fire Company of Philadelphia," its articles of association being the model for many others. Franklin was active in organizing this pioneer of the volunteer fire department, and other prominent citizens were members with him. By 1750 four other companies had been organized, the Fellowship, in 1738; the Hand-in-Hand, 1742; the Heart-in-Hand, 1743; the Friendship, 1747. The sixth company, the Britannia, was organized in 1750 or a year later.

Wm. Allen

At the fire at Fishbourn's wharf there was complaint of much thieving, and it is evident that the increase of population had been accompanied by a growth of the vicious classes. In 1726, soon after Gordon's arrival, some disorderly persons had burned down the pillory and stocks in the market-place, and at other times a riotous disposition was shown, in the judgment of the authorities. In 1729, according to a letter of Logan's to John Penn, a party of two hundred men had agreed "to come down out of the country and attack the opponents of a new emission of paper money, in which those of the town were to join." In April, 1732, the Common Council directed an ordinance to be drawn to check "the frequent and tumultuous meetings of the negro slaves, especially on Sunday, gaming, cursing, swearing, and committing many other disorders." The use of liquor was so general and so extensive that it is not surprising some "disorders" occurred. The Governor spoke of the intemperance of the time, in some remarks to the Assembly in January, 1733–4. "The prevailing practice of drinking rum," he said, "and the debauchery introduced by the vast consumption of it, is the crying sin and disease of the country." There was a large importation of foreign spirits and wines, and besides the brewing which had been begun back in William Frampton's time, distilling had also been established.[1] The prices for drink to be charged in the public-houses were fixed by the Justices of the Quarter Sessions, in July, 1731: "wine, per quart, two shillings; rum, per gill, two-pence; rum punch, made of double refined sugar, per quart, one shilling, four-

[1] At the session of the Assembly, January, 1727–8, a petition was presented by Philadelphia distillers, asking a duty to be laid on the import of New England rum, large quantities of which had lately come in, and also on West India rum, "except such as imported from the sugar-cane colonies." The petitioners said they "had been at great expense in erecting distilling houses for distilling molasses into rum."

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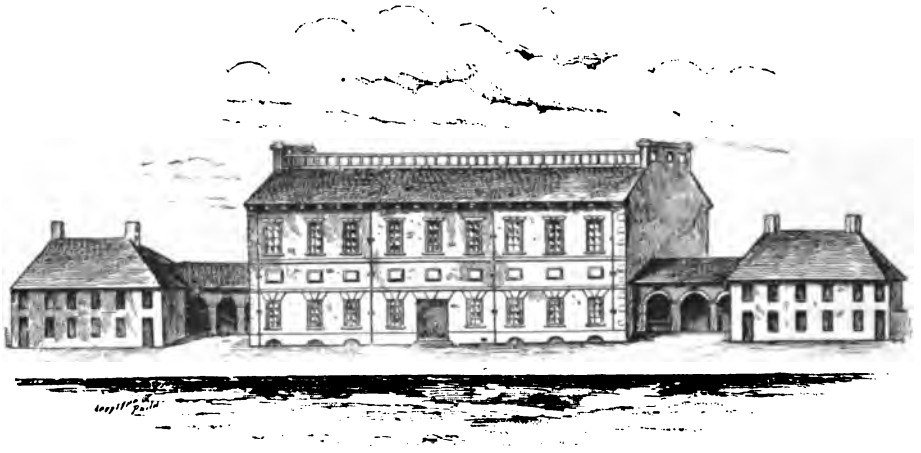
pence; tiff, or flipp, per quart, eight-pence; rum punch, made with single refined sugar, one shilling; arrack, one quart made into punch, three shillings; beer, per quart, three-pence; best beer, per quart, five-pence; cyder, per quart, three-pence."[1]

Domestic manufactures, other than brewing and distilling, had shown some beginnings. The iron manufacture, being yet confined to the initial processes, was out of town, and has been referred to. The increasing skill of mechanics is shown by Anthony Nicholls's



THE STATE HOUSE, AS IT APPEARED BETWEEN 1741 AND 1750.

fire-engine. In January, 1730–31, Anthony Duché and his three sons petitioned for the encouragement of their manufacture of stone-ware, which "for several years past" they had been engaged in. In 1727–8, Charles Brockden and his associates had sent a similar communication to the Assembly, asking aid for the manufacture of sail-cloth. They had been at work some time and had produced "a good merchantable piece" of cloth[2] The textile industries were, however, nearly confined, as yet, to the product of women in the country houses, for the use of their own families. A report of the Board of Trade, to the English House of Commons, February, 1731–2, said that the chief trade of Pennsylvania lay in the exportation of provisions and lumber, "no manufactures being established." But it was added that "the manufacture of flax into linens, some coarse and

[1] The regulation of brewing was repeatedly before the Assembly. Governor Gordon, in his address, in January, 1730–31, said that the "abuses" in the manufacture of beer were so "gross" as to bring reproach upon the province, and cause "a neighboring colony" to supply this. Bradford's *Mercury* had alluded to the subject earlier, intimating that molasses had been substituted for malt in the brewing. It also said that "on the first, second, and third days and nights of October last year [1728] there was drunk or thrown away in and about this city forty-five hundred gallon of common beer, and on the approaching season there will be swallowed a greater quantity. These are great gettings, O, ye brewers!"

[2] At this time earnest efforts were making to establish the manufacture of cotton "duck" or canvas, in New England. The coming of the Irish to New Hampshire established flax spinning and linen weaving at Londonderry.

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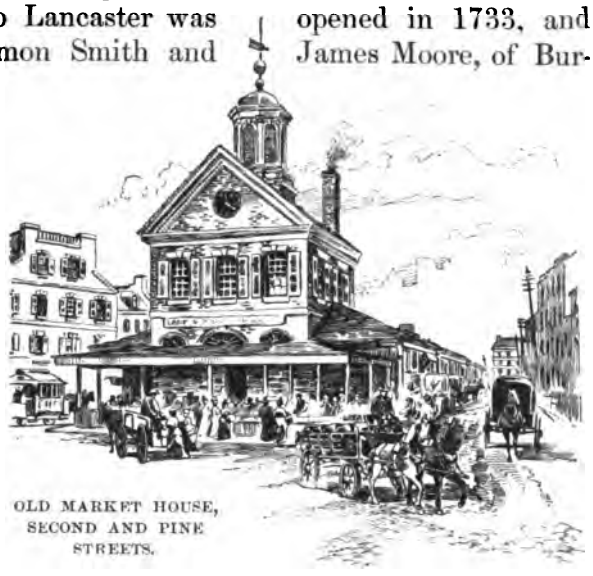
some fine, daily increases by the great resort of people from Ireland thither, who are skilled in the business." [1]

Means of intercourse with the outside world increased. Roads were continually opened and improved, and ferries were established. The King's high-road to Lancaster was opened in 1733, and in the same year Solomon Smith and James Moore, of Burlington, advertised that they kept "two stage waggons, intending to go from Burlington to Amboy and back from Amboy to Burlington again, once every week or oftener if the business presents." The postal service had an important increase in 1732. Bradford's *Mercury*, July 20, made this official announcement:



OLD MARKET HOUSE, SECOND AND PINE STREETS.

"The Post Office which was first begun in America by Colonel Hamilton, of New York, about thirty-eight years ago, has never yet been established to the southward of Philadelphia, but since the Hon. Alexander Spottswood has been appointed Postmaster, he has been taking measures to carry the post towards the south coast, and it is now extended about 350 miles from the city of Philadelphia to the city of Williamsburg, in Virginia, and very shortly will be carried 100 miles further to Edenton, in North Carolina, and in time as far as Charleston, South Carolina. For that purpose, and in order to better manage the whole, he has fixt a general letter or Post Office at Newport, about six miles below the Falls of Rappahannock river, Virginia, near about the centre of this British coast. Hues and cries may be disperst at the stage offices at the price of one pennyweight silver at each stage or office where dispersed.

"Mr. Andrew Bradford receives the mail from New England, New York, &c., every Wednesday, and dispatches it between two and three o'clock on Thursday morning for Newcastle, where it arrives at eleven. It is dispatched immediately to Susquehanna, where it arrives at six in the evening. There it remains until Monday. It is dispatched between twelve and one in the morning to Joppa, where it is to be at six in the morning and forthwith forwarded to Patapsco Ferry, there to be at noon. Thence immediate to Annapolis, where it is to be at six o'clock on Monday evening. It rests there six hours; then at midnight it is dispatched for Marlborough, where it arrives at five o'clock Tuesday morning and is dispatched to Potomack river, to be there at one o'clock in the afternoon, and thence directly forwarded to the general Post Office at Newport; thence on Wednesday at nine to Mattapony river, where it is expected at six o'clock on Thursday morning; then immediately to Pamaukey river, where it arrives at noon and is immediately forwarded to Williamsburg, where Mr. Joseph Davenport, postmaster, expects it every Thursday evening at six. It arrives again at Philadelphia at three o'clock on Wednesday."

[1] Cf. Bagnall's Textile Industries of the United States, I., 15.

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The fortunes of the Penn Family rapidly improved. The property in Pennsylvania was seen to be, by 1730, of enormous value. The old mortgage of 1708, by which the money was raised for the Fords, was finally extinguished by a reconveyance, January 14, 1729, by the two survivors of the mortgages, Joshua Gee and John Woods. They conveyed two-fourths of the proprietary right to John Penn, one-fourth to Thomas Penn, and one-fourth to John and Thomas as trustees for their brother Richard, still in his minority.[1] A visit to their Colony by the Young Proprietaries was a natural step, and Thomas Penn landed at Chester, August 11, 1732, and a letter from him being sent to Governor Gordon "by express," the Governor "and all the members of the Council who were able to travel, accompanied with a very large number of gentlemen," set out on the 12th for Chester, waited on him, "and paid him their compliments." After dinner, the company, "now grown very numerous, sett out for Philadelphia, near to which place he was mett by the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen, with a great body of people." There were polite speeches on both sides, and then proceeding, Thomas "came to the Governor's house in the evening." Two years later, John Penn arrived. An express from Newcastle, "late in the night" of September 19, 1734, brought the news that he, "the eldest of our Proprietaries, was on board a ship from London, standing up this river." Thomas Penn, therefore, "accompanied with several gentlemen," rode to Chester to receive him, where he landed in the afternoon. The next day he set out for Philadelphia, was met, welcomed, made reply, "in very obliging terms," and then "proceeding forwards, with a very numerous company; came to his brother's house about noon." He was accompanied by his sister, Margaret, and her husband, Thomas Freame.[2] It may be added here that John Penn returned to England in September, 1735, to direct the legal contest

ANDREW HAMILTON.

[1] This was the distribution among the three sons made in 1718 by their mother, Hannah Penn, under the authority given her by William Penn's will. Cf. Breviate, Pa. Archives, 2nd Series, XVI., 25.

[2] Margaret Penn, who, besides the four sons, John, Thomas, Richard, and Dennis, (children of Hannah), survived her father, received a money allowance from her brothers, in the distribution of the proprietary interests in Pennsylvania.

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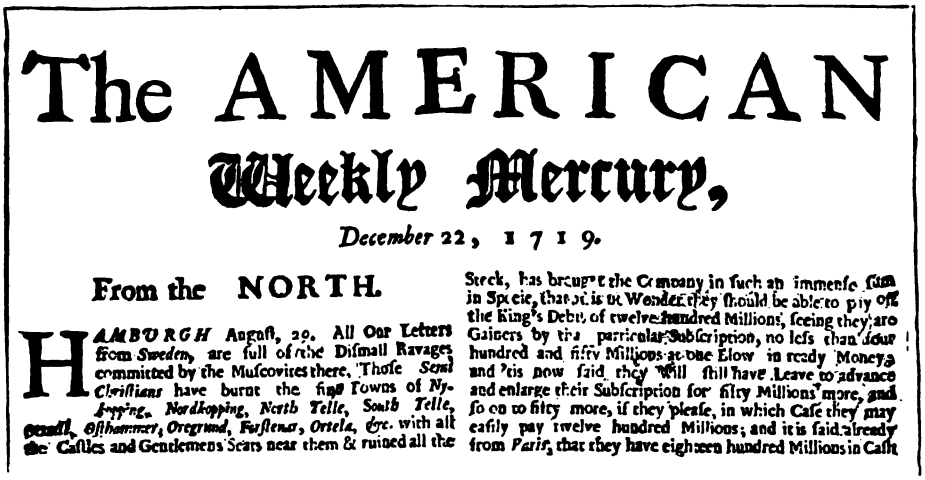
with Lord Baltimore, over the still surviving question of the boundary, while Thomas Penn remained here until August, 1741. John might have been welcome longer; Thomas was not very popular.

Governor Gordon died August 5, 1736. His wife had died earlier. Both were said to have been buried within Christ Church, but if so, the place of interment was not so marked as to be since identified.[1]



The American
Weekly Mercury,

December 22, 1719.

From the NORTH.

HAMBURGH August, 29. All Our Letters from *Sweden*, are full of the Dismall Ravages committed by the Muscovites there. Those *Semi Christians* have burnt the fine Towns of *Nyskopping*, *Nordkopping*, *North Telle*, *South Telle*, *Gestadt*, *Osthammer*, *Oregrund*, *Fustenas*, *Ortela*, &c. with all the Castles and Gentlemens Seats near them & ruined all the Stock, has brought the Company in such an immense Sum in Specie, that it is no Wonder they should be able to pay off the King's Debt of twelve hundred Millions, seeing they are Gainers by the particular Subscription, no less than four hundred and fifty Millions at one Blow in ready Money; and 'tis now said they will still have Leave to advance and enlarge their Subscription for fifty Millions more, and so on to fifty more, if they please, in which Case they may easily pay twelve hundred Millions; and it is said already from *Paris*, that they have eighteen hundred Millions in Cash

The death of Gordon left James Logan, President of the Council, acting Governor until the arrival of Colonel George Thomas, who had been appointed by the Proprietaries, and approved by the King, "to be Lieutenant Governor of this Province, and Counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware." He arrived on the morning of June 1, 1738, and his commission, being produced and read at the meeting of the Council that day, "was forthwith published at the Court House." Thomas was a planter, in the island of Antigua, in the West Indies, when he was chosen for the place; though appointed more than a year before his arrival here, he had been detained in London, pending the claim of Lord Baltimore to the Lower Counties. Of his public action we shall see more in the next chapter.

Indian affairs had occupied much attention in the time of Keith and Gordon. Parties of Indians had repeatedly visited the city, and their appearance on the streets could not have been a novelty to any of the older residents. Councils were held with them repeatedly "at Conestoga," and still more frequently in Philadelphia. Presents were usually exchanged—furs and skins from the Indians, and powder, lead, blankets, match-coats, stockings, pipes, tobacco, rum,

[1] The *Weekly Mercury*, for November 22 to 29, 1739: says: "On Thursday, the 20th inst., Mr. Robert Charles, late Secretary and Naval Officer of the Province, set out from this city with his lady, Henrietta, and her sister Agatha Harriet Gordon, daughter of the late Honourable Patrick Gordon, Lieut. Governor of this Province and Territories, accompanied with divers Gentlemen and Ladies, on their way towards Chester, to embarque for London, on board the ship *Constantine*, Edward Wright commander."

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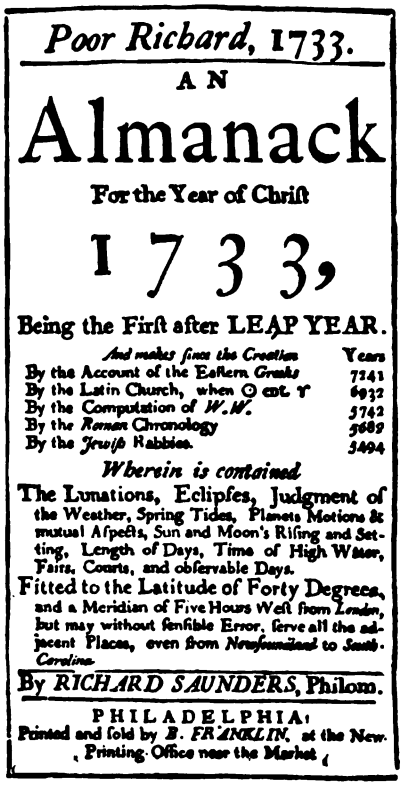
etc., etc., from the Provincial authorities.[1] The interpreters employed were commonly the Indian traders, but a woman, Alice Kirk, is named as interpreting on several occasions, and "Madam Montour" on others. The introduction of rum by the traders was a common subject of complaint. The Susquehanna Indians referred to it over and over, and assurances were always given that the evil should be abated. That these availed anything there is no evidence; the Indian appetite for drink was strong, and the profit of supplying it unlawfully was large. The traders had every motive of cupidity and lust for debasing the unfortunate red people by drunkenness, and though, as Governor Gordon said at a council in 1727, there were "divers laws" against the trade, yet "the woods are so thick and dark we cannot see what is done in them."[2]



Poor Richard, 1733.

AN

Almanack

For the Year of Chriſt

1733,

Being the Firſt after LEAP YEAR.

And makes ſince the Creation Years

By the Account of the Eaſtern *Greeks* 7241
By the Latin Church, when ☉ ent. ♈ 6932
By the Computation of *W. W.* 5742
By the *Roman* Chronology 5689
By the *Jewiſh* Rabbies. 5494

Wherein is contained

The Lunations, Eclipſes, Judgment of the Weather, Spring Tides, Planets Motions & mutual Aſpects, Sun and Moon's Riſing and Setting, Length of Days, Time of High Water, Fairs, Courts, and obſervable Days.

Fitted to the Latitude of Forty Degrees, and a Meridian of Five Hours Weſt from *London*, but may without ſenſible Error, ſerve all the adjacent Places, even from *Newfoundland* to *South-Carolina*.

By *RICHARD SAUNDERS*, Philom.

PHILADELPHIA:
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REDUCED FAC-SIMILE OF TITLE PAGE OF POOR RICHARD'S ALMANAC.

The most striking of all these conferences with the Indians was that at Philadelphia in the autumn of 1736. The chiefs of the Iroquois, with their head men, came down from New York for a great council. About the beginning of September Conrad Weiser had sent word from Tulpehocken "that there was a large number of those people, with many of their chiefs, arrived at Shamokin," and on the 27th "about a hundred or more of them came with Conrad to the President's house at Stenton, being near the road, where suitable entertainment was provided for them." None of the Mohawks had

[1] At a council in Philadelphia, May, 1722, presents were sent to the sachems of the Five Nations, and "instead of belts," the Governor gave "five of the finest Calico Shirts, five pair of fine Silk Stockings, five pair of Silk Garters, and five Silk Handkerchiefs."

[2] At Philadelphia, June, 1718, a chief said their young men "about Pextan," had been "lately . . . debaucht with rum carried among them by strangers," and another said of their people generally "that tho' they are perfectly well inclined when sober, yet they cannot answer for [them] when drunk." Governor Keith assured them that efforts should be made to check the evil, and said "that they of their parts must endeavor to prevent their women and young people from coming to Philadelphia to purchase and carry up rum from hence, which too many were ready to deliver them privately for their skins," and that when they found rum had been brought among them "they should stave it, as they had formerly been ordered and undertook to do." (Col. Records, III., 48.)

At a council with Governor Gordon, in Philadelphia, in July, 1727, chiefs of the Senecas, representing the Five Nations, complained of the rum, and desired none might be allowed to go to the "Pextan" settlement, (now Dauphin Co.), or "to the remoter parts where James le Tort trades," at Allegheny, (now Pittsburg). The Governor again urged them to stave in the barrels, when they saw any, but said, "the Indians are too fond of it themselves; they will not destroy it." And as there was some rum among the presents now given them, he added "a particular charge" that they should not drink any of it "till after their departure from hence." (Col. Rec. III., 576.)

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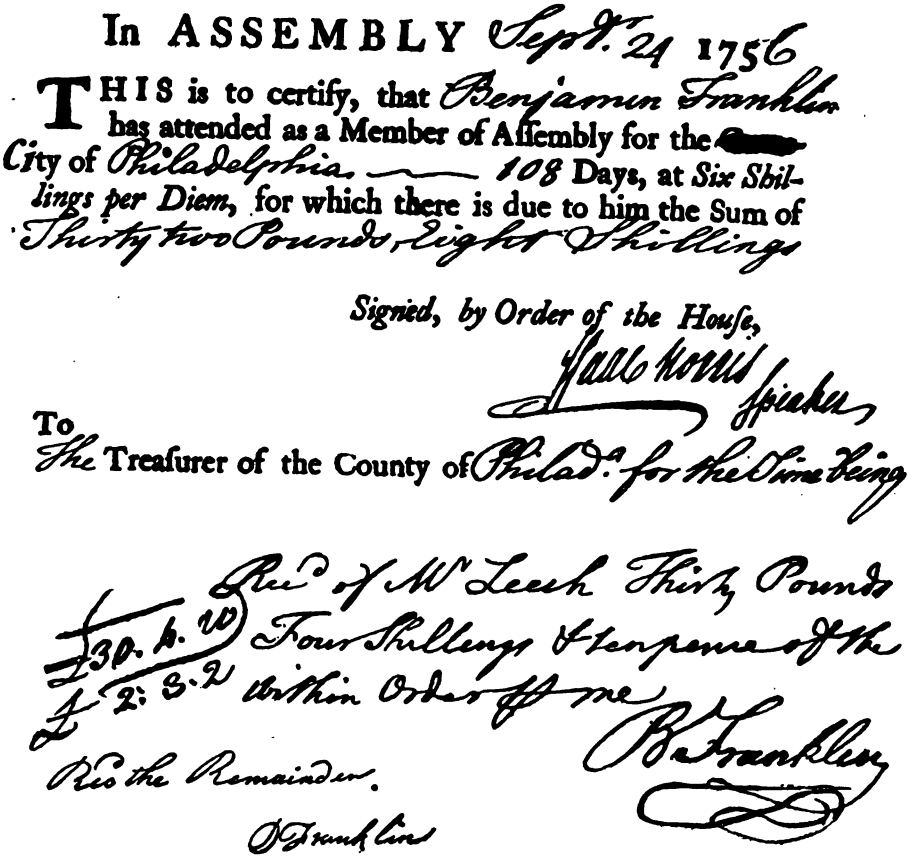
come, but there were two chiefs of the Oneidas, five of the Onondagas, four of the Cayugas, five of the Senecas, and two of the Tuscaroras.[1] Conferences were held with them on the 28th and 29th of September, at Stenton, and on the 2d of October, having come into the city, the council gathered in the "great meeting-house" of the Friends, at Second and Market streets. Thomas Penn attended, James Logan presided; there were present seven members of the Council, the Mayor and Recorder, "with divers Gentlemen, and a very large


In ASSEMBLY Sept. 24 1756

THIS is to certify, that Benjamin Franklin has attended as a Member of Assembly for the City of Philadelphia 108 Days, at Six Shillings per Diem, for which there is due to him the Sum of Thirty two Pounds, Eight Shillings

Signed, by Order of the House,
Isaac Norris Speaker

To
The Treasurer of the County of Philad.a for the Time being

Rec.d of Mr Leech Thirty Pounds
£30. 8. 10 Four Shillings & ten pence of the
£ 2: 3. 2 within Order
Rec.d the Remainder.
B Franklin
B Franklin

Audience that filled the House and its Galleries." The Indian chiefs came in and were seated, and Logan then explained to the meeting that a great treaty had been made in this place with several chiefs of the Six Nations, in 1732, and that report of it having been made to the Indian Great Council, the propositions of this Government had been considered, and "these chiefs now present, of whom there never at any time before had been so great a number mett in this Province, were now come to return their answer." The speaking

[1] The accession of the Tuscaroras to the Iroquois Confederacy was now fully established, and the Indians, at this Council, are uniformly spoken of as representing the Six Nations.

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was thereupon begun by Kanickhungo, a chief of the Senecas, who was principal spokesman for the visitors, and he presented, at pauses in his address, "a large belt of white wampum, of eleven rows, with four black St. George's crosses in it," "a bundle of skins in the hair," and "a large Beaver Coat," and later "two small Bundles of Skins." Response was made to him by Thomas Penn, and assurances were given that what they had said was very good, and that the Council would meet and consider it, "which, being interpreted to them, they expressed their Satisfaction by a Sound peculiar to them, in which they all joyned, and then withdrew." The Indian speaker's address related chiefly to the purpose of his people to maintain friendly relations—to resort to the Fire which the whites had promised to maintain for them in Philadelphia, to keep open the Road to the place, and to brighten the "Chain of Friendship," so that it would be "free from all Rust and Spotts." The Indians remained in the city twelve days longer, meetings being again held with them on the 13th and 14th of October. On the latter day their presents were given them, "which they received with great Thankfulness, those of each Nation alternately by themselves, and then all of them together, joyning in their usual solemn Sound when they express their Satisfaction. Having afterwards drunk a friendly Glass, and taken leave of the Proprietor, President, and Council, they departed, and thus the Treaty ended."[2]

WHARTON HOUSE, WALNUT GROVE.[1]

At the close of the Assembly in August, 1739, Andrew Hamilton declined further service, on account of his advanced years and impaired health. His withdrawal marked the close of the period in which he had been, since the death of David Lloyd, leader of the popular party. His address on the occasion, preserved then as of more than ordinary significance, is still interesting and impressive.[3]

[1] The "Mischianza" took place here in 1778. This residence was built by Joseph Wharton about 1735 upon a tract of ground situated below the limits of Philadelphia, in the township of Wicaco, on the west side of the Moyamensing road. From 1842 to 1852 the house was used for school purposes, after which it was torn down, and the site is now occupied by the Wharton school-house.

[2] Colonial Records, IV., 79, et seq.

[3] Hamilton had been chosen a member for Bucks county in 1726, and every year thereafter, except 1733, up to and including 1738. In 1729 he was chosen Speaker, succeeding David Lloyd, and he then served in that capacity each year of his membership. He was thus a member of eleven Assemblies, and Speaker of nine. His address is printed in the Minutes of the session of August, 1739.

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"I would beg leave to observe to you," he said, "that it is not to the fertility of our soil, and the commodiousness of our rivers, that we ought chiefly to attribute the great progress this province has made, within so small a compass of years, in improvements, wealth, trade, and navigation, and the extraordinary increase of people, who have been drawn hither, from almost every country in Europe; a progress, which much more ancient settlements, on the main of America, cannot, at present, boast of; no, it is principally, and almost wholly, owing to the excellency of our constitution; under which we enjoy a greater share both of civil and religious liberty than any of our neighbors.

"It is our great happiness, that, instead of triennial Assemblies, a privilege which several other colonies have long endeavoured to obtain, ours are annual; and, for that reason, as well as others, less liable to be practised upon, or corrupted, either with money or presents. We sit upon our own adjournments, when we please, and as long as we think necessary; and we are not to be sent a packing, in the middle of a debate, and disabled from representing our just grievances to our gracious sovereign, if there should be occasion; which has often been the fate of Assemblies in other places.

"We have no officers, but what are necessary; none but what earn their salaries, and those generally are either elected by the people, or appointed by their representatives. Other provinces swarm with unnecessary officers, nominated by the Governors; who often make it a main part of their care to support those officers, (notwithstanding their oppressions), at all events. I hope it will ever be the wisdom of our Assemblies to create no great offices or officers, or indeed any officer at all, but what is really necessary for the service of the country, and to be sure to let the people, or their representatives, have at least a share in their nomination, or appointment. This will always be a good security against the mischievous influence of men holding places at the pleasure of the Governor.

"Our foreign trade and shipping are free from all imposts, except those small duties payable to His Majesty, by the statute laws of Great Britain. The taxes which we pay, for carrying on the public service, are inconsiderable; for the sole power of raising and disposing of the public money for the support of government is lodged in the Assembly, who appoint their own Treasurer; and to them alone is accountable. Other incidental taxes are assessed, collected and applied by persons annually chosen by the people themselves. Such is our happy state, as to our civil rights.

"Nor are we less happy, in the enjoyment of a perfect freedom as to religion. By many years' experience we find that an equality among religious societies, without distinguishing any one sect with greater privileges than another, is the most effectual method to discourage hypocrisy, promote the practice of the moral virtues, and prevent the plagues and mischief that always attend religious squabbling.

"This is our constitution; and this constitution was framed by the wisdom of Mr. Penn, the first Proprietary and Founder of this province; whose Charter of Privileges to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania will ever remain a monument of his benevolence to mankind, and reflect more lasting honour on his descendants than the largest possessions. In the framing this government, he reserved no powers to himself, or his heirs, to oppress the people; no authority but what is necessary for our protection, and to hinder us from falling into anarchy; and therefore, supposing we could persuade ourselves that all our obligations to our great lawgiver and his honourable descendants were entirely cancelled, yet our own interests should oblige us carefully to support the government, on its present foundation, as the only means to secure to ourselves and our posterity the enjoyment of those privileges, and the blessings flowing from such a constitution, under which we cannot fail of being happy, if the fault is not our own."

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WILLIAM PENN'S WILL.[1]

I WILLIAM PENN, Esqr. so called Cheife proprietor & Governour of the Province of Pensilvania and the Territoryes thereunto belonging being of sound mind and understanding for which I bless God doe make and declare this my last Will and Testament.

my eldest Son being well provided for by a Settlement of his Mothers and my ffathers Estate I give and devise the Rest of my Estate in manner following

The Government of my Province of Pensilvania and Territoryes thereunto belonging and all powers relateing thereunto I give and devise to the most Hono'ble the Earle of Oxford and Earle Mortimer and to William Earle Powlett so called and their Heires upon Trust to dispose thereof to the Queen or any other person to the best advantage they can to be applyed in such a manner as I shall hereinafter direct.

I give and devise to my dear Wife Hannah Penn and her ffather Thomas Callowhill and to my good ffriends Margarett Lowther my dear Sister and to Gilbert Heathcote Physitian, Samuel Wildenfield, John ffield, Henry Couldney all liveing in England and to my ffriends Samuel Carpenter, Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, Samuel Preston and James Logan liveing in or near Pensilvania and their heires All my lands Tenements and Hereditaments whatsoever rents and other profitts scituate lyeing and being in Pensilvania and the Territores thereunto belonging or else where in America upon Trust that they shall sell and dispose of so much thereof as shall be sufficient to pay all my just debts and from and after paymt thereof shall convey unto each of the three Children of my son William Penn, Gulielma-Maria, Springett and William respectively and to their respective heires 10000 acres of land in some proper and beneficiall places to be sett out by my Trustees aforesaid All the rest of my lands and Hereditamts whatsoever scituate lyeing and being in America I will that my said Trustees shall convey to and amongst the Children which I have by my present wife in such proporcon and for such estates as my said Wife shall think fitt but before such Conveyance shall be made to my Children I will that my said Trustees shall convey to my daughter Aubrey whom I omitted to name before 10000 acres of my said Lands in such places as my said Trustees shall think fitt.

All my p'sonall estate in Pensilvania and elsewhere and arreares of rent due there I give to my said dear Wife whom I make my sole Executrix for the equall benefitt of her and her Children. In Testimony whereof I have sett my hand and seal to this my Will which I declare to be my last Will revoking all others formerly made by me.

Signed Sealed and Published by the Testator William Penn in the presence of us who sett our names as Witnesses thereof in the p'sence of the said Testator after the Interlineracon of the Words above Vizt: whom I make my sole Executrix.

Sarah West, Robert West, Susanna Reading, Thomas Pyle, Robert Lomax.

(Signed) Wm Penn.

This Will I made when ill of a feavour at London with a Cleur understanding of what I did then but because of some unworthy Expressions belying Gods goodness to me as if I knew not what I did doe now that I am recovered through Gods goodness hereby declare that it is my last Will and Testament at Ruscomb in Berkshire this 27th of the 3d Month called May 1712.

Wm Penn.

[1] Recorded in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, England. Copy furnished by Mr. J. Henry Lea to Pennsylvania Magazine, Vol. XIV.

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Witnesses p'sent Eliz. Penn, Tho: Pyle, Tho: Penn, Eliz. Anderson, Mary Chandler, Josiah Dee, Mary Dee.

Postscript in my own hand.

As a further Testimony of my love to my dear Wife I of my own mind give unto her out of the rents of America vizt. Pennsylvania £300 a year for her naturall life and for her care and charge over my children in their education of which she knows my mind as also that I desire that they may settle at least in good part in America where I leave them so good an Interest to be for their inheritance from Generacon to Generacon which the Lord p'serve and prosper. Amen.

[Probate of Will added, in Latin, November 4, 1718, with grant of letters testamentary to Hannah Penn, Executrix; also the granting of letters of administration, with the Will annexed, upon the estate of Hannah Penn, February 26, 1726, to John Penn, her son.]

MAYORS OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1719–1740.

1719–21.—William Fishbourn.

He was born in Talbot county, Maryland, and settled in Philadelphia before 1700. He married Hannah, daughter of Samuel Carpenter. He was elected Mayor, October 6, 1719, and rechosen for the two years following. He was a merchant and a Friend. He became a member of the Provincial Council, 1723, and served in the Assembly. In the act of 1723 for emitting bills of credit, etc., he was named as one of the four Trustees of the Loan Office, and appears to have been in immediate charge of its operations, for in 1730, upon charges that its accounts were not in proper order the responsibility was laid on him by the Assembly for a deficiency of £1800, and he was required to make it good, and disqualified for further holding of office. An account of the early times in the Province, written by him in 1739, is given by Watson. He died in 1742.

1722.—James Logan.

1723.—Clement Plumsted.

He was chosen Mayor October 7, 1723. His family were of Norfolk, England, and he, born in 1680, arrived here about 1701. He was a merchant, and one of the wealthy men of the city. He was chosen a Common Councilman in 1712, and later an Alderman, a member of the Assembly, and one of the County Justices. In 1727 he became a member of the Provincial Council, by appointment of Governor Gordon, and served again as Mayor by elections in 1736 and in 1741. He died May 26, 1745. He was a Friend, but not always inclined to the party which was led by Isaac Norris. (Cf. sketch in Keith's Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania.)

1724.—Isaac Norris.

Details concerning him have been given in the text and notes. He died June 4, 1735, "being taken with apoplexy, while attending the Friends' meeting in Germantown, whence he was removed to John Logan's residence at Stenton." (His son Isaac, (b. 1701, d. 1766) prominent in city and provincial affairs, and known as Isaac Norris "the younger," or "the Speaker," married James Logan's daughter Sarah.)

1725.—William Hudson.

He came in 1683 from Yorkshire, England, where he was born in 1660. He was a tanner by occupation, and had his tanyard "upon the end of a lot extending from

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Chestnut street to Dock creek, east of Third street. His house, a fine old-fashioned brick, stood back from the street near Chestnut, and had some large buttonwood trees in the courtyard in front. In 1694 he added to his property the house and lot southeast of Third and Chestnut streets. He also owned the tanyard, afterward Ashburner's, on Third street, from the Girard bank to Harmony Place." (Westcott, Ch. cxxix.) He had land in what is now Delaware county, and was largely engaged in a variety of business. He married Mary, daughter of Samuel Richardson, the Provincial Councillor. He is assessed for £100 in the tax-list of 1693. He was one of the Councilmen appointed in the Charter of 1701, became an Alderman 1715, and served in the Assembly. He died December 16, 1742. (Cf. biographical sketch by Thomas A. Glenn, Penna. Magazine, xiv., 336.)

1726.—Charles Read.

He was born about 1686, and was probably the first Mayor of the city born here. His father was Charles Read, a merchant, one of the Aldermen appointed in the Charter of 1701, who died 1705. The son was admitted a freeman of the Corporation, May 13, 1717, and qualified as a Common Councilman in August following. He became an Alderman, 1722. He served one year as Mayor, and three years as Sheriff, 1729–32. He served in the Provincial Council, was collector of the excise, a Trustee of the Loan Office, Judge of the Admiralty, etc. He died January 6, 1736–37. His half sister Sarah was the wife of James Logan. (Cf. sketch in Keith's Provincial Councillors, and article by John Meredith Read, Penna. Mag., ix.) The Reads had probably been Friends, but the Mayor was a churchman.

1727–28.—Thomas Lawrence.

He was born at New York, September 4, 1689, of a Dutch ancestry, the family name being Laurens, and came here about 1720. He was a merchant, associated in enterprises with James Logan, and the Shippens. He was chosen a Common Councilman in 1722, an Alderman in 1724, and Mayor in 1727, being rechosen in 1728, and again in 1734, 1749, and 1753. He died in office as Mayor, April 20, 1754. He was a member of the Provincial Council, Judge of the County Court, and in many ways prominent; a warden of Christ Church, and buried in the churchyard at Fifth and Arch streets, "in the family vault." (Cf. Keith's Prov. Councillors of Penna.)

1729–30.—Thomas Griffits.

He was from Cork, Ireland, a Friend, but had gone to Jamaica, whence he removed to Philadelphia, about 1717, where he married Mary, the daughter of Isaac Norris the elder. He was a merchant. He had a seat in the Provincial Council, was a Judge of the Supreme Court, and died in 1746. (Cf. Keith's Provincial Councillors of Penna.)

1731–32.—Samuel Hasell.

He was born in Barbadoes in 1691, came to Philadelphia about 1715, and engaged in mercantile business. He was chosen a Common Councilman 1728, an Alderman in 1729, and three times Mayor, 1731, 1732, and 1740. He was Treasurer of the city corporation for many years, a County Justice, member of the Provincial Council, etc. He was a churchman, a vestryman of Christ Church, and sometime warden. He died June 13, 1751, and was buried in the church ground, at Fifth and Arch. (Cf. Keith's Prov. Councillors of Penna.)

1733.—Thomas Griffits.

1734.—Thomas Lawrence.

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1735.—WILLIAM ALLEN.

He was born in Philadelphia, August 5, 1704, the son of William Allen, merchant, who was probably a native of Ireland, a Presbyterian, and had come here prior to 1700. The son studied law in London, but returning here did not practice, but engaged in trade. He became a Common Councilman 1727, was a member of the Assembly, and associated with Andrew Hamilton in securing the property on Chestnut street for the erection of the State-House. He married Hamilton's daughter Margaret, and by this marriage and his own gains, became (say 1741), "one of the rich men, and in after years, notwithstanding his charities, perhaps the richest man in Pennsylvania." He held many places, but especially that of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, to which he was appointed in 1750. "His city residence was on King [Water] street, adjoining his wharf and stores, the property being about seventy-six feet in breadth, his stable and coach-house across the street, on the east side of Front." He was the leader of the aristocratic party against Isaac Norris, 1742, and later a bitter opponent of Franklin. In the Revolution he sided first with the Colonies, and then, as was considered, with the Crown. He died September 6, 1780, probably at his country house at Mount Airy, having been one of the most conspicuous figures in Pennsylvania for full fifty years. (Cf. Keith's Prov. Councillors of Penna.; also sketch by Edward F. De Lancey, Penna. Magazine, I.)

1736.—CLEMENT PLUMSTED.

1737.—THOMAS GRIFFITS.

1738.—ANTHONY MORRIS.

He was the son of the Anthony Morris who was elected Mayor in 1703, and was born March 15, 1681–82, in London, being brought by his father to New Jersey, when a year old. He was a prominent citizen, a merchant, a member of the Common Council, and Alderman, and chosen Mayor October 3, 1738. He died September 23, 1762.

1739.—EDWARD ROBERTS.

He was the son of Hugh Roberts, a prominent preacher among the Friends, who came over in 1683 from Wales, and settled in Merion. Edward was born in the township of Kiltalgarth, in the parish of Llanvawr, Merionethshire, April 4, 1680, and came with his parents when three years old. He was admitted a freeman of the city, April 22, 1717; was elected a Councilman October 1, 1717; an Alderman, October 1, 1734; and Mayor, October 2, 1739. He died in 1741.

1740.—SAMUEL HASELL.

MAYOR'S ORDER TO CONSTABLE, 1722.

[The following order to the Constable of Mulberry Ward, in 1722, unsigned but evidently issued by the Mayor, William Fishbourn, illustrates very fully the police system at that time. It is here taken from Westcott, Chapter lxviii.]

CITY PHILADELPHIA, 5 mo. 5th, 1722.

To THOMAS TODD, Constable of Mulberry Ward.

Thou art principally to weigh and consider everything which may conduce to the glory of God, honour of the King, and benefit of the inhabitants, in having a well-

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governed city, wherein just endeavours are used to suppress all manner of vice and debauchery, which, by reason of the oath or affirmation thou hast taken (either of which being equally binding upon thee) to exert thyself in a punctual performance and discharge of thy duty. And having thus taken upon thee, under most solemn engagements, to be a just officer for God, the King, and thy country, in thy propper station, I shall recommend some particular matters for thy better conduct therein.

I. The first day of the week being more particularly set apart for Divine worship, thou art to be most diligent and careful to suppress all manner of disorderly persons and practices, and more especially in the time of Divine worship.

And if any publick housekeeper suffer any person or persons to sit tippling in their house, return the name of such publick housekeeper to some magistrate next day; also any person or persons who sit tippling in any publick house, desire them to go to some public worship and disperse, which, if in a convenient space of time they refuse to do, take an account of their names; but if thou cannot learn their names, charge the keeper of the house with him or them, and return the name of said publick housekeeper, or the persons concerned, to some magistrate next day.

Also any persons who walk about the streets in the time of Divine worship, caution them to the contrary, and if thou observe any too often in that practice return the names of some of the most notorious of them to some magistrate; also boys and others who may be found gaming, either whites or blacks, apprehend some of 'em and put them into the stocks until worship time be ended, and if at any other time of that day thou find any boys or negroes in companies, gaming or otherwise rude, thou art to disperse them and return their names to some magistrate next day.

II. Thou art at all times to endeavour the conservation of the King's peace in all respects, and whenever thou sees any persons acting the contrary thou art to command the peace and suppress them accordingly, wherein thou may require any persons present to thy assistance, (which, if they refuse, return their names to some magistrate), and if the disorderly persons will not desist bring them before some magistrate immediately (except it be late in the night, then commit them to the gaol until morning).

III. If thou hears or sees or knows of any lewd, scolding women, that either are of such disorderly tempers to disquiet the neighbourhood, or of lewd conversation, by accompanying with men at unseasonable times or places, also any unmarried women that are supposed to have had bastards or with child, thou art to apprehend them and bring them before some magistrate, to be dealt with accordingly.

IV. If thou knows or hears of any private housekeepers that keep private tippling in their houses, and thereby draw company together, inform the magistrates thereof, for by such doings great want and poverty has come upon familys.

V. Apprehend every person smoaking in the streets of the built part of this city, and bring them before some magistrate; also every drunken person; also every person whom thou may hear to curse or swear, or that any other may inform thee of.

VI. If thou observe any person to cast or leave any dirt, rubbish or carrion in the streets, which in any wise incommodes the same, thou art to caution and desire them forthwith to remove it, or thou wilt return their names to some magistrate, which thou art to do accordingly in case they neglect.

What I have said chiefly concerns thy conduct in the day, but what follows is relating to the Night Watches:

I. Take care to warn the watch duty, and that thou attend accordingly at the time and place already appointed.

II. If any person, duly warned, does not come or send one in time, or when come does not attend his duty therein, return the names of every such to some magistrate next day.

III. If thou meet any disorderly persons in the streets endeavour to suppress them, and commit them to gaol until next morning; but if, with the assistance of the

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watch, thou cannot, then learn their names and make return thereof accordingly next day to some magistrate.

IV. If thou knows or hears of any suspected lew'd houses, as entertaining debauched persons or servants, &c., search there accordingly and apprehend all suspected persons thou finds therein, and commit them to gaol, in order to be brought before some magistrate next morning.

V. If any publick housekeepers keep unseasonable hours, or rude, disorderly company in their houses, thou art to require them to disperse the company, and return the name of such publick housekeeper to some magistrate the next day.

Thou art hereby strictly required to observe the above-mentioned directions with thy utmost care and diligence as thou expects to answer the contrary before God or man.

Also observe what follows, although it may be otherwise recommended to thee, viz.:

I. Two or more constables are to walk the streets to the out-bounds of the built part of this city every first day of the week (by turns) during the whole time of publick worship, and suppress all disorderly persons, and commit negroes, walking about, to the stocks.

II. Do not neglect, but make due and frequent enquiry of all persons which may, from time to time, remove to live in thy ward, either as inmates or otherwise, and inform the magistrates thereof immediately.

III. Also forthwith inform me of every chimney which may take fire, which thou may see or anywise come to thy knowledge.

IV. Also inform some magistrate of every publick housekeeper, or others, who may suffer unlawfull gaming in their houses.

There being a penalty of twenty shillings fixt by law on all persons who sell or furnish any Indian with any sort of strong drinks, one-half whereof is to the person who will sue for the same, therefore you may be encouraged to find them out, and I require your diligence therein, it being an evil of very ill consequence to the inhabitants of this province in general.

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CHAPTER VI

1740–1765

THE PERIOD OF COLONIAL WARS

BY the steadfast policy of Walpole, the treaties of Utrecht had served to keep the peace between England and both her old enemies in Western Europe, down almost to 1740. Philadelphia therefore had enjoyed nearly thirty years of undisturbed growth. But in the period upon which we now enter war did indeed appear within the borders of Pennsylvania. For the first time the people of the Colony experienced its horrors at their own doorsteps. We call the quarter century from 1740 to 1765 the Period of Colonial Wars.

There were in this time three wars of England which involved her Colony on the Delaware and its City. The first of these was that with Spain, proclaimed by George the Second, in 1739. It ended in 1748. The others were with France, and she, from her station on the Great Lakes, her occupancy of posts in the Ohio Valley, and her command of Indian allies, was a power far more dangerous to Pennsylvania. The first war with France, begun in 1744, ended, as did that with Spain, in 1748, by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. But the second, begun in 1755, was a death-grapple of the two great nations for colonial supremacy in America, and closed at last in 1763, with the overthrow of France. Nominally, in the period from 1740 to 1763, there was a period of peace between 1748 and 1755; actually there was scarcely a year in Pennsylvania, even in that interval, when entire quiet and composure could be said to exist. The question of English or French rule on this continent hung in the balance until the triumph of Wolfe at Quebec in 1759, while apprehensions of the Indians, whom time and changed conditions had transformed from the simple-minded and well-disposed neighbors of earlier days into suspicious and bold beggars, of dubious faith and uncertain temper, were seldom absent from the public mind.

Governor Thomas, in 1740, after the war with Spain had begun, raised the old question of establishing a militia, and the Assembly made what must be pronounced, from its point of view, a strong reply to his demand. It insisted upon the guaranty, from the foun-

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dation of the colony, of the full enjoyment of liberty of conscience: the Charter of Privileges, it said, declared that this clause in the fundamental law "should be kept and remain without any alteration inviolably forever." Upon this assurance, it declared, many of the present inhabitants of Pennsylvania had come hither. Circumstances had changed, it was true, since the founding of the province, and many of the people, it presumed, now had no scruples as to war, but very many others were of the class, "the people called Quakers," who, though they did not, "as the world is now circumstanced," condemn the use of arms in others, were principled against it themselves. To force these to military service, therefore, would be to violate the fundamental guaranty of their liberty of conscience, while it would be inconsistent to exempt them, if by law the people generally were called to arms.

The Assembly did not believe that the danger from Spain was serious—as, indeed, it was not—but it referred once more, as had been done in the time of Blackwell, and Evans, and Gookin, to the military clauses in Penn's patent of 1681. These it very fairly said were extensive; they would suffice, it hoped, for all the purposes of the Governor, without further legislation. If he considered danger imminent he had full power, as captain-general, to organize an armed force from among those who had no objection to such service. And while it thought that in a war of the mother country with other great nations, the chief dependence of the colony must be on the mother country's strength, the Assembly reminded the Governor, in conclusion, of the declaration of the Psalmist, that "Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."

In ten days after the delivery of the Assembly's reply, the Governor had prepared and sent an extended message. He said that in his former communication, (his speech to them in October, 1739), he had addressed them "as the Representatives of the whole Body of the People, as a part of the legislature [himself being the other part] and as Protestants." He had not distinguished the particular persuasion of each member, except "in contradistinction to the bloody

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religions of France and Spain." He was a lover of religion and liberty, "but as the World is now circumstanced," he said, "no Purity of Heart, no Sett of Religious Principles, will protect us from our Enemy. Were we even to content ourselves with Cottages, they would rob us of the very Soil." He did not desire to violate the liberty of conscience, he said—he was instructed by the Proprietaries to guard against that. And he proceeded to argue that his powers to organize defence were inadequate; that a military system should be established by law; and that volunteers were not a safe dependence—"as Humour brought them together, Caprice would soon disband them."

The differences of view were thus definitely stated. We must leave the case on such showing. The dispute was complicated by the growing dislike of the policy of the Penn Family, and the knowledge that the Governor was pledged and even put under bonds not to approve the measures concerning taxation and money which it was anticipated the Assembly would propose. The great value of the proprietary lands had now become evident; a selfish and exacting policy on the part of their owners had been plainly developing in recent years. The controversy between the Governor and the Assembly brought all these elements of difference to the surface, and for nearly three years the wheels of government were blocked, the Governor declining to sign any of the bills the Assembly sent him, while on its part it refused to vote him a penny of pay. The election of 1742, however, convinced him that the contest was in vain, and he made advances, when the Assembly met, which resulted in a good understanding, and in 1743, after a dignified delay, the Assembly voted him five hundred pounds arrears of pay, and an additional thousand "for the support of the government" that year.

At the outbreak of the Spanish War, in 1739, privateering had been promptly begun from Philadelphia. The news that on the 15th of June the King had ordered "reprisals" on Spain, (a step preceding the declaration of war, in October), reached Boston by the *Tartar* pink, which arrived there August 10, five weeks and three days from Spithead, "with his Majesty's directions to his several governors in these parts concerning the Spaniards."[1] The *George*, a sloop with ten "carriage" and ten "swivel" guns, was fitted out in the early autumn, and sailed in November, commanded by William Axon, "to make reprisals on the Spaniards." Those "willing to go as volunteers" in her had been asked to repair "to the Crooked Billet in Front street," to sign the articles. She returned in July, 1740, seeming to have had some success, as she brought, it was

[1] Weekly Mercury, Aug. 16 to 23, 1739.

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stated, forty thousand pounds of cocoa, some money, "and other goods." The war fever by that time had decidedly increased. The declaration of war against Spain (October 29, 1739), had been proclaimed at the court-house, April 14, 1740, the Governor being attended by "some of the Members of the Council, the Mayor and Corporation, and a great Number of the Gentlemen of this City." The "very numerous Auditory" who listened to the reading "expressed their Joy by repeated acclamations of God save the King; some cannon on Society Hill were discharged on drinking the Loyal Healths, and some Barrels of Beer [were] given to the Populace." [1]

The proclamation which thus so excited the joy of the populace called for volunteers to aid an expedition designed under Lord Cathcart and Admiral Vernon to make "an attempt upon some of their [the Spaniards'] richest settlements in the West Indies," and the Governor earnestly exhorted his Majesty's subjects "cheerfully to inlist in this service." Advertisements later held out inducements to volunteers. Those who were inclined to the expedition "now on foot for attacking and plundering the most important part of the Spanish West Indies" were told where to send their names—to Captain Palmer, Thomas Lawrence, James Hamilton, and others—the names to be concealed if desired. The richness of the island of Cuba was eloquently described, and the success of Admiral Vernon in capturing Porto Bello with a few ships instanced as an example of what might easily be done. Recruits, however, came in slowly, and many of those obtained were "indentured servants." The Governor demanded aid in money of the Assembly, in July, to subsist the men collected, who he said now made seven companies, and had been dispersed in neighboring villages, "to prevent drunkenness and disorders in the city." [2] The Assembly voted £3000, "for the use of our present Sovereign King, George the Second, to be disposed of to and for such use or uses as he shall be pleased to appoint," but with the condition that the "servants" enlisted, three hundred in number, and worth an aggregate of £3000, should be first discharged, and that no more should be enlisted. To this condition the Governor refused to agree, and the difference caused an extended interchange of messages between him and the Assembly. In September, the troops raised were put on board transports, and sent to join the expedition,[3] and the Governor drew bills on the royal paymasters at

[1] Col. Records, IV., 397.

[2] "But the Exactions," the Governor added, in a message to the Assembly, "of the publick housekeepers for their Lodging & Diet makes it impossible for them to subsist, since their Pay of sixteen Shillings & six pence Sterling per Month falls short of the demand of those people. The King's Troops are billeted in England by act of Parliament, for four pence sterling per Diem, whereas the Innkeepers here will not do it under twelve pence per diem, though provisions are bought for half y^e^ price." (Col. Rec., IV., 432.)

[3] Penna. Gazette, Sept. 18, 1740: "The seven companies raised in this Province are all embark'd: and 'tis said the Transports will fall down in a few Days.

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London for funds to cover the deficiencies in his military expense account[1] The next year he informed the Assembly in June that four privateers had been fitted out in Havana to cruise on the coast, that several vessels belonging to Philadelphia had been chased, and one of them driven ashore on the New Jersey coast near Egg Harbor. The Assembly replied that the King's ships were stationed at Boston, New York, and Virginia, to protect the coast, and that the ship run ashore at Egg Harbor was chased by a Philadelphia privateer, not a Spaniard. It censured the manner and matter of a communication which had been presented from eighty-four merchants and others, of Philadelphia, demanding measures for the defence of the city, and it appropriated £2356 to compensate the owners of 276 "servants" who had gone off the year before with the seven companies of foot[3] In October, however, it voted £3000 "for the King's use," without the conditions imposed the year before.

THE WISTER HOUSE, GERMANTOWN.[2]

The success of the *George* privateer encouraged others. Its captain, William Drummond, died of yellow fever on his way home from a voyage, in May 1741, and the lieutenant, John Sibbald, afterward a famous naval character, succeeded. He had defended a prize sloop, the *Victory*, with great boldness, against a Spanish ship, and on his return to the city was rewarded by the owners of the sloop with a silver-hilted sword, while £25 was distributed among the crew. In June (1741) a privateer commission was issued to William Neate, of the ship *Dursley Galley*, of 400 tons, which car-

The Companies are all full, and the men chearful and in good Heart. They were reviewed by his Honour the Governor, before they went on board, and performed their Exercise to Admiration."

The officers of the seven companies were: *Captains*, Archibald Gordon, Thomas Freame, (Margaret Penn's husband), Will. McKnight, Thomas Lawrie, William Thinn, Robert Bishop, Thomas Clarke. *First Lieutenants*, Archibald Graham, St. John Leader, William Mills. *Second Lieutenants*, John Clifford, Robert Spicer, Henry Hodge, James Sandilands, Anthony Palmer, Thomas Beckeley, James Forster. *Ensigns*, Enos Dexter, Edward Harrison, Richard Cager, George Barr, Peter Grung, Vincent Marshall, Chas. Mathew. *Adjutant*, Richard George de la Vallee. (Col. Rec., IV., 468.)

[1] The Penna. Gazette, May 14, 1741, announced with gratification that not only the bills drawn by Col. Blakeney (who had organized the Colonial troops) on the Right Hon. Henry Pelham, for the subsistence of the troops raised here and in the government of the Lower Counties, but also those drawn by Governor Thomas on the Commissioners of his Majesty's navy for victualling and transporting the seven companies raised in this Government had been duly honored.

[2] Built by John Wister, younger brother of Caspar Wister, (see ante, p. 193) in 1744, and yet standing in Germantown. It was General Agnew's headquarters, and he died there of his wounds received in the battle, 1777.

[3] One hundred and eighty-eight of these were from Philadelphia. Other payments on like account were made later.

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ried twenty-two six pounders and eight swivel guns, and required a crew of fifty men. She was reported engaged on the way to Jamaica by two Spanish privateers, which she beat off; Captain Neate, on his arrival there, claimed the royal bounty of five pounds for each one of the enemy whom he had killed and drowned.[1] This appears to have terminated his cruise. The following season, 1742, two privateers from Philadelphia were again out, the *George*, commanded by Captain Sibbald, and its consort, the *Joseph and Mary*, a prize schooner which had been refitted. The exploits of these adventurers this year outdid all that had gone before. The *George*, in April, brought in the ship *Florida*, of London, with a rich cargo of sugar, which it had retaken from a Spanish privateer, and another prize, a "snow" in ballast. It had also chased a Spanish packet boat on shore on the coast of Cuba, and had destroyed a floating battery of three guns in the bay of St. Martha. Going out again with the consort schooner, at the end of June, the two chased two French sloops, sinking one, then engaged a Spanish ship for six hours, captured a prize whose value was estimated at £33,000 sterling, took still another vessel, a "settee," with prisoners of distinction, and secured the release, in exchange, of ninety English prisoners at Havana, nine of them ship captains. This was the report of Captain Sibbald, some part or parts of which we no doubt may safely confide in. The private property and cargoes were said to have been ransomed by the Spaniards for "ninety thousand pieces of eight," so that large profits must have accrued to the privateer owners at Philadelphia. The general commerce of the port, however, had reaped little advantage; "whilst Capt. Sibbald was cruising amongst the West India Islands, seventeen vessels bound to and from the city had been captured by Spanish privateers near the Capes of the Delaware."[2]

The war excitement, so far as it existed, was assiduously fanned. The expedition against Cuba, in which the seven companies had gone, proved an utter failure, but nothing was said of this to the public. The ill-managed and futile assault upon Carthagena, the strongest place in Spanish America, which Wentworth and Vernon undertook, instead of attacking Havana as had been proposed, was represented here as a splendid achievement. The attack took place in March 1741; the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of May 14 described the rejoicings in Philadelphia over the affair. The news, it said, came "last Thursday. So glorious an event, to which even We may boast in some Measure to have contributed, inflamed every loyal and honest Heart here with a Warmth unfelt before in this infant country." The next day, two companies of gentlemen met under arms

[1] Westcott, Chapter XCV.

[2] Westcott, Chapter XCVI.

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at the state-house, and the Governor, accompanied by Thomas Penn, ("our honourable Proprietor"), the Council, and the Mayor and Corporation, proceeded to the court-house, "by a long march through the city, to the constant firing of great guns." At the court-house three volleys were discharged, and then "some barrels of beer" were distributed to the people. The Governor dined in public, and the afternoon was spent with toast-drinking and the firing of cannon; in the evening there was an illumination, in which, says the *Gazette*, four-fifths of the houses joined, while a pipe of Spanish wine was given out to the populace.[1]

The election of 1742, we have said, convinced Governor Thomas of the Assembly's strength, and that its judgments could not be overthrown without an entire revolution in the Colony. The incidents of that election, brought out in fine relief by the accounts preserved to us in the Assembly's subsequent investigations, illustrate most of the features of an exciting popular election under the English system, in the middle of the eighteenth century.

The followers of the Governor, opponents of the Assembly, had resolved apparently to contest the election vigorously. They found the growing influence of Isaac Norris a shining mark for assault, and hoped at least to overset him. Whether they hoped to control the Assembly altogether, through a success in Philadelphia, may be doubted, for Chester and Bucks were likely to stand unshaken in any event. The whole of Philadelphia county, even including the distant settlements near Reading,[2] voted at the one place, the court-house at Second and High streets. The people from the country gathered in over night. There had been rumors of trouble. The "gentlemen of the city" had sent a message to the caucus of the other side, assembled at Reese Meredith's on election eve, proposing to divide equally the Inspectors who would conduct the election, and who, under the law, were chosen by an informal show of hands, or "standing out" in the street, in front of the court-house steps, before the general polling began. This offer was declined, however, the Assembly party probably considering the other side too weak to be entitled to half the Inspectors.

William Allen, ex-Mayor, now Recorder, a man who liked to rule and hated to be beaten, was the leader on the "City" side. He and

[1] Of the operations at Carthagena, Bancroft (II., 297) says: "The attack [on Fort San Lazaro, which commanded the town] devised without judgment, was made by twelve hundred men with intrepidity; but the admiral [Vernon] gave no timely aid to the land forces; the assailants were repulsed with the loss of half their number. . . Ere long, rains set in. The fever of the low country in the tropics began its rapid work; battalions were 'poisoned by the air, and crippled by the dews;' the dead were cast into the sea, sometimes without winding-sheet or sinkers; the hospital ships were crowded. . . When late in November the expedition . . . returned to Jamaica, the total loss of lives was estimated at twenty thousand, of whom few fell by the enemy. Of the recruits of the colonies, nine out of ten perished."

[2] Berks County was not set off until 1752.

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his party especially disliked the German vote, which persistently supported the Assembly rule. They resented, too, the presence of other Germans at the polls than those naturalized and entitled to vote. The "Palatines," long trodden under foot in Europe, enjoyed highly even the outside view of such a manifestation of popular sovereignty, and usually came by hundreds to the election. Allen and his party now professed to have word that the number in town was greater than ever, and that they would crowd the narrow stairways of the little court-house, and hinder any but their own side from voting. He declared that he had an exact list of all the naturalized "Palatines" in the county, and that they were not above four hundred, while it was reported at least a thousand had come into town. He and his party, at any rate, whether because of the Germans, or from designs of their own, looked about for a body of rough supporters, and arranged to secure them from the ships in the river. A number of sailors were hired by offers of drink and a frolic —perhaps some money—to come to the court-house and mob the "Palatines." As the persons they were to attack would be strangers to them, they had instructions, as they subsequently shouted with inebriate candor, to "knock the Dutch off the steps," "drive away the broad-brims and Dutch dogs," and especially attack the "men with broad hats and no pockets."

The day of voting dawned, the 1st of October. Members of Assembly were to be chosen. Early in the morning there were signs of trouble. A party of the sailors, at first about thirty, marched through the streets. They had come off the ships, particularly from two, the *Bath* and *Hanover*, and had gone to the Indian King tavern, on High street, kept by Peter Robinson, who was afraid to refuse them drink. Captain Mitchell, one of their leaders, ordered him sharply to set out a good dram for each man. They carried clubs, and were noisy and threatening. "About the tenth hour," the election being about to open, the party, now increased to seventy, descended upon the court-house, "armed with clubs or other weapons, which they flourished over their heads, with loud huzzas, and in a furious and tumultuous manner." "Divers of the magistrates" desired them to retire peaceably, but this they not only refused, "but struck at the magistrates with great violence," and when the constables came forward fell on them also. In the scuffle many were beaten, and one of the aldermen, according to the report of the Assembly, made a narrow escape from being "barbarously murdered,"[1] The sailors were, however, driven away, and the voting

[1] Samuel Preston said they were armed with "Truncheons, or great Clubs"; but Joseph Wharton, a cooper, said they carried "but-ends of Hogshead Poles," which had been found on Nathaniel Allen's

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had begun, when suddenly they reissued from Porteus' saw-yard, opposite Christ Church, and again seized the approaches to the polling-place, the stairways in front of the court-house. There was now a sharp general engagement. The country party, fully aroused, fell upon their assailants, the Germans doing their share of the work. The rioters, after a brief struggle, gave way and ran, while the others, chasing them in all directions, captured fifty-four of the party, with their leaders, Captains Mitchell and Redmond, and lodged them all in gaol.

Such was the Election Riot. The scheme, whatever it was, to "bulldoze" the Assembly's party collapsed in the first act. If it had really been intended to seize the polls and control the elections, the undertaking was a failure. Isaac Norris and his ticket were, of course, all chosen as usual. A serious local quarrel was engendered, however, and when the Assembly met petitions were presented, complaining of the affair, and asking an investigation. The sheriff, John Hyatt, was summoned, but was reported "not in town," and other witnesses, to the number of fifty or more, were called. The depositions of many were taken. The Assembly resolved that an address should be drawn stating the material facts, and expressed the opinion that there had been "a premeditated design of disturbing the publick peace of this Province, terrifying the inhabitants, and interrupting the freedom of election." Resolutions thanking Thomas Lawrence, Thomas Griffitts, Samuel Preston, Anthony Morris, and Ralph Asheton, for their efforts to suppress the riot, were adopted, while charges of failure were made against Clement Plumsted, the Mayor, William Allen, Recorder, and Alderman Joseph Turner, and Justices Abraham Taylor and Septimus Robinson. These gentlemen remonstrated strongly against the censure.[1] The Mayor set forth his endeavors to keep the peace, and plaintively declared that "what more could be expected from him, who is an antient man,

wharf. One sailor, according to John Dillwyn, had a cutlass. The country party had agreed at their caucus to come with no weapons, not even canes or whips; Israel Pemberton, Jr., at the beginning of the affray, handed out the constables' staves from the Court-house. William Hudson had one of these, but it broke in his hand, and he "took up a rail with tenter-hooks on it for the hanging of meat" and laid his opponent low. Hudson was "hurt in the Groin"; George Shed was carried off "bleeding and senseless"; Joseph Wharton received "a Blow a-cross the Loins"; but probably the worst case was that of Alderman Anthony Morris, who was knocked down and badly hurt, and carried into George Fitzwater's, where his son found him. In the end, the sailors, frightened by a cry that "the town was rose," ran away. (Votes of the Assembly III, passim and Appendix.)

[1] They said it was "with inexpressible concern" that they "behold that address [to the Governor] blasting our Reputations in the most sensible and tender Parts." William Allen disclaimed any definite knowledge of the affair; Justice Taylor charged Isaac Norris with being as "unconcern'd and unactive" as any present; all the remonstrants said they believed the sailors were going out of town, a holiday having been granted them. It is probable that the violence of the sailors, who were "warmed by liquor," went beyond the expectation of Allen and his allies, but in spite of this, they appear to have maintained their attitude of inaction to the close, and procured the early discharge of half the prisoners. Of course, they disclaimed in public any connection with the mob. Robert Hopkins reported that William Allen was approached by one of the rioters, "a squat, full-faced, Pock-fretten Man, with a light Wig, and red Breeches," who said, "Let's give Mr. Allen a Whorrah!" But Allen replied: "Ye Villains, begone; I will have nothing to do with you."

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afflicted with a Distemper which scarce suffers him to walk, by which he was confined to his House the greatest Part of that Day, he is at a loss to know."

The chiefs of the Six Nations, with their followers, came again to Philadelphia in the summer of 1742, to receive goods for lands which they had previously agreed to give up, on the west side of the Susquehanna. The party, this time, was larger probably than ever before; "upwards of two hundred" Indians were present at one of the conferences, in the "great meeting-house" of the Friends, where the most formal gatherings were held, and the purchase goods delivered. The visitors arrived on the 30th of June, and remained until the 12th of July, when at parting the Provincial Council acceded to their final request "for a small Quantity of Rum to be added to their Provisions, to comfort them upon the Road," and placed in their list of presents twenty gallons "for the aforesaid Use."[1] They were lodged in town, and at leaving politely expressed their regret that though "when we first came to your Houses we found them clean and in Order" they had remained "so long as to dirty them, which is to be imputed to our different Way of living from the White People . . . therefore . . . we present you with some Skins, to make your houses clean." They had called, they said, "at our old ffriend James Logan's, in our way to this City, and to our grief we found him hid in the Bushes, and retir'd, thro' Infirmities, from Publick Business," but they had prevailed on him once more to be present at the Council.

The principal spokesman of the Iroquois, on this visit, was Canassatego, an Onondaga, famous in the annals of his own people, and remembered in our history for his fierce attack at this council upon the Delaware chiefs, in rebuke of their persistency in still claiming their cherished lands on the Delaware at "the Forks"—where the Lehigh enters the greater stream—which had been marked off as sold and transferred to the Penns by the swindle of the "Long Walk," in 1737.[2] The Delaware chiefs, admittedly subject now to the Iroquois, had been summoned, and Sassoonan, Nutimus, and others of them were present at Thomas Penn's house, July 12, when Canassatego, acting a part, as has since been believed, arranged by the Proprietary's agents—not by James Logan, but more probably by Richard Peters—launched his invectives upon the heads of the unfortunate Delawares, and bade them depart from their "Fork" lands to places on the upper Susquehanna. His commands to them were most imperative and insulting. Offering them a belt of wam-

[1] Col. Records, IV., 583.

[2] This wrong upon the Indians is a well-known event in Pennsylvania history, but has no particular relation to the present narrative. Cf. Charles Thomson's Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians; also W. J. Buck's History of the Indian Walk.

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pum, he said: "Let this serve to chastise you; you ought to be taken by the hair of the head and shak'd severely till you recover your senses." Referring to their alleged sale of the disputed lands, and dilating on their improvidence, he denied them the right to make such sales at all, and proceeded to his conclusion: "We charge you to remove instantly! We don't give you the liberty to think about it . . . We . . . assign you two places to go —either to Wyoming or Shamokin. You may go to either . . . and then we shall have you more under our eye, and see how you behave. Don't deliberate, but move away." And then, according to some of the accounts, he seized one of the Delaware chiefs—Nutimus, from the "Forks," perhaps—by the hair of the head, and fairly thrust him out of the room! It was a dramatic scene, and at the moment, to those who devised it, may have seemed entirely successful; later, when the Delaware and Shawnee Indians fell upon the frontier with fire and gun, wreaking thus their pent-up revenges for the taking of their lands, and the insults of Canassatego, there were many besides Charles Thomson who saw that justice and decency would have been cheaper, after all, and that the declension from the methods of 1683 at Shackamaxon to those of 1742 under the Young Proprietaries was an evil change.

MORRIS ARMS.

Another great council with the Indians, at Lancaster, in June and July, 1744, gave a new opportunity to the eloquence of Canassatego, and made an important event in Pennsylvania history. Commissioners from Maryland, Edmund Jennings and Philip Thomas; and from Virginia, Thomas Lee and Colonel William Beverly, joined the Pennsylvania authorities in these negotiations.[1] The presence of the Virginia commissioners is interesting to our present purpose because they brought to Philadelphia, as their secretary, a lively young gentleman, Mr. William Black, whose journal of his observations during his stay here, from May 27 to June 15, affords us a graphic description of social conditions in Philadelphia at that time.[2]

Two visitors of distinction, and one permanent settler of high character and importance, had landed at Philadelphia before the time we have just described. We must return a moment to speak of

[1] Both Maryland and Virginia desired to extinguish the claims of the Iroquois to the control of lands within their limits, but the latter colony was especially concerned over an incident in 1742, when a war party of Onondagas and Oneidas, passing through Virginia, on their way to attack the Tallapoosas, became involved in a skirmish with the white people, in which several were killed on each side.

[2] Extracts will be found appended to this chapter. The whole journal was printed, under the editorship of Mr. Brock, Secretary of the Virginia Historical So., in Penna. Magazine, I. and II.

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them. First to come was George Whitefield, the English clergyman, father with Wesley of the Methodist agitation. The *Mercury*, November 8, 1739, chronicled his arrival: "Last Friday night arrived here Capt. Stephenson, from London, with whom came passenger the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, A. B. He preach'd in Christ church on Sunday afternoon, and every day since, People of all persuasions going to hear him." No such speaker, it is safe to say, had ever been heard in Philadelphia. The sensation produced by his preaching was tremendous. But his views, and perhaps his manner, soon awakened a fierce controversy, and upon going to New York he found the Episcopal church there closed against him, and so preached in the fields. At the end of November he returned to Philadelphia. The *Mercury*, Nov. 29, reports his arrival "on Friday last," and adds that "he has preach'd here twice every day since his arrival, to great crowds, except Tuesday, when he preach'd at German Town from a Balcony to about 5000 people, and yesterday afternoon the Croud was so great to hear his farewell sermon that the Church would not contain one half, whereon they withdrew to Society Hill; where he preach'd from a Balcony to the greatest number of people that was ever seen gather'd here, and computed at no less than 10,000. He leaves this city to-day . . . on his way to Georgia."

The other distinguished visitor was Nicholas Louis, Count Zinzendorf, bishop of the Moravian church, and incontestably its leader and organizer. He landed at New York December 2, 1741, but came almost directly to Philadelphia, reaching here on the 10th. The pioneers of his organization in Pennsylvania had already settled on the Lehigh, and repairing thither, he named the place Bethlehem. His activities in and about Philadelphia continued until his return to Europe in 1743, but they belong more particularly to the history of the Moravian churches.[1]

While Zinzendorf was still here, there came the third of the notable men to whom we have alluded, the Reverend Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, chief in his day of the Lutheran church in America. November 25, 1742, at eight in the morning, the sloop in which he had endured a most disagreeable and dangerous voyage from Charleston arrived at the wharf on the Delaware, and the young German—he had just ended his thirty-first year—set his foot on shore with a thankful heart. He found the Lutheran churches almost in the control of Zinzendorf, and the contest between the two, until the latter

[1] The first Moravian land on the Lehigh, 5000 acres, had been purchased of the Proprietaries by Seward, the companion of Whitefield, the intention being "to erect on it a college or school for the instruction of Negroes, or some such whimsical business." (James Logan to Gov. Clarke of New York, March 30, 1742.) Logan thus describes Zinzendorf in the same letter: "He speaks Latin and French, is aged I suppose between forty and fifty years, [he was born 1700] wears his own hair, and is in all other respects [than the land purchase] very plain as making the propagation of the Gospel his whole purpose and business."

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quitted the field, was a serious matter not only to the two men, but to those who looked up to them. Muhlenberg came to remain permanently, and the honorable fame of his patient labors for nearly half a century[1] was perpetuated later by his sons and their descendants.

The subsidence of the quarrel between Governor Thomas and the Assembly, late in 1743, just preceded the opening of the war with France. On the 23d of May, 1744, the Governor sent the Assembly a letter from the governor of Massachusetts, Shirley, enclosing two printed papers, which had come from a ship which arrived at Boston on the 12th, after a quick passage—five weeks and two days—from Glasgow. These papers announced the declaration of war against each other by Louis XV. and George II., dated respectively March 15 and March 29. Three days later the Assembly adjourned to the 30th of July. It was the season for out-door work, and its members, four-fifths of whom were farmers, desired to hoe their young corn, mow their meadows, and reap their grain. The Governor, when they notified him of their adjournment, said that he looked daily for orders and instructions from the King, concerning the war, upon the receipt of which he should think it his duty to reconvene them at once. To which the Assembly replied that "whenever those orders shall arrive, the representatives of the Freemen of Pennsylvania, so far forth as [the orders] shall relate to them, will pay all regard which becomes loyal, faithful subjects, consistent with their religious principles, to the commands of the Crown." With which explicit if cautious declaration they set off to their fields.

The new war could not be very popular with any who did not follow the profession of arms, or expect to reap glory or profit from its continuance. Its colonial name, "King George's War," partially indicates the popular perception that it was a contest simply of kings and dynasties—a sacrifice of their subjects to the interests of arbitrary rule. The death of the Emperor of Germany, Charles the Sixth, in 1740, without a son, had awakened these lusts of power. "Princes, great and small," says Francis Parkman, had "brooded for years over some real or fancied wrong, nursed some dubious claim born of a marriage, a will or an ancient covenant fished out of the abyss of time, and watched their moment to make it good." The opportunity came with the Emperor's death. He had bequeathed, under the "Pragmatic Sanction," his personal dominions of the House of Austria to his daughter Maria Theresa. The Powers of Europe generally had promised to respect her claim. But the Powers

[1] He died Oct. 7, 1787, at Trappe, in what is now Montgomery county. He married Anna Mary, the daughter of Conrad Weiser. (Cf. Mann's Life and Times of H. M. Muhlenberg.)

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of Europe, once he was cold, disclosed other views. It appeared to the several and sundry kings, electors, grand-dukes, and what not, with all their surrounding courtiers, mistresses, and other excellent advisers, that here was the day they had waited for. The War of the Austrian Succession, as it was known in Europe, therefore began, and besides Prussia, Bavaria and Saxony, France also fell upon the prize. That she with others had engaged to support the young queen's succession was immaterial to the court of Versailles.

The policy of Louis XV., the protector of the Stuart claimants of the English throne, being to despoil Austria, the policy of George II., of the Hanoverian line of English kings, must be to support her. Hence after a period of underhand spoliations of each other's commerce, the two kings, on this day when the Pennsylvania farmers parted from their Governor, were about to fight each other openly, in bitter earnest, on sea and land, and had called upon their subjects at home and abroad to join in the fray.

A second ship from England, with the confirmatory news of the declarations of war, reached Boston, May 23, and her news, forwarded thence, arrived at Philadelphia in a day or two. It was printed in Mr. Franklin's concise but valuable news sheet, of the 7th of June, and a week later the same journal contained Governor Thomas's proclamation of the 11th, announcing that his Majesty "from a just Resentment of the grossest and most indecent misrepresentations and Reflections upon his Majesty's Conduct, contained in the French King's declaration against his Majesty, hath by his Declaration dated at St. James's, the 29th day of March last, declared war against the French King." This may not seem to us an extremely stirring plea for the colonists' excitement: that Louis and George should revile each other might appear more a matter of concern to Madame de Pompadour or the Countess Walmoden than to plain people who were plowing and reaping in America: nevertheless they were subjects as yet of the monarch who deemed his honor hurt and his interest assailed, and the Governor was performing what to him was the most obvious duty when he now required all of them capable of bearing arms, "forthwith to provide themselves with a good firelock, bayonet, and cartouch-box, and with a sufficient

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quantity of powder and ball," and stand prepared for further orders. The Governor's proclamation had already been read to the populace from the steps of the court-house, and war against France had been announced "in due form."

With the copy of the King's declaration of war against France arrived also "his Majesty's most gracious declaration for the encouragement of his ships of war and privateers." The two gave a great stimulus to privateering at Philadelphia. On June 14 the *Gazette* announced that eight ships were fitting out, of which four were nearly ready to sail. Some of the names of these have not been preserved, but the *New George*, the *Wilmington*, and *Le Trembleur* sailed in June and found profitable prizes amongst the French and Spanish merchant ships of the West Indies. The *Tartar*, a new ship, furnished a tragic chapter to the record. She had been launched but a few weeks, and hurriedly fitted out, when she sailed on the 31st of June from the front of the city, carrying, it was estimated, two hundred men. Proceeding fairly till she had nearly reached the Capes, a sudden flaw of wind capsized her. Apparently, she had been badly ballasted, and perhaps over-masted. The captain and about sixty men escaped in the boats, and landed at Cape May, fourteen clung to the wreck and were taken off by a pilot-boat, forty-seven others were picked up by another vessel, but between seventy and eighty perished.

This, however, was but an ordinary experience of war. The activity did not diminish. Recruits were called for to serve in the land forces, and the privateers "beat up" for volunteers to fill out their crews. Attempts were unsuccessfully made to raise the *Tartar*. Captain Christopher Clymer fitted out the *Marlborough*, a ship of two hundred and thirty tons, with eighteen carriage and twenty-four swivel guns. Captain William Clymer, at the same time, prepared the snow *Cruiser*, two hundred tons, one hundred and thirty men, twenty-eight guns. The old *George*, which had done so well under Capt. Sibbald, was refitted by Capt. Dougall. Capt. Alexander Kattur fitted out the snow *Warren*, with two hundred men.

These operations in no wise protected the ordinary commerce of the city. The Philadelphia privateers, on reaching the Capes, cleared the coast at once, in order to prey upon the merchant vessels of the enemy in the West Indies, and in return the French and Spanish armed ships came upon the American coast to make prizes there. A French cruiser, the *Experience*, of Cape Breton, captured several of the city's vessels at and near the Capes.

The further events of "King George's War" need not detain us long. Notwithstanding Governor Thomas's repeated alarms, no enemy invaded the province. The Assembly's belief that the danger

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was less imminent than he represented proved correct; and equally sound, for this time, was their judgment that Pennsylvania's inland situation, and the presence of New York between her and Canada, made it highly improbable that a French force would come so far. The French did come, later, but it was after they had established their fortified posts on the south side of the Lakes and on the Ohio, and thus could enter Pennsylvania from the northwest, without passing through New York. As a matter of fact, Pennsylvania performed in this war a very fair share of military and naval operations, and contributed to it large sums in money. The "querimonious" remarks concerning her were heard as usual, but that was of little consequence. The Assembly remained as it had been, an independent body, taking considerable risks in the presence of so many enemies—the Governor's party, the Proprietary interest, the crown officials in England, and the hostile and fault-finding elements in the other colonies. It must have required courage to face all these, but it was done. John Kinsey continued to be Speaker, from the time of his first election in 1739, to his death in 1751, and Isaac Norris the younger became, in the time we are describing, the leader of the Assembly, directing it with as much ability as David Lloyd, and showing as great a degree of sound judgment as Andrew Hamilton. The Assembly was thus an exasperating opponent to the royalist and court party. It was well believed, no doubt, in very genteel circles that such a pestilent body ought to be summarily suppressed, and that things would never come right until some of the fanatic rogues it contained were stood in the pillory with their ears nailed up. It was not then foreseen that the royal regime in Philadelphia was rapidly running out, and that the frantic hatred now displayed for the fleur-de-lis of France, and the castellated banner of Spain, would be succeeded in a few years by a zealous anxiety to enlist both of them in a struggle with the King of England. This knowledge was yet veiled; the Assembly, meantime, kept the fire of freedom burning.

The precautions against the importation of disease were so far very imperfect. In the summer of 1741 the yellow fever again appeared; it had come, as was afterward concluded, from the West Indies. At the time, it was commonly called the "Palatine distemper." In the city that year there were 785 burials, an enormous number in proportion to the presumed population, and an increase of at least five hundred over the number for 1740. Many of the "Palatine" immigrants fell victims, and confined on board their small and crowded ships in the river, it was surprising that any survived.[1] Their list of deaths was given as 206, with 94 deaths

[1] In the Provincial Council, Sept. 22, 1741: "Doctors Lloyd Zachary and Thomas Bond, having, by order of two members of this Board, visited the ship *St. Mark*, with Palatines from Rotterdam, and reported the

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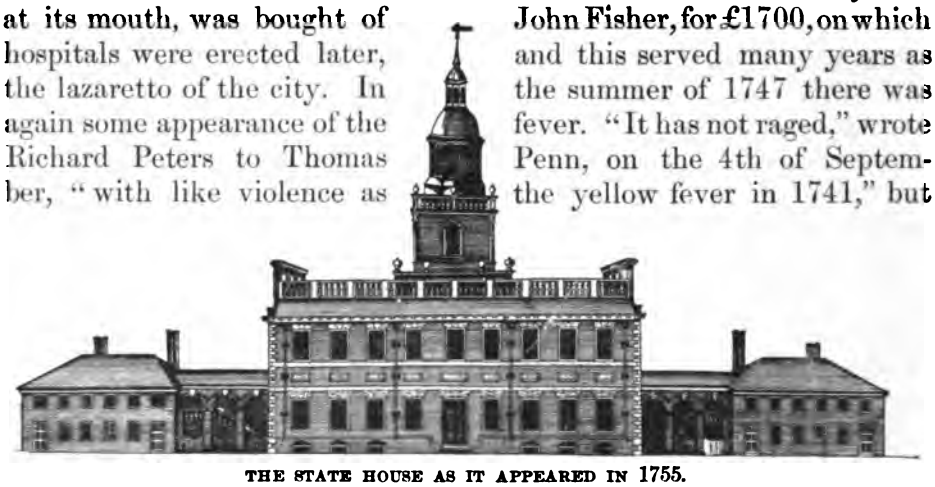
of other "strangers." The need of a better provision for arriving people was evident, and the following year the Assembly authorized the purchase of ground for a place of detention. Fisher's Island, afterward known as Province Island, on the west side of the Schuylkill, at its mouth, was bought of John Fisher, for £1700, on which hospitals were erected later, and this served many years as the lazaretto of the city. In the summer of 1747 there was again some appearance of the fever. "It has not raged," wrote Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, on the 4th of September, "with like violence as the yellow fever in 1741," but



THE STATE HOUSE AS IT APPEARED IN 1755.

he named a number of prominent persons who had been seized, and died after a short illness.[1]

The growth of the city is difficult to record. There are no authentic data as to population, and in the few estimates which we have it is uncertain whether only the incorporated city is meant, or it and the surrounding suburbs also. In 1741 the taxables of the ten wards of the city proper were 1621, and of the whole county of Philadelphia, 3422.[2] In 1744, in a petition presented by the Common Council to the King, the city was said to have at least 1500 houses, and 13,000 people. These seem under-estimates; they may refer to the "city proper" only. In 1749, "citizens of the first respectability" counted the houses in the ten wards, and suburbs, and found 2076.[3] The poor, in the winter of 1740–41, were found not adequately provided for, and a subscription was taken up for their

same to be sickly, and to have infectious diseases on board, it is ordered that the said ship remain at least one mile's distance from Philadelphia, without landing any passengers or baggage, till further order." (Col. Rec., IV., 498.)

[1] "Mrs. Kearsley, young Joseph Turner, Mr. Jesse McCall, Mr. Andrew Hamilton [son of the Speaker], and Mr. Curry, were all attacked Sunday or Monday, and they all died and were buried within the week, except Mr. Curry, who is since dead. Mr. Allen was seized with the fever on Monday morning, and is in a fair way of recovery."

[2] The following are the numbers by wards: Dock Ward, 183; Lower Delaware, 115; Walnut, 98; South, 105; Middle, 236; Chestnut, 143; Upper Delaware, 99; High street, 151; Mulberry, 309; North, 182. Total, 1621.

[3]

South suburbs, numbered by	Edward Shippen	150
Dock Ward, " "	Joseph Shippen	245
Walnut, " "	William Humphries	104
South, " "	Edward Shippen	117
Chestnut, " "	Joseph Turner	110
Middle, " "	William Coleman	238
High street, " "	Thomas Lawrence	147
North, " "	William Shippen	196
Mulberry, " "	Benjamin Franklin	488
Upper Delaware, " "	Thomas Hopkinson	109
Lower Delaware, " "	William Allen	110
North suburbs, " "	William Shippen	62
Total		2076

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relief by a committee of two in each ward; it amounted in three days to £204. In 1745, the citizens in the southern part of the city, requested better market accommodation, and the market-stalls on south Second street, beginning at Pine, were then established.[1] In 1747, the difficulty of getting any one to serve as Mayor, without compensation, caused the fixing of £100 a year as salary of the office, which was continued for a few years.

Benjamin Franklin, since he began the issue of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, in 1729, had steadily grown in importance. He had begun in 1732 the annual issue of his famous almanac, "Poor Richard," and it was about that time that his fortunes had so improved that he could no longer be regarded as a struggling printer. In 1731 he had proposed and accomplished the beginning of a collection of books —the first of the libraries in Philadelphia, other than those strictly private[2]—and in 1736 he had become the Clerk of the Assembly, in succession to Joseph Growdon, the younger. The next year he displaced Andrew Bradford as postmaster at Philadelphia, securing the *Gazette* the advantage over the *Mercury* which the latter had previously enjoyed over it, though Franklin declares that while Bradford had obstructed the *Gazette's* delivery by the post riders, he now declined to imitate that example.

The war with France and Spain was still dragging along, and the privateering operations were yet going on, though less spiritedly, since the merchant ships of the enemy in the West Indies had become fewer, and their war vessels more numerous and bold, when in May, 1747, Governor Thomas announced to the Assembly his purpose to return to England for the benefit of his health. The Assembly, in reply, expressed its sincere regret, and paid him £500 "towards his support," and also £211, "to enable him to discharge the draughts of the officers at Albany for blankets and other things," which had been provided upon his order for the provincial troops there.[3] The Governor's departure took place at the beginning of June, and Captain Anthony Palmer, the senior member of the Pro-

[1] The cost was defrayed at the time by Edward Shippen and Joseph Wharton. When, if ever, they were reimbursed, does not appear.

[2] "And now I set on foot my first project of a public nature, that for a subscription library. I drew up the proposals, got them put into form by our great scrivener, Brockden, and, by the help of my friends in the Junto, procured fifty subscribers of forty shillings each to begin with, and ten shillings a year for fifty years, the term our company was to continue. We afterwards obtained a charter, the company being increased to one hundred: this was the mother of all the North American subscription libraries, now so numerous. It is become a great thing itself, and continually increasing. These libraries have improved the general conversation of the Americans, made the common tradesmen and farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen from other countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree to the stand so generally made throughout the colonies in defence of their privileges." (Autobiography, I., 208, Bigelow Ed'n.)

[3] The Assembly, in 1745, upon the pressure of the Governor, had appropriated £4000 to the King's use, to be laid out "in the purchase of bread, beef, pork, flour, wheat, or other grain." Governor Thomas interpreted "other grain" to include gunpowder, and used some of the grant for its purchase. In 1746, the Assembly made a further appropriation of £5000, through a new issue of paper money, by which the Governor raised four companies of troops, who were sent to Albany, and there remained. It was these which had caused him the outlay, now repaid.

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vincial Council, took his place. Captain Palmer had come to Philadelphia from Barbadoes, about 1707, and had been made a member of the Governor's Council in 1708. For nearly forty years, therefore, he had been one of the most prominent citizens,[1] and he was now in advanced years and feeble health. The insolence of the French ships about the Capes, and even within the Bay, made his administration of eighteen months difficult. If the ships of the royal navy made pretense to guard the coast, they did little more than that, while, as we have explained, the privateers sailed, not for protection to the city's commerce, but for depredations upon that of the enemy. The greed for gain, great as it is in our day, is nothing new, and the sacrifice of the public interest to private profit has seldom been more strongly exemplified than in the conduct of ships upon the sea in the middle of the eighteenth century.

The feeling on the subject of armed defense was so strong in Philadelphia, in the period just following Thomas's departure, that Franklin perceived the time had come for action. He issued in the middle of November, (1747), a pamphlet describing the exposed situation of the city, and proposing a volunteer organization of those who had no scruples against war. The pamphlet was entitled "Plain Truth," and was said to be "by a Tradesman of Philadelphia." It was generally read, and a second edition was soon printed. The author reflected on the Friends for their unwillingness to arm, but he censured also the wealthy citizens, not Friends, who would not spend money for defensive purposes, because the non-combatants would be protected also. He appealed therefore to the "middling people, the farmers, shop-keepers, and tradesmen," who belonged to neither of the two classes. There were in the province, he said, exclusive of the Friends, "sixty thousand fighting men, acquainted with fire-arms: many of them hunters and marksmen, hardy and bold. All we want is order, discipline, and a few cannon."

The organization of what was known as the "Association" took place about this time, and Franklin's pamphlet promoted it. It was resolved upon at a meeting at "Walton's school-room," on Saturday, November 21, and at an adjourned meeting at Roberts's coffee-house, in Front street, the articles of association were approved. In a few days five hundred men had joined the organization, by signing the articles. The Common Council resolved, November 26, that a letter should be sent Thomas and Richard Penn,[2] asking for cannon with

[1] He bought the Fairman mansion at Shackamaxon, and lands around it, and laid out a town which he named Kensington. The Fairman house, which stood where now is the north-west corner of Beach street and Columbia avenue, was his residence. According to Watson he lived there in much style, keeping a coach and a pleasure barge, by one or the other of which he came into the city. He died there at the end of May, 1749, and is recorded in the Christ Church records, as buried June 2.

[2] John Penn had died in 1746, without issue. His share in the proprietary rights passed to Thomas.

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which to equip a battery for the city's defense, "with such a quantity of arms and ammunition as to them shall seem meet." To raise the funds for the battery a lottery was projected. The amount desired was £3000. There were 2842 prizes, and 7158 blanks. William Allen and eleven others were managers, and they, with Franklin and nine others, were to direct the expenditure of the proceeds. The Common Council bought two thousand tickets, giving the note of its treasurer for their cost. The fire companies were also pressed to buy tickets, which some of them did, in spite of the Quaker opposition, though others declined.[1] Rev. Gilbert Tennent, to help on the movement, preached three long sermons from the text in Ezra, (xv., 5) "The Lord is a Man of war." By the 7th of December the Association was so far advanced in organization that six hundred men met at the state-house, and marched to the court-house, where a division into companies was agreed on. President Palmer assured them of the government's good wishes, and that the officers they might choose would be approved. In January the company officers were elected, and eleven companies marched to the state-house, where the President and Council were in session. Regimental officers were then elected: Abraham Taylor Colonel, Thomas Lawrence Lieutenant-Colonel, Samuel McCall Major. Another regiment, with Edward James as Colonel, was raised in the county, outside the city.

Wm Shirley

Active operations on the proposed batteries were begun in the spring, and two were promptly built. The first, which stood upon Anthony Atwood's wharf, under Society Hill, between Pine and Cedar streets, probably about Lombard street, was finished in April. The breast work "was eight or ten feet thick, composed of timber and plank, filled in with earth, and rammed down." The carpenters of the city worked on it free of cost, and the whole was done in two

[1] Samuel Smith, of Burlington, N. J., one of the most prominent of the Quaker writers, author of the History of New Jersey, wrote a pamphlet in answer to Franklin's, with the title "Necessary Truth," justifying the position of the advocates of Peace. His brother John Smith, son-in law of James Logan, (he had married Hannah, whom the Virginian Secretary, William Black, so admired, as she poured tea for him at Stenton), also wrote a pamphlet in answer to Gilbert Tennent's war sermons, with the title "The Doctrines of Christianity, as held by the People called Quakers Vindicated."

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days. The other battery, regarded as the chief work for the city's defense, was called the Association Battery, "and was built upon ground on the Delaware, below the Swedes Church, on the site afterwards occupied by the United States Navy Yard." The battery under Society Hill mounted thirteen cannon; the Association battery at first twenty-seven, but afterward the number was increased.[1] Guns were, in fact, looked for in all directions. The old pieces, of which there seem to have been many, lying about the wharves, and elsewhere in the city, were inspected, and seventy pronounced fit for service. Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, was asked to lend some, but said he could spare none, as so many of the Boston guns had been burst or otherwise ruined in the siege of Louisburg. Governor Clinton, of New York, was also applied to, and he, when well warmed with wine, complied;[2] eighteen good "18-pounders, with their carriages," were brought overland from New York. The Penns sent over, though not until November, 1750, fourteen new pieces, which were placed on the Association battery.[3]

It appeared, as the spring opened and ships began to move more freely, that the operations of the enemy in and about the Delaware might be more bold than ever. The *Clinton*, a French privateer, cruised about the Capes, and took some Philadelphia vessels. A Spaniard, the brigantine *St. Michael*, commanded by a Don Vincent de Lopez, came up as far as Elsinborough, and threatened the capture, at Newcastle, of a large Jamaica-man. A vessel of the royal navy had been asked for, and H. M. sloop-of-war *Otter* arrived at Philadelphia in May, but her commander, Captain Ballet, who excited suspicion as to his courage by consuming five weeks in trifling repairs to his ship and extraordinary tardiness in going to sea, did little for the protection of commerce. About the 1st of July he ventured to the Capes with the merchant ships which had been waiting for convoy, and found other English ships of war there, and no enemy in sight.[4] A few weeks later there came word of the preliminary treaty of peace, signed at Aix-la-Chapelle in April, and that the war was

[1] Cf. article by Thompson Westcott, Pa. Mag., VIII.

[2] Franklin says: "Colonel Lawrence, William Allen, Abram Taylor, Esqr., and myself were sent to New York, by the associators, commission'd to borrow some cannon of Governor Clinton. He at first refus'd us peremptorily; but at dinner with his council, where there was great drinking of Madeira wine, as the custom of that place then was, he softened by degrees, and said he would lend us six. After a few more bumpers he advanc'd to ten; and at length he very good-naturedly conceded us eighteen." (Autobiography, I., 279.)

[3] At that time the Gazette said: "That battery now has upward of fifty cannon. One of them, a new 32-pounder, was presented by the Schuylkill Company." This Company was a social club, which met on the river to dine, etc., and was organized as "The Colony in the Schuylkill," in 1732. It still exists. The gun spoken of above, after doing service in the Revolution, lay for a long time at Fort Mifflin, dismounted, and with its trunnions broken. In 1884 it was returned by the U. S. War Department to the Schuylkill Company, on which occasion (April 23, 1884), a commemorative meeting was held at the "castle" of the Society, at Rambo's Rock, on the left bank of the Schuylkill, about a third of a mile below Gray's Ferry bridge. (Pa. Mag., VIII.)

[4] Volume V. Colonial Records contains extended minutes of the proceedings of the Council under President Palmer, and presents a wealth of details concerning these operations.

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over. "There was an immediate cessation of arms. The Philadelphia privateers were sold, and went to the merchant service, and the officers and crews returned to peaceful occupations." Obadiah Bourne, captain of *Le Trembleur*, betook himself to the keeping of a public-house, with a sign bearing his ship's name, at Market and Water streets, called in consequence "Bourne's corner," and told on winter evenings to admiring groups the tales of his adventures in the war.[1]

Captain Palmer was relieved of a duty which he did not covet, as President of the Council and Acting Governor, in November. On the 23d of that month James Hamilton's commission, "dated the 17th day of March last," with the royal approbation dated May 12, was produced at the meeting of the Council, and he forthwith entered upon his duties. He was the eldest son of Andrew Hamilton, the lawyer, and owner since his death of the handsome place, "Bush Hill," acquired by the elder gentleman of the Penns for his successful efforts in behalf of the Founder's will. Mr. Hamilton had served in the Assembly (as a member for Lancaster county), and had been Councilman, Alderman and Mayor. His selection bid fair to prove a good one, and would have been excellent, if some of the conditions had been less exacting. It may be said here that he served until 1754, and resigned then because he could not assent, under his instructions from England, to legislation which the Assembly insisted on. He was succeeded on the 3d of October, 1754, by Robert Hunter Morris, a son of Lewis Morris, Chief-Justice of New York and New Jersey, and Governor of New Jersey. Governor Hamilton thus escaped the unpleasant responsibilities of 1755, and Governor Morris, hampered by the Proprietary instructions, found his place endurable for less than two years. He was succeeded August 20, 1756, by Colonel William Denny, who served until October, 1759, when James Hamilton again took the place.

The changes since we last reviewed the city's progress had not been great. The better system as to the night watch was established in 1752, by Act of Assembly,[2] and public lamps were first lighted in that year. Hospitals were established on the lazaretto ground at Province Island, in 1750. "Stage wagons" had begun to run twice a week between Trenton and New Brunswick, on the road to New York, as early as 1738, and in 1741 another line, once a week between Bordentown and Amboy, was announced. Andrew Bradford having died in 1742, his newspaper, the *Weekly Mercury*, was discontinued

[1] Westcott, Chapter CIII.

[2] The old system is thus described by Franklin: "It was managed by the constables of the respective wards in turn; the constable warned a number of housekeepers to attend him for the night. Those who chose never to attend paid him six shillings to be excus'd, which was supposed to be for hiring substitutes, but was in reality much more than was necessary for that purpose, and made the constableship a place of profit; and the constable, for a little drink, often got such ragamuffins about him as a watch, that respectable housekeepers did not choose to mix with. Walking the rounds, too, was often neglected, and most of the night spent in tippling."

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at the end of 1746, but meantime his nephew William Bradford—grandson of the First Printer—had begun, December 2, 1742, the issue of the third English weekly newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Journal*. In 1754 he established the London Coffee-House, at the southwest corner of Front and Market streets, and removed his newspaper office there, and soon made it the commercial and news centre of the city.[1] It enjoyed that importance down to the time of the Revolution, as we shall presently see. The German printer, Christopher Saur, who had established his printing office at Germantown, began in August, 1739, the issue of a quarterly journal, in German, which later he changed to a monthly, and in 1744 to a weekly, *Der Germantauner Zeitung*. He printed also, between 1740 and 1743, an edition of the Bible in German—the first in any European language printed in the American Colonies.

CHEW HOUSE, GERMANTOWN. BUILT 1763.

The beginnings of the Pennsylvania Hospital were made in 1751. In that year the Assembly granted it a charter, and gave £2000 toward its funds; the contributors organized at a meeting at the state-house in July, and opened a temporary hospital in the house of the deceased Judge Kinsey, in February following. In 1754 the present site was secured,[2] and on May 28, 1755, the corner-stone of the east wing was laid. By December, 1755, the building was far enough advanced to receive patients.

The work of education made progress. The "New Building," erected in the Whitefield excitement, as a place of non-sectarian worship, in Fourth street below Arch, was secured in 1750 for use as a public Academy, and in January 1750–51, it was opened. The organization of the Academy movement was stimulated by Franklin, and the "Constitutions," dated November 13, 1749, have his name and twenty-three others appended, with the addition of "David Martin, *Rector*," and "Theophilus Grew, *Math. Prof.*" This was the beginning of the University of Pennsylvania. A charter was granted the Academy by Thomas and Richard Penn, in 1753, and an additional one, 1755, conferred on it the name of College.

Science had made some beginnings. Electricity was suggested

[1] Cf. John William Wallace's Colonel William Bradford, the Patriot Printer, Philad'a, 1884.

[2] Except a part of the square, which belonged to the Penns, and was given by them later.

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in lectures at the state-house by a Doctor Spencer, as early as 1744, and Franklin's experiments, leading up to his kite lightning-rod, in 1752, are a well-known feature of his busy life. In September, 1728, John Bartram bought the ground which afterward became his famous "Garden," and which now happily is one of the city's parks; his house, yet standing, was built in 1731, and ten years later his botanical work had begun to command attention on both sides the Atlantic. In 1753, by private subscription of merchants and others, the schooner *Argo*, Captain Swaine, was sent to the Arctic regions, to renew once more the search for the Northwest Passage. She went in March and returned in November, having gone on the Labrador coast to 65 degrees north. The following year she sailed again, but returned with smaller success.

The morals of the city, in the judgment of those who respected the Puritan plan of its founders, had declined. The vain amusements of the world began to get a footing. The drinking, parading, cannon-firing, illuminations, and all that, were accompanied by other practices as bad. A dancing master advertised his presence in 1738; the Dancing Assembly was formed in 1740. In 1742 a teacher of the small-sword exercise advertised, and in 1749 a teacher of music. In 1746, one announced his desire to teach both dancing and fencing, and Samuel Foulke, afterward for many years member of the Assembly from Bucks county, wrote to the newspaper his surprise at the advertiser, "in giving those detestable vices those high encomiums." Signs that worse was behind, however, appeared later, and in 1749 and 1750 there were, apparently, dramatic performances, given more or less secretly. In 1754 a company came openly, and with the patronage of Governor Hamilton and others, rented William Plumsted's large brick warehouse, on Water street, between Pine and Lombard, for a theatre. They "opened" the 25th of April, and continued to the 24th of June, establishing a memory and a precedent dear to the devotees of the drama.

An event in 1752 is notable, though not merely local in character. The Calendar was at last changed. The Julian computation went out, and the Gregorian came in. By Act of Parliament, the new year began on the first day of January, the year 1751 ending with the 31st of December. More than that, the excessive eleven days which the Julian count had now accumulated were dropped, and the next day after September 2 was called September 14. That month that year contained but nineteen days. Old Style was finally dispatched, New Style enthroned, and the vexatious double-dating between January 1 and March 25, the cause of numberless mistakes since to careless or ignorant people, and of many even to the careful and knowing, came to an end.

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The English Parliament, in 1749, added another to those blindly unwise laws which ultimately lost England her American colonies south of the St. Lawrence. This was the Act "to encourage the importation of pig and bar iron from his Majesty's colonies in America, and to prevent the erection of any mill or other engine for slitting or rolling iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt-hammer, or any furnace for making steel in any of the said colonies." The intent, of course, was to restrict American iron-workers to the ruder forms of their industry, and to prevent the growth here of such skill in advanced fabrication as might disturb the profits of English mills and shops. As passed, the Act forbade the erection of new slitting and rolling-mills, etc., but there was only a majority of twenty-two in the House of Commons against a clause requiring any already built to be torn down.[1] A return was required to be made how many of the condemned industries were in operation, and from this it appeared that Stephen Paschall had a furnace for making blister steel, established in 1747, at the northwest corner of Eighth and Walnut streets; that William Branson had a similar furnace "near where Thomas Penn first lived, at the upper end of Chestnut street," and that John Hall had a "plating forge, to work with a tilt-hammer," in Byberry township, not now (1750) in operation.

In 1752, a report by a committee of the Assembly, of which Franklin was chairman, stated that the number of vessels annually cleared from the port of Philadelphia, had increased from 85 in the year 1723, to an average of 403 between 1749 and 1752. In 1729 the exports of wheat, flour, bread, and flaxseed were over sixty-two thousand pounds; in 1749, one hundred and forty-eight thousand; in 1750, one hundred and fifty-five thousand, and in 1751, one hundred and eighty-seven thousand. The imports from England, exclusive of those from Scotland and Ireland, had increased from sixteen thousand pounds sterling, in 1723, to one hundred and ninety-two thousand pounds sterling, in 1749, one hundred and fifty-seven thousand in 1750, and one hundred and twenty-nine thousand in 1751.[2]

Thomas Pownall, the English statesman, who visited here in the time we are describing, and subsequently was governor of Massachusetts, affords us some description of Philadelphia. "The number of inhabitants, now, 1755," he says, "is about 20,000. The houses are all of brick; the fronts of them precisely as those in Cheapside,

[1] Cf. Bancroft; also, particularly, James M. Swank's Iron in All Ages.

[2] More exactly stated, this statement showed:

Exports of wheat, flour, bread, flax-seed.	£	s.	d.	*Imports, all kinds, from England.*	£	s.	d.
1729	62,473	14	3	1723	15,992	10	4
1749	148,104	4	11	1749	191,833	0	6
1750	155,174	19	6	1750	156,945	7	10
1751	184,437	11	1	1751	129,508	17	1

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London, a pent over the base story, and shops, and a little slip of a window to light a closet by the side of the chimnies. On each side the streets there is a trottoir paved with brick; the streets are not yet paved, but formed with gravel, as were the great streets of London, 200 years ago." The ferry-boats at the crossing of the Schuylkill, "about a mile and three-quarters from Philadelphia," are, he says, "the most convenient I ever saw," and he describes the arrangement of the oars, etc., as so ingenious that "a very slight boy can row over a large boat." A journal of Daniel Fisher, a Virginian, who rode up on horseback from Williamsburg, in 1755, arriving on the afternoon of May 22, and putting up "at the Indian King, in the Market street, kept by one Mr. John Biddle, a very civil, courteous Quaker," gives descriptive details which are of interest. He remained here eleven weeks, looking for an appointment or congenial employment, and found that Chief Justice Allen, to whom he had letters, regarded him as a very troublesome visitor, while Franklin kindly gave him some help and temporary employment. He found the markets well supplied, a tavern and bowling-green at the Centre—which still was "half a mile or more from the nearest building in the city"—and the Association battery already fallen into decay.[1]

The peace which had been secured at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, had served a tolerable purpose for five years, when, in 1753, the conflicting interests of England and France began once more to threaten the quietude of Pennsylvania. Still hoping to maintain themselves in America, the French began that year to build a line of fortified places from the Lakes down the Valley of the Ohio. Claiming all the great interior, from the discoveries of La Salle, they meant now to connect their power in Canada with that in Louisiana, and to shut off the further movement of the English colonies towards the Mississippi.

Upon this plan they established in Pennsylvania four military

[1] "Sunday, May 25 . . . In the morning early, I walked to the Platform, the very fartherest part of the City on the south east, or down the River Delaware. The Platform by being uncovered, appears much decayed and out of order. There are upwards of Fifty Guns lying about there, the carriages entirely ruined. The bores of some of the largest Guns are 7 or 8 inches in Diameter; but there is only Twenty-five Ports. The Channel seems there to lie on the further side of the River, so that it is imagined a ship of any Burthen cannot come within a mile of the Fort." (Penna. Mag., XVII., 268.)

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posts. Two of these were fixed in April, 1753—Fort Presqu'isle, where Erie now stands, and Fort Le Bœuf, a few miles south, on French Creek. These forts commanded the portage between Lake Erie and the heads of the Ohio, for French Creek was then a stream sufficient to float bateaux in which soldiers and even small cannon could be carried, and it empties into the Allegheny, one of the two great branches of the Ohio. At its junction with the Allegheny—now Franklin, in Venango county—a trading-house was seized, and converted into a military post, known as Fort Venango.

It was several months later, being in the Autumn of 1753, that Major George Washington, now a man of twenty-two, sent by Dinwiddie, the governor of Virginia, rode up from Alexandria into western Pennsylvania, to learn the intentions of the French. It was nearly the middle of December when he reached, through rain and slush, the fort at Le Bœuf. When he returned, a little later—crossing the Ohio on the ice, and nearly perishing—it was from his report that the English derived full knowledge of the French operations, and it was a company of men sent by Dinwiddie, in the spring following, who were at work building a fort at the forks of the Ohio, the most important strategic point of western Pennsylvania, when on the 17th of April, a swarm of French boats came down the Allegheny upon them from Fort Le Bœuf, took them prisoners, seized the place, and in a few weeks had built the famous Fort Duquesne. This post the French held for over four years, until, at the end of November, 1758, they abandoned it upon the approach of the English under General Forbes. Meantime there had occurred in the Ohio Valley some striking events—Washington's campaign on the Monongahela, in the summer of 1754, and the catastrophe of Braddock a year later. It was the attack by the former upon the party of Junonville which is said to have kindled again the war-flame of the Old World and begun the Seven Years' War. "Such was the complication of political interests," said Voltaire, "that a cannon shot fired in America could set Europe in a blaze." But Parkman, correcting him, says: "Not quite. It was not a cannon-shot, but a volley from the hunting-pieces of a few backwoods men, commanded by a Virginian youth, George Washington."

The gathering storm-clouds burst over Pennsylvania in the summer of 1755. The French pressed in from their holds on the upper Ohio, and Indian allies joined them. The Delawares, the old Lenâpé, so friendly in the early days, had become warriors equal to any. Estranged by the "Long Walk" seizure of their favorite lands, and the harsh overlordship of the Six Nations, they had been debauched by the traders' rum. Teedyuscung, their ablest statesman, was a drunkard. The traders' persistency in selling them

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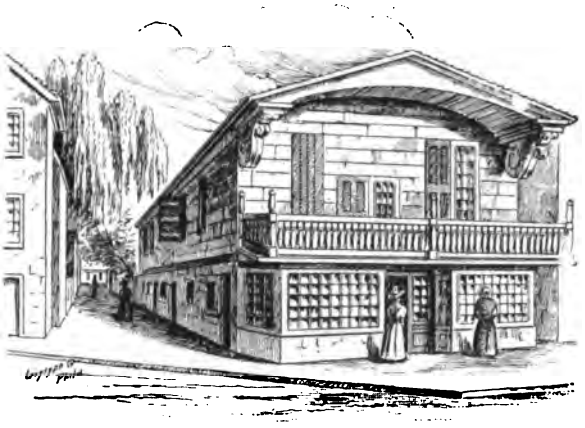
liquor, and the white men's greed in taking their lands, had brought war at last, as many observers had long predicted. When, in 1756 and 1757, the Indians met the provincial authorities at Easton, it was these grievances that the Delawares strongly presented. Though plied with drink, Teedyuscung retained his faculties clearly enough to declare again and again that his people had been defrauded of their old home. "The very land we are on," he declared, "was dishonestly taken from us."



THE LOXLEY HOUSE.[1]

The campaign of Braddock, interesting theme that it is, can only be referred to here so far as it involved Philadelphia. Franklin, the royal postmaster of the city, exerted himself to secure wagons for the army's use, among the farmers of Lancaster and the frontier counties, and succeeded in answering the demands of Braddock, who began his disastrous march from Fort Cumberland toward Fort Duquesne, on the 12th of June.[2] With him rode Thomas Gage, a lieutenant-colonel, afterward well known to American history as British commander at Boston, and following on, a few days later, weak with illness from fever, rode young Colonel George Washington. Thursday, the 19th of June, appointed by Governor Morris as a day of fasting and prayer for Braddock's success, was observed in Philadelphia by those who respected the object and character of such an appointment, and then the loyal citizens waited, with light heart, for word of the taking of Fort Duquesne, and the march of Braddock northward to aid the other movements of the royal armies on Canada. The methods of rejoicing for the expected victory were considered, and the two Doctors Bond—excellent gentlemen, kindly

[1] This singular frame structure stood on South Second street, at the juncture of Little Dock and Second streets, and was memorable in its early days as affording from its gallery a place for the open-air preaching of Whitefield. The house was built by Benjamin Loxley, probably in 1759 or 1760.

[2] That he was not dissatisfied with the support he had received from Pennsylvania for his expedition appears from the journal of Daniel Fisher:

"Thursday, June 12th—This morning about 9, Mr. Franklin sent for me to copy a pretty long letter from General Braddock, acknowledging the care of the Pennsylvanians in sending provisions, etc., to the forces, Mr. Franklin in particular, and complaining of the neglect of the Governments of Virginia and Maryland especially, in speaking of which two colonies, he says: They had promised everything and had performed nothing; and of the Pennsylvanians he said: They had promised nothing and had performed everything. That even the small supplies he had received from the first two colonies were in general so decayed or damaged as to be of no use. And in a letter before this, of which I only saw a copy, the General acknowledges he had been greatly imposed on in the character given him of the People of Pennsylvania, but that he would ere long take an opportunity of doing ample justice [to them] to the Ministry at Home." (Penna Mag., XVII, 272.)

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of heart, and full of public spirit—proposed to Franklin a collection for fire-works, which he warily declined to assist.[1] On the 9th of July, at the crossing of the Monongahela, Braddock was ambushed by Beaujeu, the French commandant, with a handful of French and a larger party of Indians, himself fatally wounded, his army practically destroyed, and the expedition utterly ruined.

The terrible news came eastward but slowly. Carlisle learned it by a messenger who reached there July 16, just a week after the catastrophe. Philadelphia received the shock "about 3 o'clock," on the afternoon of Friday, the 18th, when an express from Fort Cumberland, who had been seven days on the way, rode into town.[2] Along with the news came word also that Colonel Dunbar, with the remnant of Braddock's troops, and his own command, which had not reached the battle-ground at all, would retreat at once to Philadelphia. As September came in, the border was uncovered, the French flag waved triumphantly over Fort Duquesne and along the line of the Allegheny north to Lake Erie, and the Indians, convinced that the English power was broken, began at once to exact the revenges of their code of nature.

MOUNT PLEASANT.[3]

Dunbar's troops reached the city late in August, and encamped between Pine and Cedar streets, west of Fourth. Colonel Jacob Duché's house was taken as a hospital. The city had never seen such a number of soldiers, and their appearance and the circumstances of their coming made it plain how changed indeed the times were from the earlier days. Bonfires were kindled and illuminations made for the success of the English attack on the French under Dieskau at Crown Point, and the officers gave an entertainment and ball at the state-house. There was later a grand review of the troops, and near the close of September they marched for Albany. It was

[1] "I looked grave, and said it would, I thought, be time enough to prepare for rejoicing when we knew we should have occasion to rejoice. They seem'd surprised . . . 'Why,' says one of them, 'You surely don't suppose that the fort will not be taken?' 'I don't know that it will not be taken, but I know that the events of war are subject to great uncertainty.' I gave them the reasons of my doubting; the subscription was dropt." (Autobiography, I., 330, Bigelow Ed'n.)

[2] See Daniel Fisher's journal, at close of this chapter.

[3] This residence, which is now included in Fairmount Park, was built by John Macpherson about 1762. It was for a time, in 1779, the residence of Benedict Arnold. (See post.)

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remembered, as they went, that they carried no laurels of success in war on American soil. The shock of "Braddock's Defeat" was not soon recovered from. That event "gave us Americans," said Franklin, "the first suspicion that our exalted ideas of the powers of British regular troops had not been well founded."[1]

The attacks of the Indians upon the white settlers began in October. There had been alarms earlier, and perhaps some instances of collision, but now the blows fell in succession, along the whole frontier. They fell, we must observe, upon settlers in the territory which either had not been conveyed by the Indians at all, or which was in dispute. The territory which the Delawares claimed they had been defrauded of was that which the Proprietaries claimed to have bought from the Six Nations in treaties of 1736 and 1749—both dubious and obscure transactions—and by the "Walking Purchase." It was that region which lies beyond the first range of the mountains, those called in Lancaster county the Conewago hills. It included the cherished lands at "the Forks," and "the Minisinks," the region of the deer and bear in the Blue Mountains, the valley of the Swatara, and the fertile country west of the Susquehanna, which we call the Cumberland Valley. But even beyond the region thus disputed, the whites had pushed forward upon lands to which it was hardly pre-

[1] The opinion formed by Dunbar's soldiers concerning the people, during their march to Philadelphia, and stay of a month here, may be gathered from a journal of one of them, Duncan Cameron, a private soldier. He says:

"A soldier could not go into any private house on a road, but the family would gather about him, ask his welfare, and, in many places, with tears of compassion administer whatever their houses afforded, without fee or reward; and, in short, they have the necessaries of life plentiful enough; and the country seems to me very populous, for generally at our encampment at night, the country people, having notice of our coming, thousands of them would be ready to receive us, bringing with them all sorts of eatables that their several habitations afforded, so that our encampments, most nights, were like prodigious fairs. The same tender compassion and humanity continued when we arrived and encamped on the south side of Philadelphia. The Philadelphians' hearts and houses were open to us in the most affectionate and tender manner; and I must not forget the tender compassion of their good housewives, for they, being informed that our living had been chiefly on flesh, the women of Market street and Church alley, as I was told, formed an association for regaling us with apple pies and rice puddings, which they generously effected, and their example was followed by a great many women in the city. And though some may think little of this, yet certainly it was a great refreshment to some of us. And, indeed, during our whole stay there was scarcely a day passed but our sick and prisoners were refreshed through their humanity.

"And I must not forget mentioning that one of our soldiers, being condemned to be hanged for some misdemeanor which they apprehended did not deserve death was, through the intercession of some women of good credit and note in that city, pardoned his offences; and, indeed, a great number of the inhabitants of all ranks and degrees, joined in application for the same purpose. For the people of that province are so humane and tender-hearted that they cannot bear to see any person put to death for scarcely any offense but murder." (Cf. Westcott, Chap. CXXV.)

William Johnston, a commissariat officer in the Braddock expedition, who came to Philadelphia with Dunbar, wrote Sept. 23, 1755: "From thence [Lancaster] we came to Philadelphia, a large and populous city, situated upon a fine river called Delaware, as delightful a situation as I ever saw, and as great hospitality from the inhabitants. Here is an excellent market well supplied with all kinds of provisions twice a week; in short a man may live in this place as comfortably as in any part of the world. The city is well laid out, the streets being all straight at right angles. They have a noble brick building for the Assembly or House of Burgesses, a college for the instruction of youths, originally begun by Mr. Whitefield's followers for a place of worship for him to preach in, but afterwards converted to the above use. A noble church with a fine spire, a number of Quakers' meeting-houses; a very large Presbyterian meeting-house, the largest and first I ever saw with a steeple to it, and many other buildings for Dutch protestants, Calvinists, Lutherans, and Moravians—in short, there are as many different persuasions here as in London, but the most powerful are the Quakers. It gives me uneasiness that we are to quit this place soon, but such is the fate of those who make a campaign; they must be obedient and subject to command, and we are now under orders to march from hence next Monday for Albany, in the province of New York." (Penn. Mag., XL., 96.)

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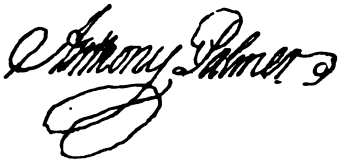
tended, even by the Proprietaries, the Indian title was extinguished, and which were subsequently negotiated for in 1758, three years after the events we are considering.

The Indians who now became hostile in Pennsylvania included most of the Delawares—in the East, at Wyoming and Shamokin (now Sunbury), under Teedyuscung; on the Ohio, under Shingas and Captain Jacobs; all or nearly all, of the Shawnees, and that section of the Senecas, who, having left the Six Nations' region in New York, and gone to the Allegheny, had fallen under the influence of the French forts. What part the Senecas took is not readily determined; it was the Delawares and Shawnees who, with reason, were most feared by the English settlers. On the 16th of October a party of hostiles began their savage reprisals at the settlement on Penn's Creek, in what is now Snyder county, a few miles south of Sunbury.[1] This was beyond even the disputed region, and was not purchased until the treaty of 1758. Twenty-five persons were said to have been killed or taken prisoners. A party from Lancaster and Harris's Ferry, who went up to the place a day or two later, reported that they buried fourteen. This party was itself waylaid on its return, and four or more killed. Ten days later there were attacks upon the settlers further south, especially at the Great Cove, in what is now Fulton county, at the western base of the Kittatinny, or Blue Mountains; upon others near by, on the west branch of the Conococheague, and upon still others in the Tuscarora Valley, near the Juniata—all these being within the unsold region. Two weeks later, about the middle of November, the hostiles crossed the Susquehanna, and fell upon the German settlers on the Swatara and Tulpehocken, killing a dozen or more, and on the night of the 24th, the Moravian settlement at Gnadenhütten, on the upper Lehigh, was surrounded, and eleven persons killed. A little later the moving line of fire had reached the lands on the Delaware, and at "the Minisinks," above Easton, in what is now Monroe and Pike counties, the settlers were killed or



[1] Cf. the statement, varying slightly from this, in Col. Records, VI., 766.

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driven away. At Christmas, a letter from Easton said the country for fifty miles north of that place, was mostly abandoned, except that at one point, Dupuy's, five families stood their ground, waiting reinforcements.

The whites, of course, quickly rallied, but in the heat of the moment the controversies and confusion of counsel which had always existed, on account of varying principles, appeared extreme. The Friends still sought to keep the Delaware Indians friendly, but the Governor "declared war" on them, in a proclamation published at the court-house, April 14, 1756, in which he offered a list of rewards in money for Indian scalps "produced as evidence of their being killed."[1] Troops were quickly organized under the law providing for the more efficient organization of the volunteer militia, which the Assembly had passed in November, and the exposed settlers gathered in to the main places along the border—Easton, Bethlehem, Reading, Womelsdorf, Harris's Ferry, Carlisle and Shippensburg. The Assembly appropriated £60,000 "for his Majesty's use," and also voted £1000 to the relief of the frontier people who had suffered from the Indians. By the opening of the year the situation had steadied, and the period of fright was substantially over. It was seen that Pennsylvania was in no present danger from the French, who were too busy in the North to spare strength for an aggressive movement from Fort Duquesne, and that it was therefore a pure question of dealing with those Indians within the Province who had taken up the hatchet.

As to these, then, energetic steps were taken. First, the whole line of the frontier was protected by forts and block-houses, extending from Hyndshaw's on the Delaware, at the mouth of the Bushkill, along the line of the Blue Mountain (Kittatinny) to Hunter's Fort, on the Susquehanna. Beyond the Blue Mountain other forts were placed—Fort Augusta at the Forks of Susquehanna, Fort Granville on the Juniata, where Lewistown now is, Fort Shirley at Aughwick, in what is now Huntingdon county, and Fort Lyttleton south of Shirley, at the west base of the Tuscarora range. At Gnadenhütten, on the Lehigh, Franklin superintended the building of Fort Allen. Altogether there were perhaps two score of defensive places, large and small. The forts and block-houses were garrisoned by the newly-raised militia, and at the end of January, 1756, Governor Morris returned to Philadelphia from his supervision of the work, declaring that the border was well protected. The organization of a

[1] "For the scalp of every male Indian enemy above the age of twelve years, produced as evidence of their being killed, the sum of 130 pieces of eight; . . . for the scalp of every Indian woman, produced as evidence of their being killed, 50 pieces of eight." These rewards were offered to white men "not in the pay in the Province," and to friendly Indians; officers and soldiers under pay were to have half as much. (Col. Rec., VII., 89.)

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military force under the new law went on rapidly, and in Philadelphia companies were formed in every ward. The old "Association" condemned the law, and it and others made what were called the "Independent" companies.[1] Of the troops which took the field some were efficient and others quite the contrary. Many of the officers were of low grade, discipline was slack, the term of service short, and desertions frequent. Enough arms could not be got, and many of those obtained were poor. Still the Provincials served the purpose, fighting the Indians in the Indian way. Warfare was lowered to the savage plane. The Indians did not scalp the whites with more readiness than in conspicuous instances the whites scalped the Indians.

PASTORIUS HOUSE, GERMANTOWN.

As the spring opened it was seen that the Indians alone did not make a dangerous enemy, and two different lines of policy were adopted to end the troubles. The Indians of the Susquehanna region were placated. The influence of Sir William Johnson and of the Six Nations was employed to this end, and the Friends, who now organized their "Friendly Association," upon the pledge that its members would contribute in the interest of peace, "more than the heaviest taxes of a war can be expected to require," used their good offices in all directions—first, with the friendly Indians, then with the Governor, and lastly with Teedyuscung and his followers. It resulted that in July (1756) Teedyuscung came to Easton, and after a conference with the Governor, Commissioners of the Assembly, and a number of the Friends, agreed not only to terminate hostilities on his part, but to persuade the other Indians also to renew the old bond of peace. "I wish," he said in his speech, "the same good spirit that possessed the good old William Penn may inspire the people of this Province, at this time."[2] To the hostiles of the Ohio region a different treatment was applied. The Delaware chiefs of that region were Shingas—a resolute and capable

[1] The city regiment, in February, 1756, elected Benjamin Franklin Colonel, William Masters Lieutenant Colonel, John Ross Major, and Richard Swan Adjutant. It paraded, a month later, on Society Hill, one thousand strong, and marched through the city. The county regiment chose Jacob Duché Colonel, James Coultas Lieutenant-Colonel, and Daniel Biles Major. This regiment exercised at Germantown, and had about six hundred men.

[2] For a somewhat detailed, but still imperfect account of the labors of the Friends, at this time, in behalf of peace with the Indians, see "Some Chapters in the History of the Friendly Association," by Samuel Parrish, Philad'a, 1877.

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leader, who, Heckewelder says, was never known to treat a prisoner with cruelty—and Captain Jacobs, another veteran warrior. In December previous a reward of £700 had been offered in Franklin's *Gazette* to whoever would bring into Philadelphia the heads of these chiefs, or 350 "pieces of eight" for the head of either. At the end

CLARKE'S INN, OPPOSITE STATE HOUSE, ON WALNUT ST., IN 1745.

of August (1756), Colonel Armstrong, with a party of three hundred of the provincial troops, fell upon the Indians' town at Kittanning, on the Allegheny above Fort Duquesne, surprised them, burned their cabins, and killed thirty or forty. Jacobs was shot, in the defence of his cabin, and burned. Shingas, if he was present, escaped, and later Governor Denny offered £200 for his scalp. But until Pitt assumed the control of the war operations in America, and directed the campaign of 1758, nothing of value could be accomplished, because of the incompetence of the English commanders.

Pitt's generals, in the campaigns of 1758–60, ended the war in America. Forbes took Fort Duquesne in November, 1758; Wolfe took Quebec in September, 1759; Amherst took Montreal in September, 1760. This ended the struggle. France had lost the Western empire which since the day of Jacques Cartier, a century and a quarter before, she had dreamed of creating, and which but for royal folly, priestly bigotry, and the vices of her courts, she might have had.

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With the line of forts, the provincial soldiers, and the pacification on the Susquehanna, the borders of Pennsylvania, between 1756 and 1758, suffered only from such war excursions as the western Indians could make. These practically ceased in the summer of 1758, when Post, an intrepid missionary of the Moravians,[1] at the peril of his life, crossed the mountains to the Allegheny, and persuaded the tribes there to follow the peaceful example of those in the east. Three months later General Forbes reached Fort Duquesne and found it empty. French dominion in Pennsylvania, and its incitement of the Indians against the English, was at an end. The desperate revolt of Pontiac, five years later, was an episode. His effort to turn back the line of the white advance lighted up the border with savage fire again, but only for a time, and when it closed, in Pennsylvania, with Bouquet's march to the relief of Fort Pitt, in September, 1764, the epoch of the Colonial wars was closed.

In the midst of the war excitement the time came for taking the Assembly out of the hands of the Quakers. It was not an easy matter. With their own strength in the three older counties, and that of the Germans still firmly adhering to them in these and the newer ones, a majority of voters could not be procured against their candidates. Even under the alarm and excitement of Braddock's defeat, the election in October 1755 resulted as usual. But earnest efforts were on foot to loosen their hold on Pennsylvania. They were to be deposed in the Assembly, as they had been in the Governorship, and in the City Corporation. Late in 1755 a petition against them, strongly signed in Philadelphia, was sent to the King. It declared that there could be no effectual way of preventing the people from electing the Quakers to the Assembly but to disqualify the latter from sitting in that body. The Provost of the College, Dr. William Smith, then in London, wrote letters to the newspapers there, some of which were reprinted here in pamphlets, to the like effect. He proposed to disqualify the Quakers for seats in the Assembly, to disfranchise the Germans till they acquired a "sufficient knowledge" of English, and to suppress the periodicals issued in the German language. The royal government had yielded to the pressure so far as to propose an act of Parliament making a test oath —such as the Friends could not take—necessary for membership in the Assembly, when the Friends in London brought about a compromise. They undertook to see that enough of their members who had seats in the Assembly should resign or decline re-election to give the majority and responsibility to those not scrupulous on the war question. The "Meeting for Sufferings," a standing and executive

[1] Christian Frederick Post, b. at Conitz, in Polish Prussia. His narrative of this journey is in full in Proud, II.

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committee of London Yearly Meeting, sent over a strong letter, urging the Friends here to yield their difficult and practically untenable position, and sent also two prominent Friends, John Hunt of London, and Christopher Wilson of Cumberland, to use personal persuasion if necessary. In the summer of 1756, six of the Quaker members of the Assembly resigned, three of them being from Philadelphia—James Pemberton, Joshua Morris, and William Callender—two from Chester, and one from Berks. At the election in October that year, others of the Quaker members declined to be candidates, and when the Assembly met a fortnight later, four more withdrew, stating their understanding that "the Ministry have requested it." The Assembly thus passed out of the hands of the Friends.[1]

Wm. Bartram

Governor Morris and his methods had grown very intolerable to the Assembly, and to the mass of the people back of that body, when he was superseded by Captain William Denny, on the 20th of August, 1756. The latter was received with such manifestations of satisfaction as never before had been shown. He proved, very soon, to be more offensive than Morris. His engagements to the Penns were as rigid, and his manner toward the people and the Assembly was still less characterized by tact and good sense. The feeling against the Proprietary rule was general. Most people now preferred, however unwisely, to be under the Crown directly. The Friends no longer had any special attachment to the Penns; the time when the two were names closely sympathetic was long gone by. Franklin, since he had become a member of the Assembly in 1751, had been an opponent of the Proprietary rule, and the Quaker element, if they did not join him in war measures, were well satisfied with him on other questions. He had drawn some, and probably many of the addresses, answers, and rejoinders, etc., etc., which they had sent to the governors concerning appropriations, taxation, and other vexed questions, and when the author of the "Historical Review" extolled these he may have been praising his own work. But, however this may be, we can agree with him that many passages in them command our respect, and not less than any other, the declaration, in the midst of the alarms of 1755, that "Those who would give up essential liberty

[1] Cf. Votes of the Assembly, Bowden's History of the Society of Friends in America, Janney's History of Friends.

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to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither Liberty nor Safety."

By February, 1757, the Assembly had made up its mind to appeal to the Crown against the Proprietaries. Isaac Norris, the Speaker, and Benjamin Franklin, were appointed to go to London with the representation, but Norris asked to be excused, and Franklin sailed alone, from New York, about the end of June, having been in Philadelphia, for at least twenty-five years, its most remarkable citizen. He would have got away sooner had it not been that in March, a short time after his appointment, there arrived here a distinguished personage, no less than the Earl of Loudoun, the newly-appointed Governor of New York, and superior commander of the royal forces in America. His appearance here gave deep delight to those who love a lord, and around him "clustered the loyal worshippers of rank and authority," yet he was a dull and incompetent person, and was swept aside soon, when Pitt took the helm of government in England.[1]

There remain to be mentioned in this chapter certain episodes which connected Philadelphia with the war. One of the most striking of these, and the most pathetic, is that of the "French Neutrals," the arrival and stay here of a part of those deeply-wronged Acadians whom a British stroke of state policy drove from their peaceful homes in Nova Scotia, "most inhumanly," as Edmund Burke declared, and as impartial history will never cease to testify. In the midst of the alarm over the Indian attacks, and the preparations to repel them, in November, 1755, three ships from Nova Scotia came up the Delaware, bringing nearly five hundred of the kidnapped and deported Acadians, men, women and children.[2] A letter from Governor Lawrence of Nova Scotia, cloaking the infamy of the transaction by which he had desolated Acadia, and expelled its seven thousand people, was laid before the Council by Governor Denny, November 19, and the problem what to do with the poor people, who were captives and yet not prisoners of war, alleged subjects of George of England, and yet called "French Neutrals," was discussed. It was ordered that they be kept on the ships, and guarded, until it should be resolved how to dispose of them, and that meantime "fresh Provisions and Necessaries be immediately sent on board"; Judah Foulke was appointed to oversee the work of relief.

[1] Franklin reports his conversation in New York, with Innis, who was to take a message to Governor Denny at Philadelphia. Innis said he had been waiting two weeks for Lord Loudoun's letter to be ready. "Is it possible," cried Franklin, "when he is so great a writer? for I see him constantly at his escritoire." "Yes," says Innis, "but he is like St. George on the signs, *always on horseback, and never rides on.*" (Autobiography, I., 355. Bigelow Ed'n.)

[2] "Imported to Philadelphia from Nova Scotia, in the sloop *Hannah*, Richard Adams master, 137 French persons; sloop *Three Friends*, James Carlisle master, 156 do.: sloop *Swan*, Jonathan Lovell master, 161 do.; Total, 456." (Col. Records, VI., 751.) A fourth ship is mentioned in another place, as still to arrive, but there is no further account of her.

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EAST PROSPECT OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA FROM THE NEW JERSEY SHORE. AFTER VIEW MADE BY GEORGE HEAP IN 1754 UNDER DIRECTION OF NICHOLAS SCULL, SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

1. Christ Church.
2. State House.
3. Academy.
4. Presbyterian Church.
5. Dutch Calvinist Church.
6. The Court House.
7. Quaker Meeting House.
8. High Stone Wnarf.
9. Mulberry Street.
10. Sassafras Street.
11. Vine Street.
12. Chestnut Street.
13. Draw Bridge.
14. Corn Mill.

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This was the beginning of a chapter which lasted ten years or more. The Acadians were landed from the ships and placed on Province Island for the winter. Provision was made for them by appropriation from the Assembly. They wished to be regarded as prisoners of war, and to be sent to their homes, or to France. They resisted the effort to distribute them, so as to obtain work, and to "put out" their children among the people. They were staunch Catholics, and this added much to the difficulty of the case, for the feeling was intense against the "Papist" nations with which England had been so continually at war. The exiles appear to have remained on Province Island a year at least, suffering at times, and losing many of their number by disease. They pathetically petitioned, in September, 1756, for "leave to depart from hence" or to be sent "to our nation or anywhere to join our country-people." They admitted that they had refused "to accept of several things which have been offered us, such as a Garden, a Cow, etc.," because they regarded themselves as prisoners, and hoped still to be set at liberty or sent to a French land. But the policy now ruling at Philadelphia, in the executive branch of the government, was the policy of England, and it was decided by Governor Denny and his Council that the kidnapped people "were subjects of Great Britain, and to be treated on that footing and no other," and to explain this decision to the Assembly the year-old lying letter of Governor Lawrence was sent for its perusal,[2] while it was decided also to ask Delaware and New Jersey if they would not take some of the unfortunates.

THE WILLING HOUSE.[1]

The petition was signed by Pierre Doucet, and nineteen others, including Charles le Blanc, Philip Melançon, and Paul Bujauld, and we mention these names particularly, because it was one of the acts of his excellency Lord Loudoun, after his visit in March, 1757, to

[1] This dwelling, at the southwest corner of Third street and Willing's Alley, was originally built in 1745 for Charles Willing, after the pattern of the former homestead in Bristol, England. It was afterwards occupied as the family residence of his son, Charles Willing. It was taken down in 1858.

[2] See Colonial Records, VII., 239, for this petition. "We have been allowed," it said, "by the Commissioners, a pound of bread and half a pound of meat a person, each day," but they were now told the money was exhausted, and nothing more could be done for them, so that "we must inevitably perish if you do not help us. Many of us had yet a little money, but it is now expended."

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cause the arrest of these three men, with Jean Baptiste Galerme and Jean Landy, as "suspicious and evil-minded persons," who had "at divers times uttered menacing speeches against his Majesty, and his liege subjects," and it resulted that the poor men, who were doubtless the strongest spirits among the exiles, their writers and speakers, were not only imprisoned, but then embarked at New York for England, with the recommendation of Lord Loudoun "to employ them as sailors on board ships of war."[1] This cruel act fitly crowned the proceedings of Lawrence. Such are the accompaniments of war. The Exiles continue to be mentioned in the Provincial records, but only at intervals and vaguely. Some of them doubtless were "dispersed," as an Act of the Assembly required, amongst the residents of the city, and outside; some lived for an indefinite time in a row of rude frame dwellings on the north side of Pine street between Fifth and Sixth, known afterward as the "Neutral Huts."[2] They still opposed as best they could the operation of the law requiring their children to be "bound out." They found, they said, "that those few who are in Protestant families soon became estranged and alienated from their parents." To the Assembly they returned their thanks; "from this Province," says their petition in 1757, "we have experienced nothing but good, for which ourselves, our wives, and our children shall not cease to supplicate the Almighty that he will heap upon you all blessings." Untiring amongst their friends and helpers was the Quaker teacher, Anthony Benezet, their countryman, though not of the Roman faith. Public aid, as well as private charity, was long continued; the Assembly gave for them, down to the Revolution, not less than twenty thousand dollars of our present money. In 1761, when the burden was complained of, a committee of the Assembly still proposed the continuance of the charity "for a few months longer," adding that "there are amongst them numbers of industrious labouring men, who have been, during the late scarcity of labourers, of great service in the neighborhood of this city." In 1766, eleven years after they had come, we have the record of John Hill, joiner, of Philadelphia, who presented the Assembly a petition to be paid his bill for making sixteen coffins "for the French Neutrals." Finally, in September, 1775, the Assembly, then near its overthrow by the Revolution, states in its annual account one hun-

[1] Letter of Loudoun to Pitt, April 25, 1757. Cf. Memoirs Hist. So. Penna., VI., 305. In the warrant for their arrest, issued by Gov. Denny, to the Sheriff, Coultas (March 21, 1757), le Blanc and Galerme are described as being "now in Philadelphia City," Melançon "in Frankford, in the county of Philadelphia;" Bujauld in Chester, and Landy in Derby (Darby).—Col. Records, VII., 446.

[2] "The part which came to Philadelphia," says Watson (I., 559), "were provided with quarters in a long range of one-story wooden houses, built on the north side of Pine street, and extending from Fifth to Sixth. Mr. Samuel Powel, the owner, who originally bought the whole square for £50, permitted the houses to be tenanted rent free, after the Neutrals left them .... [They] remained there several years, showing very little disposition to amalgamate .... They made a French town."

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dred pounds "to the Overseers of the Poor of Philadelphia, for the Neutrals." And so the authentic evidence ends, and the story of the exiles fades away into the mist.[1]

Besides Lord Loudoun's arrest of the five Acadians, the royal officials impressed themselves upon Philadelphia otherwise. In the spring of 1757, as the merchant ships of Philadelphia were about to go out, an embargo was laid upon all provisions, and the ships were held at the wharves. It was demanded that the food should be kept

GERMANTOWN ACADEMY.[2]

for "the King's fleet," and the vessels for his use. Lord Loudoun wrote from New York that the great enterprises he was revolving required both provisions and ships. The restriction continued through the spring, and ran on into the early summer. The Assembly remonstrated, and the merchants petitioned. June 16, it was represented that "near forty vessels" had been waiting to sail at the time the embargo was laid, and that a large part of their cargoes was now ruined. Finally, near the end of June, a week after Lord Loudoun and his fleet had put to sea from New York, the vessels were allowed to go.

[1] Cf. William B. Reed's paper in Memoirs Hist. Society Penna., VI. He eloquently says: "These poor Catholic fugitives died in their faith. They hugged it to their wasted bosoms more closely, because they were persecuted and exiles. They died heart-broken, and the stain of their agony rests on the English name. It is made immortal, as I have said, in poetry of the English language; for 'Evangeline' will live long after the feeble persecuting statesmen of George the Second's reign are forgotten." — The passages in "Evangeline," describing the heroine's search for Gabriel, and her discovery of him at last, dying in the alms-house, within the music of the chimes from Christ Church, and the

"Sounds of psalms that were sung by the Swedes
in their church at Wicaco,"

are almost as much a part of the historic account as if literally true.

[2] On School street, west of Greene. The Academy was organized in 1760, and the building completed the following year. A bell for it came in the tea-ship *Polly*, in 1773, and went back with the tea.

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Six months earlier, at the beginning of winter, Lord Loudoun had called on Governor Denny to furnish quarters in Philadelphia for part of the royal American regiment, about 650 officers and men. It was proposed to billet them on the public-houses, of which there were then, in the city and suburbs, 117 with licenses. The keepers protested that they would be ruined, as the compensation allowed by law for the soldiers' board was too little. Some of them gave up their licenses. The troops were commanded here by Lieut.-Col. Henry Bouquet, an officer of Swiss birth, who subsequently accompanied General Forbes's expedition against Fort Duquesne, in 1758, and Bouquet, not understanding the ways of a democratic people, came near making himself very offensive by his measures. Quarters were found, after some effort, and later Commissioners of the Province bought a large lot in the Northern Liberties, between Second and Third, and Tammany and Green streets, on which barracks were built, where troops could be quartered, and which, used for this purpose for a long time, became familiar as the "British Barracks."[1] In these barracks, on the morning of November 11, 1763, some companies of royal troops were quartered, when there drove up to the entrance a number of country wagons, which had come from Bethlehem. They contained women and children, "Christian Indians," converts among the Delawares, Shawnees, and other tribes, by the labors of the Moravian missionaries. They had fled from the Lehigh, and come to Philadelphia for protection from the whites of the border; who, refusing to discriminate between the Indians confessedly hostile and those assuredly friendly, had threatened the murder of the converts. Governor Penn and the Council had consequently directed their removal here. They were accompanied from Bethlehem by the sheriff of Northampton county (Jennings), and by Zeisberger, Grube, and Roth, members of the devoted band of missionaries. The women,

Richard Peters.

[1] The parade ground was on Second street; the three other sides of the lot were occupied with two-story brick houses, having inside porticoes the full length; the quarters of the officers were on Third street, in a three-story building. They remained until after the Revolution, and the name "Campingtown," given the place as early as 1758, appears to have clung to it. In celebrating the birthday of George III., in 1772, the cannon were placed here. (Watson, I. 415.)

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children, aged, and sick were loaded in nine wagons, while the men marched behind. As they passed down the roads, from the Lehigh, and their character became known, curses came "from nearly every hamlet," travelers greeted them with imprecations, and in Germantown only a heavy rain saved them from a gathering mob. So great was the excitement once more against the Indians, under the stress of "Pontiac's War," and the renewed attacks of the hostiles on the border settlements.

The wagons, as we have said, drove into the Barracks' gate, in the morning. The soldiers quartered there did not perceive for a moment the character of the party, but suddenly seeing they were Indians, seized their arms, and stopped the wagons which had not yet entered. A crowd soon gathered; presently it was a mob. Joseph Fox, the Commissary of the Barracks, hastened to consult the Governor, and late in the afternoon returned with orders to take the Indians to the buildings on Province Island —the refuge first of the Palatines, then of the Acadians, now of the Christian Indians. Surrounded by a menacing crowd, the party drove down Second street, the missionaries still guarding their flock, "as if from wolves," and at length reached boats on the river which took them to the Island.

BELMONT, RESIDENCE OF RICHARD PETERS. FROM AN OLD PRINT.[1]

Now ensued, in the next three months, a curious chapter. The borderers threatened the Indians' lives. On the 14th of December occurred the first of two murders of the Conestoga Indians, near Lancaster. There were but twenty of these people, a poor remnant of the old tribe, but the feeling against them was such that Matthew Smith with fifty men fell on them, burned their huts and killed six. The others, who happened to be absent, were taken by the sheriff of Lancaster county, and lodged in jail for safety. Two weeks later—the 27th—the same party rode into town, burst open the jail, and murdered the fourteen, women and children, as well as men. The

[1] This residence was built in 1743 by William Peters, father of Richard Peters.

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excitement over these affairs was intense. If many condemned them, others justified them. It was soon rumored that the "Paxtang Boys" meant now to come to Philadelphia to kill the Indians who were on Province Island. Their friends were alarmed. Israel Pemberton proposed to take them to Nantucket Island; the Assembly considered and rejected a scheme to send them to England. January 4, the Assembly voted a thousand pounds to be expended in their protection. The Governor and Council unwisely decided to send them to Sir William Johnson, in New York, for shelter in the country of the Six Nations. In the early morning of the 5th of January, before it was light, they were brought privately into town and given a breakfast at the Moravian church on Race street, loaded in wagons, and started on the road to New York. Joseph Fox had provided them with blankets, and he with William Logan and Thomas Apty proceeded with them, Zeisberger and the other missionaries still watching over their flock. Captain Robinson and seventy of the royal Highland regiment escorted them. They were at Bristol on the night of the 5th, at Trenton barracks the following night, on the 9th they reached Amboy; and, omitting further details, on the 24th they were back in Philadelphia, Governor Colden of New York having peremptorily refused permission for them to enter that Province. Other troops, a hundred of the Royal Americans, guarded them back, and the simple piety and serene faith of the poor creatures had so reached the soldiers that now, as their wagons came down the street, in the midst of a heavy snow-storm, they were admitted to the Barracks without a word.

The return of the Indians re-awakened the borderers. The trepidation in town and the flight to Amboy convinced them that it would be easy to repeat in Philadelphia the exploits at Lancaster. Matthew Smith of Paxtang organized now a larger body; it was variously estimated at from five to fifteen hundred; and the alarm in the city over its purposes was great. On the 3d of February Governor Penn notified the Assembly that he had word the insurgents were coming by different roads to the city, and asked the passage of a Riot Act,[1] which the Assembly passed the same day. Next day the new law was proclaimed at the state-house, in the presence of three thousand people. The Governor and other officials were present, and Benjamin Chew addressed the people. Whether, he said, it had been right or wrong to receive the Indians, the Governor's word had been given for their protection, and faith must be kept. He read a letter from Sir William Johnson, saying that if the massacre of these Indians were now permitted peace with the Western tribes, whom it

[1] Extending an Act of Parliament passed in the reign of George II. to Pennsylvania.

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was desired to detach from Pontiac, would be impossible. Six companies of foot, two of horse, one of cavalry, about six hundred men altogether, were formed, and parties sent to guard the Schuylkill fords and ferries. The Indians were placed in the second story of the barracks, eight cannon were planted to command the approaches, and a stockade was made across the centre of the yard. At midnight Governor Penn visited the Indians, and assured them of his protection; Israel Pemberton stayed with them through the night.

SYMBOL USED BY FRANKLIN IN THE PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE IN 1754.

The following day was the Sabbath. Fresh word came of the advance of the insurgents. The Council, sitting all night, at one o'clock on Monday morning ordered a general alarm. A gun was fired at the Barracks, the drums beat to arms, lighted candles were placed in the windows of the houses, the bells were rung, and the volunteers hastened to the state-house to receive their arms. Franklin and James Hamilton directed these operations; Governor Penn had been taken ill. Meantime two hundred of the insurgents, under Smith, had crossed the Schuylkill at Swedes' Ford, above the points which were guarded, and had reached Germantown. Here they learned of the preparations to receive them, and halted, impressed that the undertaking was not so easy, and Monday passed without further movement.

On Tuesday, the Governor, though many objected, sent Franklin and others as commissioners to learn the object of the hostile demonstration, and turn the mob back.[1] It resulted that they were prevailed on to disperse, Franklin agreeing that some of them, unarmed, might enter the city, and point out, if they could, the Indians who they said had committed murders. A party rode in the next day, and the Indians were mustered at the barracks, but the man who had declared he could identify some of them as murderers now confessed his inability to do so. The city was still excited, but the danger was over. In a day or two the shops were reopened, business was resumed, and quiet restored.[2]

[1] The Mayor, Thomas Willing, Benjamin Chew, and Joseph Galloway, accompanied Franklin. Several ministers also excited themselves, including Parson Brycelius, of the Lutheran Church, who had gone to Germantown to warn his people not to take part with the mob, and "a Presbyterian Professor of the Academy."

[2] Bishop De Schweinitz, in his Life of Zeisberger, gives so good a summary of the facts of this affair, that I have followed him closely, in some places almost word for word. Cf. also the Diary of Samuel Foulke, (member of the Assembly from Bucks), in Penna. Mag., V. The *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 9, gave this account of the affair:

"On Saturday last the City was alarmed with the News of great Numbers of armed Men, from the Frontiers, being on the several Roads, and moving toward Philadelphia. As their Designs were unknown and there were various Reports concerning them, it was thought prudent to put the City in some Posture

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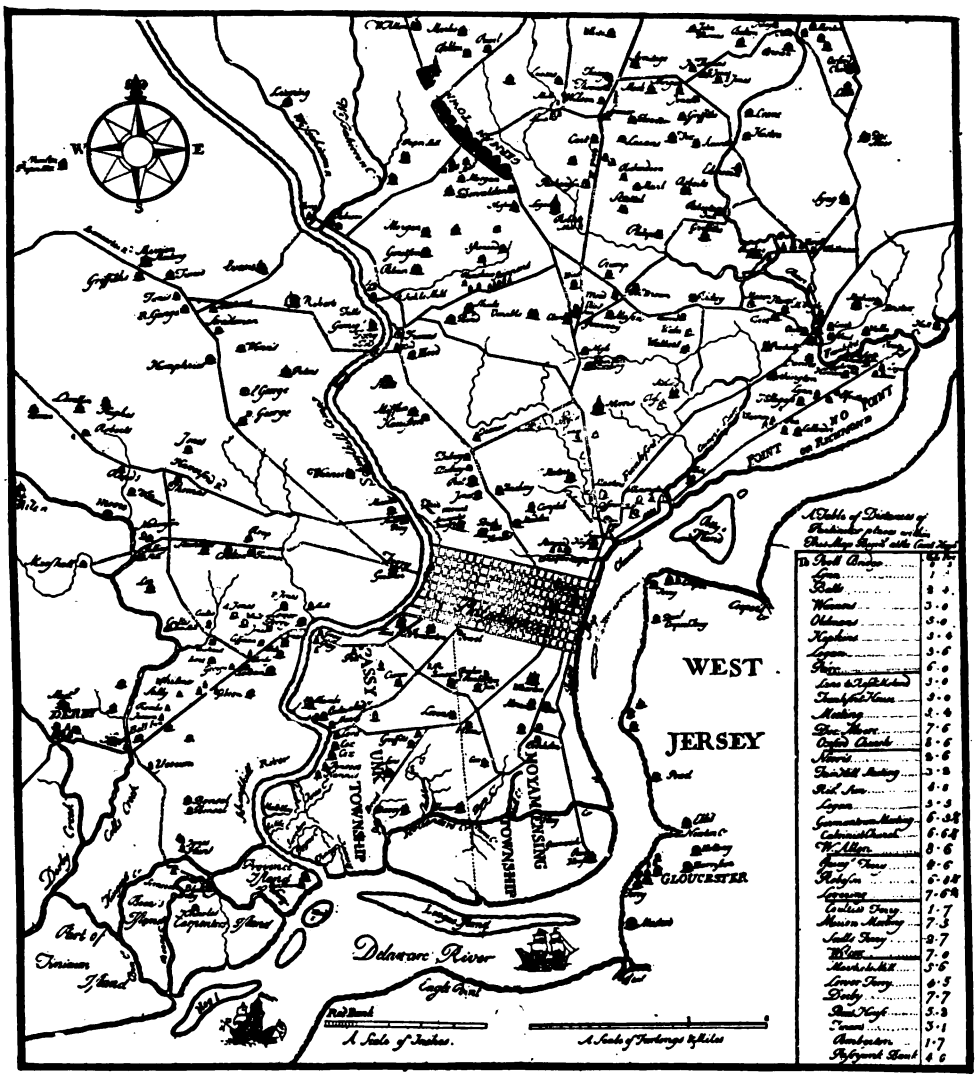

MAP OF PHILADELPHIA AND ADJACENT TERRITORY IN 1750, BY N. SCULL AND G. HEAP.

The Indians, it must be added, were retained at Philadelphia, through the spring and summer. They were objects of great

of Defence against any outrages that might possibly be intended. The Inhabitants being called upon by the Governor great Numbers of them entered into an Association and took Arms for the Support of Government, and Maintenance of good Order. Six companies of Foot, one of Artillery, and two Troops of Horse were formed, and paraded; to which, it is said, some Thousands, who did not appear, were prepared to join themselves, in case any Attempt should be made against the Town. The Barracks also, where the Indians are lodged, under Protection of regular Troops, were put into a good Posture of Defence; several Works being thrown up about them, and eight Pieces of Cannon planted there.

"The Insurgents, it seems, intended to rendezvous at Germantown: but the Precautions taken at the several Ferries over Schuylkill impeded their Junction; and those who assembled there, being made acquainted with the Force raised to oppose them, listened to the reasonable Discourses and Advice of some prominent Persons, who voluntarily went out to meet and admonish them; and of some Gentlemen sent by the Governor, to know the reasons of their Insurrection; and promised to return peacefully to their Habitations, leaving only two of their Number to present a Petition to the Governor and Assembly; on which the Companies raised in Town were thanked by the Governor on Thursday Evening, and dismissed, and the City restored to its former Quiet."

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curiosity, and the barracks were often crowded with visitors. Dysentery and small-pox broke out among them in the fall and following winter, and fifty-six, out of about one hundred and twenty, were carried to the potter's field. March 20, 1765, the survivors returned to the Lehigh, peace being once more restored. As for the white men, they deluged each other with pamphlets, caricatures, and "broadsides," some abusive, some satirical, some profane. The Moravians, for striving to convert the Indians to Christianity, and the Quakers for endeavoring to save their lives and their lands, were execrated at Paxtang and elsewhere, with a vehemence whose echoes long survived, and may almost be reawakened by this recital.

MAYORS OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1741–65.

1741.—CLEMENT PLUMSTED.

1742.—WILLIAM TILL.

He was probably born in England, but settled, about 1720, as a planter in Sussex county, Del. After holding offices there, as Justice of the Peace, Member of the Assembly, etc., he came to Philadelphia and engaged in trade, chiefly as a shipper of the Peninsular tobacco crop. In 1739 he was elected to the Common Council, in 1741 was chosen Alderman, and in October, 1742, Mayor. He was also a member of the Provincial Council, a Judge of the Supreme Court, etc. He died 1766.

1743.—BENJAMIN SHOEMAKER.

His father was Isaac Shoemaker, who came in the *Jeffries*, March 20, 1686, with his mother, the widow Sarah Schumacher. (See ante, p. 68, note.) Benjamin was born at Germantown, August 3, 1704. He was a merchant and a Friend. His place of business in 1729 was "in High street, opposite the Presbyterian meeting-house," where he advertised "good Linseed Oyle by the barrel or smaller quantity." He became a freeman and a Common Councilman on the same day, October 14, 1732, ten years later an Alderman, and in October, 1743, Mayor. He was elected Mayor again in 1752 and 1760, and was Treasurer of the city from 1751 until his death in June, 1767. He also served in the Provincial Council, being qualified as a member under Governor Thomas, in February, 1745–46.

1744.—EDWARD SHIPPEN.

He was the grandson of Edward Shippen, the first Mayor under the charter of 1701, being the son of Joseph, and was born at Boston, July 9, 1703. He was a merchant, and was brought up by James Logan, being in business with him, as Logan and Shippen, 1732; afterwards with Thomas Lawrence, 1749, as Shippen and Lawrence, in the fur trade. Besides being Mayor, he was a Judge of the County Court. In 1752 he removed to Lancaster, where he continued to reside till his death, in September, 1781, occupying important public places. (Cf. Keith's Provincial Councillors of Penna.)

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1745.—JAMES HAMILTON.

He was the son of Andrew Hamilton, Speaker of the Assembly, and was born about 1701, probably in Maryland. He served from 1734 for several years as member of the Assembly from Lancaster county, where his father was a large landholder, and was chosen a Common Councilman, 1739, an Alderman, 1741, and Mayor, 1745. At the conclusion of his term, instead of giving the usual official dinner, he subscribed £150 to a fund for the erection of an Exchange, for uses like the Royal Exchange of London. He was Lieutenant-Governor from 1748 to 1754, and again from 1759 to 1763. During the Revolution he was regarded as a Loyalist, though he took no active part on either side. He died at New York in 1783. (Cf. Keith's Prov. Councillors of Penna.)

1746–47.—WILLIAM ATTWOOD.

He was elected a Common Councilman, October 7, 1729, an Alderman October 14, 1743, and Mayor October 7, 1746. He was interested, with Anthony Preston, Samuel Preston, and others, in the iron-works at Colebrookdale and Pool Forge, owning one-twelfth of the former and one-sixteenth of the latter, in 1731. Near the close of Mayor Attwood's term (September 18, 1747), he suggested the difficulty of getting persons to serve as Mayor, and the Common Council fixed the salary of £100 a year for the place. When the election day arrived, October 6, 1747, Alderman Anthony Morris was chosen, but absented himself and could not be found. Charles Willing and Samuel Rhoads were sent for him, but were told at his house, "that he was gone out of town." October 9, Charles Stow, "being call'd in and sworn," said he had been at Alderman Morris's house, and had read to his wife "the notice," but she refused to receive it, "and said her husband was from home." The Common Council thereupon proceeded to a new election for Mayor, and again chose William Attwood, "for the year ensuing, by a majority of votes."

1748.—CHARLES WILLING.

He was the son of Thomas Willing, a merchant of Bristol, England, and was born in that city 1710. He was taken to Philadelphia, when eighteen years old, by his father, and entered business as a merchant. His wife was Anne Shippen, daughter of Joseph, and grand-daughter of the first Mayor under the 1701 charter—sister also of Edward Shippen, Mayor in 1744. Charles Willing was an active and public-spirited citizen. He was chosen Mayor again, in 1754, and "died of ship-fever, contracted whilst in the discharge of his official duties," November 30 that year.

1749.—THOMAS LAWRENCE.

1750.—WILLIAM PLUMSTED.

He was the son of Clement Plumsted, Mayor in 1723, and afterward, and was born in Philadelphia Nov. 7, 1708. He became a Common Councilman in 1739, and was made Mayor in 1750. In 1754, upon the death of Charles Willing in office, he was chosen a second time, and in 1755 for a third. He was a county Justice for many years, and Register-General of Wills from 1745 to his death. He died August 10, 1765. His father had been a Friend, but not strongly in accord with the Society, and William Plumsted left it, and joined the Episcopal Church, in middle life; he was one of the principal founders of St. Peter's Church, in 1754, and subsequently a vestryman and a warden.

1751.—ROBERT STRETTELL.

He was from Dublin, Ireland, where he was born in 1693. His father, Amos Strettell, an Englishman, had removed to that city in 1678–9. Robert Strettell came

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to Philadelphia from London about 1736, and engaged in business. He advertised, 1738, "at his store in Water street, facing Fishbourn's wharf," a variety of imported goods. He was made a Common Councilman, 1741, and an Alderman in October, 1748, and was chosen Mayor Oct. 1, 1751. He was a member of the Provincial Council from December, 1741, to his death, which occurred in June, 1761. At the close of his term as Mayor he gave £75 to James Hamilton's fund for an Exchange, in place of the Mayor's dinner. He was a Friend, but not very staunch as to the principle of Peace.

1752.—Benjamin Shoemaker.

1753.—Thomas Lawrence.

He died (as stated in addenda to Chap. V.), while in office, April 20, 1754. His place was filled by the Common Council, April 25, by the election of Charles Willing.

1754.—Charles Willing.

Elected, as stated above, in April, on the death of Thomas Lawrence, he was regularly chosen in October, but died in office November 30. The Common Council then elected (Dec. 4) William Plumsted.

1754–5.—William Plumsted.

He served out Charles Willing's year, and was elected for the full year in October, 1755.

1756–7.—Attwood Shute.

He was chosen Common Councilman October 4, 1743, Alderman, October 7, 1755, and Mayor, October 5, 1756. He was one of the committee to superintend the erection of St. Peter's Church.

1758.—Thomas Lawrence.

He was the eldest son of the previous Mayor of the same name, and was born here April 16, 1720. When of age he engaged in business with Peter Bard, opening a store on Water street opposite his father's. He was chosen a Common Councilman in 1748, an Alderman, 1755, and Mayor in 1758 and 1764. He owned 150 acres in the Northern Liberties, where he had a country-seat, "Clairmont." His wife, Mary, was the daughter of Judge Lewis Morris, of New Jersey. He died in January, 1775, and was buried in Christ Church.

1759.—John Stamper.

He was a successful merchant. His daughter, Molly (whose attractions are referred to very enthusiastically by William Black), married William Bingham, and her son, William Bingham, was United States Senator, 1795–1801. John Stamper was chosen a Councilman October 6, 1747, an Alderman, October 7, 1755, and Mayor, October 2, 1759.

1760.—Benjamin Shoemaker.

1761.—Jacob Duché.

He was the son of Anthony Duché, a French Protestant immigrant, who is among the large number of persons vaguely said (Cf. sketch of Jacob Duché the younger. by President E. D. Neill, Penna. Magazine, II.), to have "come over with William Penn," but who has never been included in the *Welcome* lists. He was the father of Jacob Duché, rector of Christ Church at the outbreak of the Revolution. He was

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an active member of Christ Church, and treasurer, 1753, of the Lottery to erect the steeple. He was chosen colonel of the Philadelphia regiment of militia, 1756, and is commonly known as Colonel Jacob Duché. He was a Common Councilman, 1755, Alderman, 1757, Mayor October 6, 1761. He died September 28, 1788, at Lambeth, near London, aged eighty.

1762.—Henry Harrison.

He was chosen to the Common Council October 4, 1757, Alderman October 6, 1761, and Mayor, October 5, 1762. He died January, 1766, in his 53d year. He was a manager of the Public Hospital and vestryman of Christ Church.

1763.—Thomas Willing.

He was one of the most prosperous merchants and eminent men of his time in the city of Philadelphia, born here December 19, 1731, son of Charles Willing, chosen Mayor in 1748 and 1754. Though but twenty-three years old, at the death of his father, "he assumed the entire control of his large concerns, and the charge of the family." He was appointed Justice of the Supreme Court, 1761, "and was the last of those who held commissions under the old constitution to act in office." He was President of the Provincial Congress which met in Philadelphia in 1774, and member of the Continental Congress in 1775 and 1776. He voted against declaring Independence, under the conviction that the time was not yet ripe, but supported it when done. He was first president of the Bank of North America, "the first chartered bank in the United States," and president also of the first Bank of the United States. He was chosen Mayor October 4, 1763. He died January 19, 1821. (Cf. Keith's Provincial Councillors of Penna.)

1764.—Thomas Lawrence.

1765.—John Lawrence.

He was the younger brother of Mayor Thomas Lawrence, just mentioned, and was born May 30, 1724. He studied law, was appointed Clerk of the Quarter Sessions, 1747, and in 1767 Judge of the Supreme Court, occupying that position until the Revolution. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Tench Francis. He became a Common Councilman, 1762, an Alderman, 1764, and Mayor, 1765, and again, 1766. He died in January, 1799.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF WILLIAM BLACK, 1744.

[William Black, from whose Journal the following extracts are made (Pennsylvania Magazine, I. and II.), was Secretary to the Virginia Commissioners, Colonel Lee and Colonel Beverley, who visited Philadelphia in 1744, on their way to a treaty with the Indians of the Six Nations at Lancaster.]

Sunday, May 27, 1744.—. . . Accompanied by the Shffs, Coroner [of Chester county] and several Gentlemen of the Town [Chester] past thro' Derby . . . and at a Stone Bridge about half a mile further, was met by the Sheriff, Coroner, and Sub-Sheriff of Philadelphia County. Here the company from Chester took their leave of Us and return'd; from this passed on three miles further to the River Schuylkill, where we found waiting for Us Richard Peters Esqr., Secretary of the Province, Robert Strettell, Andrew Hamilton, and several other Gentlemen of Philadelphia, who Receiv'd us very kindly, and Welcom'd us into their Province with a Bowl of fine Lemon Punch big enough to have Swimm'd half a dozen of young Geese; after pouring four or five Glasses of this down our throats we cross'd the River about two hundred yards over, and riding three short miles on the other side brought us into sight

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of the famous City Philadelphia, but it being some minutes after the time of the Sun taking his Departure from that to another Country and the Starrs beginning to twinkle, we cou'd only observe it was the Town: The Governor's House being the first on that Side of the Town which we enter'd, the Secretary Introduced the Commissioners and next their Levee to his Honour, who came to his Gate where he received Us with Great Civility and bid us all heartily welcome to Philadelphia; after this Ceremony was over, he led the way to the Hall, where we was presented with a Glass of Wine . . . Colonel Taylor and Mr. Lewis had a Lodging provided for them at Mrs. Arthur's in Wallnutt Street, Colonel Thornton and Mr. Littlepage was Lodged at widow Meredith's in Front Street, Mr. Brooke and my self, went along with the Secretary [Richard Peters] to his House where we were to put up . . .

Monday, the 28th.—. . . At 9 we eat Breakfast with our new Landlord, after which, he was so good as to go with us to view the City; the Shipping was what first Engag'd Us, in going to which we were Accidentally Join'd by the rest of our Company, the Commissioners excepted; we went on Board the Tartar privateer, a fine Ship near 300 Tons newly Launch'd, which they were Rigging with the greatest expedition for a Cruising Voyage; from this we went to several more Wharfs where there lay any vessels, and everywhere cou'd observe a very Considerable Traffick, in Shipping and unshipping of Goods, mostly American Produce; after our Curiosity in this Respect was satisfy'd, we was Introduced by our Guide to Mr. Andrew Hamilton's, where was Mr. George McCaul and several other Towns Gentlemen, who kindly welcom'd us to Philadelphia, and after a few Glasses of Wine, we Departed for another Ramble . . . I Din'd with the Commissioners at Mr. Strettell's, the rest of the Company with Mr. Secretary Peters; in the Afternoon his Honour, the Governor, waited on the Commissioners, and spent some time with them at their Lodgings, and afterwards went to the Coffee House, from thence to the Governor's Clubb, which is a Select Number of Gentlemen that meet every night at a certain Tavern, where they pass away a few Hours in the Pleasures of Conversation and a Cheerful Glass; about 9 of the Clock, we had a very Genteel Supper, and afterwards several sorts of Wine and fine Lemon Punch set out the Table, of which every one might take of what he best lik'd, and what Quantity he Pleas'd; between the hours of 10 and 11, the Commissioners withdrew, and with them the rest of their Company; I went directly to my Lodgings, and before 11 struck I was in bed.

Tuesday, the 29th.—. . . I eat at my Lodgings, afterwards took a turn in the Garden, where I had a very pleasing Prospect of the Fields and Inclosures, and found I was Lodged in a very Airy and Agreeable part of the Town; a little after 12 O'Clock in Company with Mr. Secretary and Mr. Brooke I went to the Commissioners' Lodgings, where we found them Join'd by the rest of the Levee, and in a few min: after we all set out for his Honour's the Governor, in order to Dine with him according to the Invitation received the Sunday Night before. The Entertainment was very Grand, and consisted of many Dishes Substantial as well as Curious, with a very fine Collation; after Dinner, the Table was immediately furnished with as great plenty of the Choicest Wines as it was before with the best of victuals; the Glass went briskly round, sometimes with sparkling Champaign, and sometimes Rich Madeira Claret, or whatever the Drinker pleas'd. Between the hours of 3 & 4 the Governor, Commissioners, and the rest of the Company went to hear a Philosophical Lecture on the Eye, &c., by A: Spencer, M: D:, in which he endeavoured to account for the Faculties, the Nature and Diseases of that Instrument of Light, next he proceeded to show that Fire is Diffus'd through all space, and may be produced from all Bodies, Sparks of Fire Emitted from the Face and Hands of a Boy Suspended Horizontally, by only rubbing a Glass Tube at his feet . . .

Wednesday, the 30th.—. . . After I was Dress'd, I went in order to view some more of the Town, and wherever I went, I found everything come up to, or rather exceed the Character I had often heard of Philadelphia; about 12 O'Clock I came to

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Mr. Strettell's where I found the Commissioners and their Company ready to set out for Mr. William Allen's, a very Considerable Merchant, and Recorder of the City, and a Member of the Council; they were Invited to Dine with them to-day, when we were at the Governor's the day before. About 1 O'Clock we Din'd in Company with his Honour the Governor and several other Gentlemen of Distinction in the City: after Dinner the Commrs., accompanied by the Governor, &c., went in order to view the Privateers fitting out, there were then three getting ready with the utmost expedition: The Wilmington, a fine Ship, Burthen 300 Tons, Jno. Sibbald Commander, to carry 24 Carriage and 24 Swivel Guns, with 150 men; The Tartar, John Mackey Commander, a fine new Ship about the Burthen of the Wilmington, mounting 18 Carriage, 20 Swivel Guns, and 30 men; The George Schooner, William Dowell Commander, to carry 14 Carriage and 18 Swivel Guns, with 120 men; there are 4 more a Building with all possible Dispatch, besides a fine Bermudas Sloop bought the other day for 800 pounds Sterling, and is called the le Trembleur, to carry 14 Carriage and 20 Swivel Guns, and 100 Men; from these Warr Castles and Flying Engines of Destruction, we return'd with Solemn Gate to the Coffee House, where I parted with the Company . . . I went to spend the Evening with a Merchant and Townsman of mine . . . He kept Batchellor House . . . I staid till after 11, and parted, he making me Promise to be no Stranger while I staid in Town, of which there was no great fear, as he kept a Glass of Good Wine, and was as free of it as an Apple-tree of its Fruit on a Windy Day in the month of July: I grop'd my way to where I Lodged, after having Butted against some Posts on the Sides of the Pavement, who kept me in my Road; about the mid hour I got to Bed . . .

Thursday, 31*st*.—I Breakfasted and wrote till near 12 O'Clock, when I went Home and Dress'd myself, and Join'd the Company at the Coffee House, who were to meet there in order [to] partake of the proffer'd bounty of Mr. Thomas Lawrence, one of the Honourable Council, Alderman, and a Considerable Merchant of the City; Din'd between 1 and 2 O'Clock in Company with the Governor and several other Gentlemen of the Town. After Dinner, the Commissioners, with the Governor in his Coach, took a ride two or three Miles out to view the Curious Plantation belonging to Mr. Turner; the rest of the Levee with myself, with some of our New Acquaintance, took a turn to the Center House, where is a Billiard Table and Bowling Green, where we Amus'd ourselves the Afternoon; this place is so call'd the Center as it ly's in the middle, between the Rivers Delaware and School-kill, and, according to the Plann of the City, it extends from the one River to the Other, and this place is laid off for the middle of the Town. In the close of the Evening, we got to the Coffee house, where we Join'd the Commissioners, etc., and after a short stay from thence to the Clubb, where the Comm'rs pass'd two or three hours and Retir'd to their Lodgings . . .

Friday, June 1*st*.—. . . About half an hour past 6, I Jump'd from my Bed in some haste, designing before that time to have been at the Market Place; the days of Market are Tuesday and Friday, when you may be Supply'd with every Necessary for the Support of Life thro'ut the whole year, both Extraordinary Good and reasonably Cheap; it is allow'd by Foreigners to be best of its bigness in the known World, and undoubtedly the largest in America; I got to this place by 7; and had no small Satisfaction in seeing the pretty Creatures, the young Ladies, traversing the place from Stall to Stall where they cou'd make the best Market, some with their Maid behind them with a Basket to carry home the Purchase, Others that were designed to buy but trifles, as a little fresh Butter, a Dish of Green Peas, or the like, had Good Nature and Humility enough to be their own Porters. . . . After I had made my Market, which was One penny worth of Whey and a Nose Gay, I Disengag'd myself from the Multitude, and made the best of my way to Mr. Strettell's where I Breakfasted. After Breakfast I Exchang'd the Commissioner's Bills for Gold and Paper Money to the value of 700 and odd Pounds; and after I settled the Account return'd to my Lodgings, in order to Dress my self and Join the Commissioners, &c., who

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Design'd after Dinner to pay a visit to Mr. James Logan, who through the Infirmities of Old age hastened on with a lingering Distemper had Retir'd from Business, to live at a Beautiful House he had about 4 miles from the City: At 1 O'clock P. M.: at the Invitation of Secretary Peters I went with him to the three Tunn Tavern in Water Street, where in Company with the Gentlemen of the Levee & two or three more of the Town, I Din'd, and after a few Glasses of Good Madeira, Mr. Lee, Mr. Littlepage, Mr. Brook and My self set out in order to Accompany the Commissioners to Mr. Logan's; they were gone before we got to their Lodgings, but with the Help of some very good Horses, which we were Oblig'd to some of the Town's Gentlemen for, we soon came up with them, and Mr. Strettell and Son, who was with them. We got to Mr. Logan's, a few minutes after 3, and found him hid in the Bushes, an expression the Indians used when Treating with the Province at Philadelphia, in July, 1742, saying "They were sorry to find their Good Friend James Logan hid in the Bushes," Meaning, it gave them concern their Friend was so much Oppress'd with Sickness as to be Oblig'd to live a Life Retir'd from Public affairs: he had been a very great Benefactor to the Indians, and Conducted several Treaties with them, and they having always found him true to them, had an Extraordinary Regard for him: The Commissioners had some Conversation with him about the Indians, and told him his Advice would be of the last consequence to them in Conducting the Treaty, he appear'd somewhat Reserv'd and Spoke very little: At last the Tea Table was Set, and one of his Daughters presented herself in Order to fill out the Fashionable Warm Water: I was really very much surprised at the Appearance of so Charming a Woman, in a place where the seeming Moroseness, and Gratified Father's Appearance, Promised no such Beauty, tho' it must be allow'd the Man seem'd to have some Remains of a handsome enough Person, and a Complection beyond his years, for he was turn'd off 70: But to return to the Lady. I declare I burnt my Lips more than once, being quite thoughtless of the warmness of my Tea, entirely lost in Contemplating her Beauties. . . . After the Tea Table was remov'd, we were going to take leave, but it appear'd we must first view his Library, which was Customary with him, to any Persons of Account. He had really a very fine Collection of Books, both Ancient and Modern; he seem'd to Regrate that none of his Sons knew how to use them, and that he design'd them as a Legacy to the City when he Died: After the Old Gentleman had been Complimented on his fine Taste we Departed. From this Mr. Strettell carried us to German Town about a mile further, where he had a little Country House to which he used to come and spend some part of the Summer Months, his wife was then there; German Town about 6 miles from Philadelphia, is a Continued Row of Houses on each side of a Public Road, for more than a Mile and a half, the Inhabitants are Chiefly Dutch, and has a very Good Church with Organs in the Town. We staid till near Sun-down at Mr. Strettell's villa. . . .

Saturday, June 2d.—. . . I return'd to Mr. Peter's and wrote till near 12, at which time Colonel Taylor and Mr. Lewis paid me a Visit. I Dress'd and with them went to meet the Commissioners at the Coffee house, from which we were to go to the Tunn Tavern to Dine, having an Invitation the day before from the Governor who is a Member of the Clubb or Certain Number of Gentlemen that Meet at this house every Saturday to Eat Beef-Stakes, and from that is call'd the Beef-Stake Clubb: but when Dinner came there was more than twenty Dishes besides that of Stakes; some time after Dinner, the young men and myself took a turn to the privateer that was Rigging at Mr. Andrew Hamilton's Wharf, and after that Mr. Littlepage and I went to Mr. Plumstead's, where we staid till dark, the Governor and the Commissioners having spent the Afternoon together, in the Evening went to the Clubb. I had an Appointment to meet Mr. Kerr, Capt. Crawford, and two or three more at a certain House, and the hour being come, I hastened to the Place. I found them all there, and in humor to be very Merry. Some of the Company Drunk Punch, others Wine, According as their Inclinations led them. . . .

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Sunday, June 3rd.—. . . In Company with Mr. Secretary, Col. Beverly, and some more of our Gang, I went to Christ's Church, where I heard a very Good Discourse on the Words in the 19 Ch. of Matthew and 46 Verse. This Church is a very Stately Building, but is not yet Finished. The Paintings of the Altar Piece, when done, be very Grand; two Rows of Corinthian Pillars, and Arches turn'd from the one to the other Supports the Roof and the Galleries, the Peughs and Boxes were not all done so that everything seem'd half finished. I was not a little Surpris'd to see such a Number of Fine Women in one Church, as I never had heard Philadelphia noted Extraordinary that way; but I must say, since I have been in America, I have not seen so fine a Collection at one time and Place. After this Congregation was dismiss'd, Colonel Taylor, Mr. Lewis, &c., of the Levee went to the Commissioners' Lodgings, where we found Colonel Lee ready to go to Mr. Andrew Hamilton's, where we were invited to Dine this Day; about a Quarter after 1 O'Clock we had Dinner, and I do assure you a very fine one, but as I am not able to draw up a Bill of Fare, I shall only say, that we had very near 18 Dish of Meat, besides a very nice Collation; after this was over, it was time for to think of going to Church for Afternoon, accordingly, most of our young Company with my Self, went in order to Visit the Reverend Mr. Gilbert Tennant, a Disciple of the Great Whitefield, whose followers are Call'd the New Lights; we found him Delivering his Doctrine with a very Good Grace, Split his Text as Judiciously, turn'd up the Whites of his Eyes as Theologically, Cuff'd his Cushion as Orthodoxly, and twist'd his Band as Primitively as his Master Whitefield cou'd have done, had he been there himself; We were not Converts enough to hear him to an end, but withdrew very Circumspectly, and bent our Course to the Quaker Meeting, where we found one of the Travelling Friends, Labouring Under the Spirit very Powerfully, had he been a little more Calm, and not hurried himself so on, as if he had not half time to say what he had in his Mind, We as well as the Rest of his Brethren, wou'd have received more Instruction, but one Sentence came so fast treading on the heels of Another, that I was in great pain of his Choaking: however, we had Patience to hear him out, and after a little Pause he gave us a Short Prayer, and then Struck hands with two Elderly Friends on his Right and Left and we broke up. . . .

Monday, June the 4th.—. . . I was up at 4 O'Clock, and went to Engage Riding Horses and a Waggon to Transport us to Lancaster, I found Great Difficulty to persuade the People to promise their Horses, As we were not certain of the time we should be ready to go. . . . This Forenoon I was Employ'd in writing, and Colonel Lee kept his Room all the Day, taking the Bark. After 12, I went home and Dress'd in order to Join our Company who were to Dine at Mr. Jno. Sober's, a very Considerable Merchant in the City, a few Minutes after 1, we had a very handsome Entertainment, Variety of Dishes, Serv'd up in the very best manner; after some Healths had gone round in Bumpers, I slipt away, and Return'd to Colonel Lee. . . .

Tuesday, the 5th.—. . . Eat Breakfast at Mr. Strettell's, and at 11 in the forenoon, with Colonel Beverly and the Gentlemen of the Levee, I went to the State House, where Doctor Spencer Entertain'd Us very Agreeably with several Philosophical Transactions, first he Prov'd and Illustrated by Experiments, Sir Isaac Newton's Theory of Light and Colours, also Several Curious Objects Shown by the Soler Microscope, together with the Circulation of the Blood, all which he performed very much to the Satisfaction of the Spectators. . . .

Saturday, the 9th.—. . This day the Commissioners Agreed to give an Entertainment to his Honour the Governor and other Gentlemen of the City, accordingly I went to Engage a Tavern for the Purpose, and agreed with the Keeper of the Tavern in Water Street, who was to have a handsome Dinner ready by 2 O'clock in the Afternoon, in the Forenoon an Invitation went to the Intended Guests. At 1 the Commissioners and their Levee Repair'd to the Tavern, and a little past 2 we sat down to a very Grand Table having upwards of Fifteen Dishes on it at once, which

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was Succeeded by a very fine Collation, among the many Dishes that made our Dinner was a large Turtle, sent as a present to Governor Thomas from a Gentleman of his Acquaintance living in Providence [Bahama Islands]; after taking away the cloath, we had the Table Replenished with all the sorts of Wine the Tavern cou'd afford, and that in great Abundance: Betwixt the hours of 3 and 4 I went with the Young Gentlemen of our Company in order to see what sort of Horses those persons had, with whom I had engag'd Horses to carry us to Lancaster: I forgot to tell that at 12 O'Clock was sold Public Vandue several Goods belonging to the prize taken by the Wilmington Privateer of this town, Amongst which was a Cannaster containing about 25 lbs of fine Snuff, which the Company purchased for £13. 10 shs., that Currency, it was a present from the Vice Roy of New Spain to the Prince of Palermo, and sells for Ten Dollars a pound in the Havanna. Spent the Evening in the company of the Comm'rs and their Train, and at 10 O'clock went to my Lodgings. At 11 Arrived at the Secretary's Office, an Express from New York with his Majesties Declaration of Warr against France, which came to that place in his Majesty's Sloop the Swallow in [blank] days from London. . . .

Sunday, June the 10th.—. . . I kept my Room till after 12, the forenoon being heavy and Drisling Rain, after which I went with Bob. Brooke to the Comm'rs Lodgings, and in their company and the rest of their Train went to Dine with Messrs. Dayy and Carson, thence in afternoon to the Presbyterian Meeting, where I heard a very Good Sermon in the words in the 20 cha. of the Hebrews 21 and 22 vers: After the Dismissing of this Congregation, I went a Second time to Join the New Lights where I found one Treat holding forth, but never in my life did I hear or see any like him prepared to mount a Pulpit. I thought with my Self, Surely he was very Dark and wanted some New Light very much. I cou'd not for my Life find the least connexion between any of the Sentences of his Discourse, at last being tired with his Harangue I came of, and with a Gentleman of my acquaintance went to Capt. Macky's, where in company of these [? three] agreeable young Ladies I drunk Tea, and spent the Evening until 8 O'clock, at which time we went to the Moravian Meeting, where I had the pleasure to hear an Excellent Comment on that Passage in Scripture Relating to the Prodigal Son, and after some very Agreeable Church Musick, half an hour after 9, they broke up, the Women at one door and the Men at another. . . .

Monday, June the 11th.—. . . At 4 in the Afternoon, they [the commissioners] with their Levee, waited on his Honour the Governor, in order to attend to the Declaration of Warr, a few Minutes after we got to the Governor's came the Mayor, Council, and the Corporation, and then began the Procesion, First the Constables with their Staffs, and the Sheriffs and the Coroner with their White Wands ushered the way, then his Honour the Governor, with the Mayor on his Right, and the Recorder of the City on his left hand, following them were Colonels Lee and Beverly, and the Gentlemen of their Levee, next was the Council, and after them the City Corporation, and then the Rear composed of Towns Gentlemen, &c., in this Order two and two, we went with Solemn Pace to the Market Place, where Secretary Peters Proclaim'd War against the French King, and all his Subjects, under a Discharge of the Privateers Guns, who had haul'd out in the Stream for the Purpose, then two Drums belonging to Dalziel's Regiment in Antigua, (then in Philadelphia with a Captain Recruiting) Beat the Point of Warr, and then the Ceremony Concluded with God Save the King, and three loud Huzza's! the Comm'rs return'd with the Governor in his Coach to his House, where we follow'd and Drunk Tea, from thence to the Coffee House, and then the Commissioners went with his Honour to the Clubb.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF DANIEL FISHER, 1755.

[The visit of Daniel Fisher, a Virginian, to Philadelphia, in the summer of 1755, is referred to in the main text. Extracts from his Diary while here were published in the Pennsylvania Magazine, XVII., by Mrs. Conway Robinson Howard, of Richmond, Va.]

Saturday, May 24, being the chief market day (Wednesday is the other), I took a view of it—good part of the town I had seen yesterday evening. There seems to be a good supply of most kinds of Provisions and a vast concourse of People, Buyers as well as sellers. Meat in the Shambles (some at least) of each sort, very good and might well vie with the best in the Leadenhall Market. Fish and Poultry, the market don't seem over well supplied with, tho' in the cool weather a fine sort of large Sea Pearch of about six pounds, called the Sheep's Head, from its teeth resembling those of a sheep, are frequently brought from the Sea Coast, quite through the Province of New Jersey, not less than seventy miles, land carriage, and are sold for 18d. each.

Butter is quite plenty and very good at about 8d. a pound, vegetables plenty enough, tho' not so many good or handsome Gardens about Philadelphia as one might expect, and with all my enquiry I could not find a plant deserving the name of Cauliflower. Nor did I ever see or hear of a good one either in Virginia or Maryland, and the best in both of those places are raised in Autumn, even so late as November. As there are such fine Rivers in Pennsylvania as well as in the other Provinces, their markets not abounding in Fish, I should attribute to their want of skill more than want of Fish, not but sometimes I have seen a good many Fish in the market. Sturgeon in the Spring I observed in every River I have seen in America, and Ten or Twenty miles above Philadelphia on the Delaware, the curing of Sturgeon is become a Manufacture. The first Green Peas seen in this market was this 24th of May, and they sold very dear. In Virginia, as before observed, I had them in plenty at Frayser's Ferry on the 12th, and at Williamsburg I heard of their being at tables a fortnight, at the least, before that. Good milk at a Penny a Pint (or an English half-penny), as in London, is brought Morning and Evening to the People's doors, and it generally stands all Day to be sold in the Market place.

Sunday, May 25.— . . . (I staid at home till Three then went to the Lutheran Church, a neat Brick Building where there is a good organ to which I heard them sing Psalms, agreeably enough, tho' I was a Stranger to the Language (High Dutch). Then I walked about Two miles out of Town in the "Proprietors' Garden," but viewed first that of the late Governor James Hamilton, Esq., a small half mile short of the other. Mr. Hamilton's was much the largest, but not disposed with judgment, nor that I could find, did it contain anything that was curious, unless what is by some gazed at and spoke of, may be esteemed so, a few very ordinary statues. A shady walk of high trees leading from the further end of the Garden, looked well enough; but the Grass above knee high, thin and spoiling for the want of the Sythe, rendered it too troublesome to walk to the top.

The proprietors' tho' much smaller, was laid out with more judgment, tho' it seemed to have been pretty much neglected. A pretty pleasure garden, the trees of which now hardly visible, a small wilderness, and other shades, that the contriver was not without judgment, but what to me surpassed everything of the kind I had seen in America was a pretty bricked Green House, out of which was disposed (now) very properly in the Pleasure Garden a good many Orange, Lemon and Citron Trees in great perfection, loaded with abundance of Fruit and some of each sort seemingly ripe.

The House here is but small, built of Brick, with a small Kitchen, etc., justly contrived rather for a small than a numerous Family. It is pleasantly situated on

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an eminence with a gradual descent—over a small Valley—to a handsome level Road cut through a wood, affording an agreeable vista of near Two miles. On the left hand the slope, descending from the house, is a neat little Park, tho' I am told there are no Deer in it. In coming home I went into a Tavern, called the "Centre House," as being seated in the very midst of the original plan of the first intended City; tho' at present this house is half a mile or more from the nearest building in the City. Here is a Bowling Green, and neat people seem to keep the House, but a strange Brute of a Landlord. . . . .

Monday, May the 26th.— . . . . I took my Horse after dinner and rode over to what is called his [Wm. Allen's] Country Seat, which I found about 8 or 9 miles distant on the top of a Hill at the further end of a village two miles in length, called German Town, from the number of German weavers and others settled there. The House was small, built of stone, as most of the Houses thereabouts there are; stands close to a large much frequented Road, which often occasions the Dust to be very troublesome. The spot, doubtless from its elevated situation, must be as healthy as any thereabouts, but to me it appeared very naked, much exposed to the sun and to bleak winds. A small Portico, facing the South East is a good contrivance, and to my thinking the very best about the house.

My reception here was more gracious than I expected, for he took me by the hand and invited me to seat myself in the Portico and asked me what I chose to drink. I preferred Small Beer, being almost choked with the Dust raised by the wagons, etc., I met on the Road, and a large Tankard of very good was brought me, after which he quickly let me know that it was not in his power to do anything for me . . .

Sunday, June 8.—About half an hour after 9 this morning I went to the Quakers' meeting on Society Hill. It proved a silent one, except one old man in the gallery who spoke about two minutes. What he said was not very edifying, nor had he the approbation of the Friends themselves, some of them in my hearing esteeming him a babbler. I dined to-day with Mr. Franklin, and went afterward to the Dutch Churches. The Lutheran Church has an organ and a good performer. The Calvinist Church had none. Appearance of great devotion at both. . . .

Friday, July 18.—This afternoon about Three o'clock we were terribly alarmed by an express by way of Maryland from Colonel Innis, dated at Will's Creek or Fort Cumberland, July 11, giving an account that the Forces under General Braddock were entirely defeated by the French on the ninth, on the River Monongahela, the General, Lieutenant John St. Clair and a number of the officers killed, and all our fine Artillery taken. The Consternation of this City upon the occasion is hardly to be expressed. The next day we secured other accounts, less terrible, but none very authentic or particular, and on the twentieth some Indian Traders from the upper parts of the country, though not from the camp, brought still more flattering accounts, and reports were various till Wednesday, July 23, when, about noon, arrived the following paragraph by the Lancaster Post, dated Carlisle, 21st July, 1755:—

"It is now reduced to a certainty that our army under General Braddock, is defeated. The General and Lieutenant John St. Clair dangerously wounded, about a Thousand men lost with the Train of Artillery and Baggage. The remaining part of the Army, under Colonel Dunbar, have destroyed all their baggage except two six-pounders and Provisions necessary for their Retreat to Will's Creek, where I expect they are by this time."

This account was credited, and afterwards more particularly confirmed by Mr. Arme, aid-de-camp to the General. The mob here upon this occasion were very unruly, assembling in great numbers, with an intention of demolishing the Mass House belonging to the Roman Catholics, wherein they were underhand excited and encouraged by some People of Higher Rank. But the peaceable Quakers insisting

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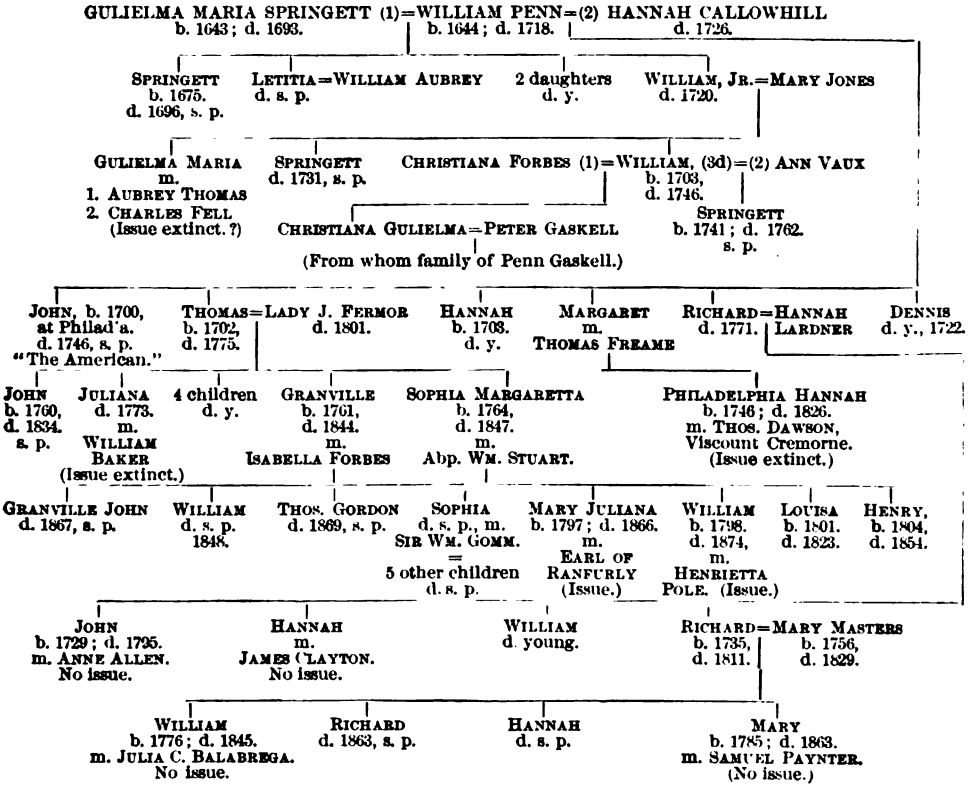
that the Catholics as well as Christians of other denominations were settled upon the faith of the Constitution, or William Penn's Charter, and that the Government were bound to protect them so long at least, as they remained inoffensive and paid dutiful regard to the establishment, the Magistrates met and with a good deal of difficulty prevailed with the mob to desist.

TABLE OF SOME OF THE DESCENDANTS OF WILLIAM PENN.


GULIELMA MARIA SPRINGETT (1)=WILLIAM PENN=(2) HANNAH CALLOWHILL
b. 1643; d. 1693. b. 1644; d. 1718. d. 1726.
SPRINGETT b. 1675. d. 1696, s. p.
LETITIA=WILLIAM AUBREY d. s. p.
2 daughters d. y.
WILLIAM, JR.=MARY JONES d. 1720.
GULIELMA MARIA m. 1. AUBREY THOMAS 2. CHARLES FELL (Issue extinct.?)
SPRINGETT d. 1731, s. p.
CHRISTIANA FORBES (1)=WILLIAM, (3d)=(2) ANN VAUX b. 1703, d. 1746.
SPRINGETT b. 1741; d. 1762. s. p.
CHRISTIANA GULIELMA=PETER GASKELL
(From whom family of Penn Gaskell.)
JOHN, b. 1700, at Philad'a. d. 1746, s. p. "The American."
THOMAS=LADY J. FERMOR b. 1702, d. 1775. d. 1801.
HANNAH b. 1703. d. y.
MARGARET m. THOMAS FREAME
RICHARD=HANNAH LARDNER d. 1771.
DENNIS d. y., 1722.
JOHN b. 1760, d. 1834. s. p.
JULIANA d. 1773. m. WILLIAM BAKER (Issue extinct.)
4 children d. y.
GRANVILLE b. 1761, d. 1844. m. ISABELLA FORBES
SOPHIA MARGARETTA b. 1764, d. 1847. m. Abp. WM. STUART.
PHILADELPHIA HANNAH b. 1746; d. 1826. m. THOS. DAWSON, Viscount Cremorne. (Issue extinct.)
GRANVILLE JOHN d. 1867, s. p.
WILLIAM d. s. p. 1848.
THOS. GORDON d. 1869, s. p.
SOPHIA d. s. p., m. SIR WM. GOMM. = 5 other children d. s. p.
MARY JULIANA b. 1797; d. 1866. m. EARL OF RANFURLY (Issue.)
WILLIAM b. 1798. d. 1874, m. HENRIETTA POLE. (Issue.)
LOUISA b. 1801. d. 1823.
HENRY, b. 1804, d. 1854.
JOHN b. 1729; d. 1795. m. ANNE ALLEN. No issue.
HANNAH m. JAMES CLAYTON. No issue.
WILLIAM d. young.
RICHARD=MARY MASTERS b. 1735, d. 1811. b. 1756, d. 1829.
WILLIAM b. 1776; d. 1845. m. JULIA C. BALABREGA. No issue.
RICHARD d. 1863, s. p.
HANNAH d. s. p.
MARY b. 1785; d. 1863. m. SAMUEL PAYNTER. (No issue.)

NOTES.

Other than William Penn, Jr., whose visit to Philadelphia in 1704 is described in the main text, and Springett, his son, who joined Hannah Penn in appointing Governor Gordon, in 1726, the Penns later than the Founder, connected with the history of Philadelphia, are the children by his second marriage, and their descendants.

SECOND GENERATION.

John Penn, "the American," came to Philadelphia, and resided here 1734–35. His brother Thomas was here 1732–41. The third of the brothers, Richard, did not visit Philadelphia. His wife, Hannah Lardner, of London, was a sister of Lynford Lardner, who came here 1740.

Thomas Penn, by inheritance from his brother John, in addition to his own original interest, became the chief owner of the proprietary estates, and from this fact and his extended life, was the most important of the Penn Proprietaries of

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Pennsylvania, after his father. His wife, Lady Juliana Fermor, whom he married 1751, was the fourth daughter of the first Earl of Pomfret. (The original agreement of settlement, in this marriage, on eight skins of parchment, each 26 by 34 inches, is in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

Margaret Penn came to Philadelphia, with her husband, Thomas Freame, as stated in the text, in 1734, and their daughter, Philadelphia Hannah, born here 1746, married Thomas Dawson, of Dawson Grove, Ireland, created in 1770, Baron Dartrey, and in 1785 Viscount Cremorne. (He died 1813, leaving no descendants, and the viscounty became extinct.)

THIRD GENERATION.

Of Thomas and Lady Juliana Penn's children, John came to Philadelphia, 1783, built the mansion "Solitude," now in Fairmount Park, and remained here until 1789. (While here he was called John Penn, "the younger," to distinguish him from his cousin, the ex-governor, who was thirty-one years his senior.) Returning then to England, he was afterward Governor of the Island of Portland, where he built an imposing house, "Pennsylvania Castle,"[1] was M. P. for Cambridge University, and bought and beautified the estate of Stoke Park, in Bucks, (by the church where Gray wrote his "Elegy"), erecting there a grand mansion. He died unmarried, 1834, and—

Granville Penn, his brother, inherited the Pennsylvania property.

Sophia Margaretta married Rev. Dr. William Stuart, Archbishop of Armagh, and therefore Primate of the Irish Established Church.

John Penn, of "Lansdowne," son of Richard and Hannah (Lardner), and first cousin to John of "Solitude" and Stoke Park, was the Governor of Pennsylvania, repeatedly mentioned in the text, who resided here most of the time from 1753 until his death, in 1795. (See note, p. 302.) His wife was the daughter of Chief Justice William Allen, and the niece, therefore, of Gov. James Hamilton, of "Bush Hill."

Richard Penn, younger brother of John of "Lansdowne," came to Philadelphia in 1763, returned to England 1769, but came again in 1771, and was Governor two years, 1771–73, and married 1772, Mary, daughter of William Masters. He returned to England 1775, (subsequently visited Philadelphia), was a Member of Parliament, 1795 to 1806, and died at Richmond, Surrey, 1811.

FOURTH GENERATION.

Granville John Penn, son of Granville, came twice to this country, in 1852, and in 1857. The famous "wampum belt," supposed to have been given by the Indians to William Penn at the Great Treaty, was presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, by Granville John Penn, 1857.

Mary Juliana Stuart married Thomas Knox, of Dungannon, County Tyrone, Ireland, who became on the death of his father, Viscount Northland, and Earl of Ranfurly. Ten children were born of this marriage. The present Earl of Ranfurly is a descendant.

William Stuart, eldest son of the Archbishop, and Sophia Margaretta Penn, married Henrietta, daughter of Admiral Sir Charles Pole, by whom he had six children. Upon the death of Rev. Thomas Gordon Penn, his first cousin—the last of the name of Penn, descendants of the Founder—the Penn property in Pennsylvania descended to him.

William Penn, son of Richard and Mary (Masters), made an unfortunate marriage, in Philadelphia, 1809. He was here from 1808 for several years, returned to London, was a brilliant writer, but intemperate man, and long imprisoned for debt in the Marshalsea, London.

[1] A letter from John Penn to William Rawle of Philadelphia, dated Portland, November 15, 1815, says: "I see this place is called 'Pennsylvania Castle' in the new Weymouth guide, though only christened so in joke by the late Duch[s] of Bolton and Lord Hippesley. This therefore seems destined to be its name."

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Richard, brother of William, was for many years a clerk in the British Colonial Department, was F. R. S., etc. With his death, 1863, the Penn name in the line of Richard (son of the Founder), ended.

FIFTH AND SIXTH GENERATIONS.

Colonel William Stuart, son of William Stuart and Henrietta Pole, died 1893. His son, Captain William Dugald Stuart, present owner (1895) of the Penn estates in Pennsylvania, is of 36 Hill street, Berkeley Square, London, and of Tempsford Hall, Beds., and Aldenham Abbey, Herts.

THE PENN ESTATES IN PENNSYLVANIA.

1. As stated in the text the estates in Ireland of William Penn the Founder passed to the children of his first wife, and his estates in Pennsylvania and the Three Lower Counties (Delaware) to those of his second wife.

2. The estates in Pennsylvania and the Three Lower Counties all ultimately became, under the entail of 1732, vested in Granville John Penn.[1] On his death in 1867 they vested in his brother, Rev. Thomas Gordon Penn. On his death, in 1869, the male entail ended, and the estates went over to the tenant in tail female, who was William Stuart, the son of Archbishop William Stuart, and Sophia Margaretta Penn. William Stuart, in 1870, docked the entail. He died in 1874. His son and successor, Colonel William Stuart, died in 1893, and his son and successor is Captain William Dugald Stuart, above mentioned.

[1] He owned three-fourths until 1863, when upon Richard's death he came into possession of the remaining one-fourth.

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CHAPTER VII

1765–1783

THE REVOLUTION

THE events of to-day spring from events of yesterday. The period we are now to describe—in which we shall find it impracticable to separate strictly the history of the City of Philadelphia from that of the body of English Colonies in America—was the child of that which we last considered.

Governor Morris, as we have seen, was succeeded in August, 1756, by Colonel Denny, who in turn gave up his place to James Hamilton, in October, 1759. In November, 1763, John Penn, the eldest son of Richard Penn, assumed the governorship; it was he, as the narrative has disclosed, who was in authority at the time of the Paxtang insurrection.[1] He continued at the head of the government, except an interval in 1771–73, until the convulsions of the Revolution, in the summer of 1776, overthrew his authority, and practically put an end to the Proprietary rule in Pennsylvania.

Under the Speakership of Isaac Norris, the Assembly had continued to be the bulwark of freedom. "No man shall ever stamp his foot on my grave," said Norris solemnly, in a debate in the Assembly, "and say, 'Curse him! here lies one who basely betrayed the liberties of his country!'" The reputation of the resolute legislature at Philadelphia was not confined to this province. "Pennsylvania, of

[1] John Penn, son of Richard, (who was the youngest of the three sons of the Founder and Hannah Callowhill that grew up), came to Philadelphia in December, 1752, and became the guest of Lieut.-Governor James Hamilton, at "Bush Hill." He was then in his 24th year; "while a schoolboy" in London, he had secretly married a girl named Cox, and the marriage being regarded unfavorably by his family, he was sent away, first to the Continent, subsequently to Philadelphia. In February, 1753, he was appointed a member of the Governor's Council, and in 1754 one of four Commissioners to meet the Six Nations at Albany. He returned to England, after Braddock's defeat, in 1755, and came again, with a commission as Lieutenant-Governor, (as stated above), in November, 1763. His wife is presumed to have died; he married here, 1766, Anne Allen, daughter of Chief-Justice William Allen. In May, 1771, his father being dead, he went to England, leaving the government here to the Council, (subsequently, Oct., 1771, to his younger brother, Richard Penn), but again returned in August 1773, and remained here up to the Revolution, and throughout its course. It was he who built, about 1773, the residence, "Lansdowne," in what is now Fairmount Park, upon ground bought of Provost Smith, afterward the residence of William Bingham, and perhaps the most elegant country place Philadelphia had, in the period following the Revolution. John Penn died Feb. 9, 1795, and was buried at Christ Church, but his remains were subsequently removed to England. He appears to have been the most popular of all the descendants of the Founder who came to Pennsylvania. He left no children. A letter from George Roberts in Philadelphia to Samuel Powel, in London, (afterward Mayor of Philadelphia), Nov. 5, 1763, says: "Last week we had the pleasure of hearing our new appointed Governor's proclamation read. The usual cavalcade attended. I walked with Joe Wood and John Allen, new fashioned Councilmen. His honor Penn is a little gentleman, tho' he may govern equal to one seven foot high." (Penna. Magazine, XVIII., 38.)

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Wm Dickinson

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all the colonies," says Bancroft, "led the van of what the royalists called 'Democracy.'" Isaac Norris was near the end of his public service and of his life, when, as the excitement over the Paxtang invasion slowly abated, the Assembly once more differed with the Governor over the taxation of the proprietary lands. Thomas Penn had at last been forced to yield the point, and agree that they should not be exempt; a new question now arose, March, 1764, over the rate of valuation. Governor Penn stood firm, the Assembly yielded, but immediately it resolved, March 25, to ask the King to make Pennsylvania a Crown Colony.[1]

STAMPS, 1765.

The King of England was now the third of the Georges. George the Second, over whose accession Governor Gordon had led the rejoicings in Philadelphia, had died in his palace at Kensington, October 25, 1760, at the climax of the successes of the English armies in America. And to George the Third, the Pennsylvania Assembly resolved to appeal, rather than endure longer the proprietary rule. We can see now that the move was not well advised, and the deep current of human events not propitious for such a serious change, but it had the powerful influence of Franklin, whose dislike for the Penns was as intense as their hatred of him. Isaac Norris opposed it; two lawyers in the Assembly, whom we shall presently see much of—Joseph Galloway, a Maryland man originally, now thirty-five years old, and John Dickinson, born also in Maryland, three years later than Galloway—led the debate for and against the proposed action.[2] Those in favor of the petition prevailed, but in the debate Dickinson earnestly cautioned the Assembly not to lean upon royal favor.

[1] Samuel Foulke, member of the Assembly from Bucks, 1761–8, a Quaker, head of the meeting at Richland, wrote in his journal, 1764: "These most glaring discoveries of a Tyrannical disposition in the Proprietaries, to enslave the good people of this flourishing and opulent Country kindled in their Representatives a just resentment of y^e^ daring insult offered to 'em, and roused up a patriot spirit in the House which breathed forth the genuine principles of Freedom. . . . They [the] Proprietaries go on . . . preying upon the vitals of that excellent and salutary constitution of government establish'd by their father, our first worthy Proprietor." (Penna. Magazine, V., 73.)

[2] Twenty-six resolutions, drawn by Galloway, condemning the Proprietary system, had been adopted by the Assembly, no one opposing, in March, 1764. Upon their passage, a committee of seven, Galloway, Franklin, Rodman, Pearson, Douglas, Montgomery, and Tool, was appointed to recommend a course of action, and it was upon this report, a petition to the King asking him to "resume" the Government of the Province, with equitable compensation to the Proprietaries, that the debate occurred, referred to in the text—in May.

Joseph Galloway, born in Maryland about 1729, came to Philadelphia about 1750. He married, 1753, Grace Growdon, daughter of Lawrence Growdon, a Provincial Councillor, Judge, etc., and granddaughter of that Joseph Growdon whom we so often had occasion to mention in the early days. Galloway's career was of the first prominence in Pennsylvania up to 1774; in the Revolution he took the royal side, and never recovered standing here. He died in 1803, in England.

John Dickinson was born on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, in 1732. He came to Philadelphia, began the study of law here, then spent three years in London, as a student in the Temple, returned to Philadelphia in 1757, and was elected to the Assembly on the county ticket, in October, 1762. The main events of his career will appear in the narrative later. He died at Wilmington, Del., 1808. A small stone in the Friends' grave-yard at 4th and West streets, in that city, marks the place of burial. (See Dr. Chas. J. Stillé's Life and Times of John Dickinson.)

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Hitherto, he said, the worst acts of the Proprietaries had been those in which the King's ministers had joined. He spoke of the great privileges granted in Penn's Charter of 1701, and the folly of throwing these away. If they could all be preserved it might be well to make the change, but "if they must be consumed in the blaze of royal authority, we shall pay too great a price for our approach to the throne." His logic, as Dr. Stillé has said, was complete, and his argument unanswerable; it would have been a fatuous step, in order to escape the exactions of the Penns, to throw Pennsylvania into the lap of George the Third. Yet the Friends were divided, as seldom if ever before; declining the leadership of Norris, Dickinson, and the Pembertons, many of their names were attached to the petitions sent to the Assembly urging the transfer to the Crown. The Presbyterian Synod, with a wiser sense, opposed it, and a committee, Gilbert Tennent, Francis Allison, and John Ewing, drew up a letter protesting against sacrificing the religious freedom accorded in Penn's Charter. The royalist policy in such crown colonies as New York and Virginia, of uniting Church with State, and laying a heavy hand on non-conformity, reminded the Ulstermen of the system they had suffered at home, and curious as it might be to find Gilbert Tennent and Israel Pemberton in agreement, three months after the Paxtang invasion, thus it fell out.

Galloway's petition was adopted, four members dissenting—Dickinson and three others. Isaac Norris avoided signing it on the day of the vote, and next day resigned as Speaker. Franklin was chosen in his place, and affixed his signature. The election for a new Assembly, October, 1764, brought a sharp struggle, in which the anti-proprietary party lost some of its leaders, both Galloway and Franklin being defeated, the latter by a minority of "about twenty-five in four thousand votes." The proprietary party, however, did not secure control of the Assembly, and when it met, upon a vote to recall the petition the nays were 22 against 10. Furthermore, it being resolved to send an additional agent to London, to assist Richard Jackson in representing Pennsylvania's interests, Franklin was chosen, 19 to 11. He left Philadelphia, on his third visit to England, November 7, 1764, escorted to Chester by a cavalcade of three hundred of his friends; there he embarked on the *King of Prussia*, Capt. Robinson, which made so good a voyage that he "arrived in thirty days at London," cheerfully leaving behind him the controversies that yet raged over the Paxtang episode, the petition to the King, and all their collateral causes of difference.

By the war that had just ended, France had lost Canada, and England apparently had greatly enriched herself. The fact was, as had been foreseen by men like Choiseul, the French minister, and

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Vergennes, then ambassador to Turkey, the passing of Canada into English control put the colonies into a position of safety which increased their independent spirit.[1] Pratt, the Attorney-General of England, afterward Lord Chancellor and Earl of Camden—he from whom the city opposite Philadelphia takes its name—had said to Franklin earlier than this: "For all you Americans say of your loyalty, and notwithstanding your boasted affection, you will one day set up for independence." "No such idea," replied Franklin, "is entertained by the Americans, or ever will be, *unless you grossly abuse them.*" "Very true," rejoined Pratt, "*that I see will happen, and will produce the event.*"

Benjamin Chew

To impose burdens on the Colonies now became the policy of the English ministries. They had been told that they could get from America large aid for the depleted royal exchequer. The royal governors of other colonies, and even such proprietary appointees as Thomas, Morris, and Denny, here, had sent to London for years complaints of the people's stubbornness and parsimony; and the royal officials, the judges of the admiralty—those "spies and informers" who had appeared at Philadelphia just before Penn's second visit—had poured into the ears of the Lords of Trade a stream of recommendations how to get more milk from the colonial herd. The officers and soldiers who had come over in the royal regiments were surprised to see the people living in so much comfort; they wrote home letters which persuaded people there that children who had prospered so greatly must be well able to help their mother.

Causes of irritation, as we have noticed in this narrative, already existed. In Franklin's *Gazette* in April, 1752, an article which noted the conviction for murder of a man who was a felon in England, and had been transported here, went on to denounce this practice of sending convicts to the colonies. "These are some of thy favors, Britain,"

[1] "I wonder," said Choiseul, the French Minister, "that your great Pitt should be so attached to the acquisition of Canada. In the hands of France, it will always be of service to you to keep your colonies in that dependence which they will not fail to shake off the moment Canada shall be ceded." Vergennes saw the same consequences. "I am persuaded," he said—and he afterward recalled this prediction to the notice of the British ministry—"that England will ere long repent of having removed the only check that could keep her colonies in awe. They stand no longer in need of her protection; *she will call on them to contribute toward supporting the burdens they have helped to bring on her; and they will answer by striking off all dependence.*" (Cf. citations in Bancroft, II.)

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said the angry writer. "Thou art called the mother country. But what good mother ever sent thieves and villains to accompany her children, to corrupt some . . . and murder the rest? . . . What must we think of that land which has advised the repeal of every law which we have hitherto made to prevent this deluge of wickedness from overwhelming us, and with this cruel sarcasm—that those laws were against the public utility, for they tended to prevent the improvement and well peopling of the colonies?" This seemed an impatient note for the year 1752, in a newspaper partly owned by the King's postmaster, but at this distance we can see that it was the first patter of rain-drops in the coming storm.

The measures of the English ministry took shape in 1764. They included new restraints on the colonial trade, and the proposal to lay taxes on the colonial people. The Navigation laws were made more stringent, the trade in molasses from the French West Indies was threatened with destruction, the King's ships were made spies and informers upon the merchant vessels, and a Stamp Tax was foreshadowed. The news of all this roused the colonies, especially Massachusetts. The New England merchants considered that their best trade, that with the French islands, to which they sent cattle, fish, and lumber, to be exchanged for money, and for molasses to distill into rum, would be ruined, and it was this, more than the abstract discussions of James Otis, which roused the Boston mobs. In 1764, the Massachusetts House of Representatives sent out a circular letter, condemning the new measures, and in response the Assembly at Philadelphia, September 22, adopted instructions to the Provincial Agent at London, Richard Jackson, directing him to use his best endeavors with the Ministry and Parliament "to prevent any such impositions and taxes, or any other impositions or taxes on the Colonists . . . inasmuch as they neither are nor can be represented, under their present Circumstances, in the Legislature."

But the English Ministry were privately told that the Stamp Tax would be little felt and slightly opposed. It looks as if Franklin himself was consenting to if not aiding in its passage. Correspondence published in Bradford's *Journal*, in September, 1766, and afterward, pointed to this, and in our own day a letter of Franklin, dated August 9, 1765, has been published for the first time,[1] confirming the impression produced by the letters which Bradford printed. We must not forget that Franklin's natural son William had been appointed, in 1762, royal Governor of New Jersey; and he was himself the King's postmaster-general for the colonies. Thomas Penn wrote to Governor Hamilton, on Franklin's return to Pennsylvania, 1762: "I am told

[1] Franklin to John Hughes; photographic copy in Mrs. A. M. Holstein's The Swedish Holsteins in America, Norristown, Pa., 1892.

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you will find Mr. Franklin more tractable, and I believe we shall, in matters of prerogative; as his son must obey instructions, and what he is ordered to do *the father cannot well oppose in Pennsylvania.*"[1]

CARPENTERS' HALL. FROM AN ORIGINAL DRAWING.[2]

Whoever recommended it, and however much opposed, the Stamp Act was passed by the Parliament, March 22, 1765, to go into effect November 1 of that year. At the end of May it was announced in Philadelphia that the royal appointee to sell the stamps and stamped paper was John Hughes, member of Assembly, and close friend and

[1] Bigelow's Franklin, I., 435.

[2] This view shows the building, as it now (1895) appears Its erection was begun in 1770; it was completed in 1791, and restored in 1857.

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follower of Franklin. He had been prominent before in the controversies over the petition to the King, but now the manifestations of popular dislike for him became threatening. In September, upon news of a change in the Ministry, and hope therefore that the Act would be repealed, bonfires were kindled, bells were rung, Hughes was burned in effigy, and a mob surrounded his house. The tide of feeling ran strong, and Massachusetts having now invited a general Congress of delegates from all the Colonies to meet at New York on the second Tuesday of November, to consult upon the situation, and ask relief from Parliament and the Crown, the Assembly in September passed a series of ten resolutions, condemning the new measures, and insisting that as the people of Pennsylvania had no representative in Parliament, such taxation was "unconstitutional and subversive of their most valuable rights." For delegates to the Congress Joseph Fox, the Speaker, John Dickinson, George Bryan, and John Morton were appointed.

Early in October the odious stamps arrived from England. Bradford's *Journal*, in its issue of October 3, announced that the ship which had brought them was at Newcastle, protected by a war vessel. Two days later, a Saturday, the ship came up to Philadelphia, the *Royal Charlotte*, Captain Holland, convoyed by his Majesty's sloop *Sardine*. She brought stamps for New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland. The reception given these ships, the course taken as to John Hughes, and the adoption, a few days later, of the Non-Importation Agreement, were the opening, at Philadelphia, of the events leading to the American Revolution. All of them were steps in opposition to the law of England; some of them so defied the law as to incur its severest penalties, if they could have been enforced. As the ships were seen off Gloucester Point, the vessels in the harbor half-masted their colors, the bells were tolled, and crowds gathered in the street. After noon, a great meeting assembled at the state-house—"several thousand people," the contemporary accounts say. Addresses were delivered, denouncing the Stamp Act as unconstitutional and void.[1] Seven persons, James Tilghman, Robert Morris, Charles Thomson, Archibald McCall, John Cox, William Richards, and William Bradford, were sent to John Hughes to demand that he resign. They came back reporting him sick in bed; he had, however, assured them that he would take no steps here to carry out the Act "until it was generally complied with in the other colonies." The answer was felt by the meeting to be insufficient, but considering Hughes's illness, it was decided to address him in writing, to give him

[1] In Boston: "'The Stamp Act,' repeated every one, over and over, 'is against Magna Charta; and Lord Coke says an act of parliament against Magna Charta is for that reason void.'" (Bancroft, III., 142.) This was the basis of the arguments, no doubt, at the state-house in Philadelphia.

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until Monday for a reply, and to adjourn to that time. On Monday, Hughes's letter was received; it repeated, more emphatically and fully, the verbal pledge given the committee.

It resulted therefore that the stamps never were delivered to Hughes, and never were used at all. The commotions in the other colonies, the general defiance of the Act, the resignation of the other Stamp Agents, gave him no opportunity, if he desired any, to enter on his appointment, without breaking his pledge. "Under pretense that he had not received his Commission, or had any Authority to take them into his possession," he declined to take the stamps, and Governor Penn sent the whole of them on board the *Sardine*, to be kept by her commander, Captain James Hawker, "there being no Fort or Place of Security where I could lodge them on shore."[1]

EDWARD SHIPPEN, MAYOR 1744–5.

November 1 the Act was to take effect. There was a general concert of action to nullify it. The printers had issued their almanacs for 1766, in the summer, four or five months before the usual time. On the last day of October the newspapers appeared in mourning, and announced their suspension of issue—which however, as the law was not enforced, they almost immediately resumed. Business was done without the stamped paper that the law required. Legal proceedings were suspended. The public offices were closed, and so remained until the following May, when news was received of the repeal of the Act. The lawyers, at a meeting, resolved it imprudent to conduct legal business without stamped paper, while the law was nominally in force.

More important, however, than any of these manifestations of opposition, and chief of all for its influence at London, was the Non-Importation Agreement. It was seen that there must be some powerful pressure applied to the influential classes in England to secure repeal of the Act. The policy of refusing to import English goods was decided on. On the 6th of November a circular was issued calling the merchants together at the court-house, on the following afternoon at four. There was a large gathering, and resolutions were unanimously adopted in effect suspending imports from England until after the repeal of the Stamp Act.[2] A committee of eleven, selected from the principal merchants and importers of the city, Thomas Willing, Samuel Mifflin, Thomas Montgomery, Samuel Howell, Samuel Whar-

[1] Gov. Penn to Conway, Col. Records, IX., 300. More stamps arrived a few days later in the *Philadelphia Packet*, Capt. Budden, which were also placed on board the *Sardine*, and two ships in January brought some more, which were similarly disposed of.

[2] See the resolutions in full, with signatures, at close of this chapter.

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ton, John Rhea, William Fisher, Joshua Fisher, Peter Chevalier, Benjamin Fuller, and Abel James, was appointed to carry the agreement into effect. Many signed at once; within a week the reissued *Journal* announced that "about four hundred" had done so. Thomas Bradford, a lad, the son of William Bradford the printer, at whose London Coffee-House, at Front and Market—the exchange for merchants, centre of news, and headquarters of the rising movement toward rebellion—the plan of non-importation had no doubt been devised, carried the paper around.[1] The retail merchants adopted similar restrictions, and named as their committee, John Ord, Francis Wade, Joseph Deane, David Deshler, George Bartram, Andrew Doz, Geo. Schlosser, Jas. Hunter, Thos. Paschall, Thomas West, and Valentine Charles. Meantime, the "Stamp Act Congress" had been held at New York. Nine colonies sent delegates—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina. The other four were not represented: the Assemblies of Virginia and North Carolina had not sat since the call was issued; New Hampshire and Georgia gave assurances of their readiness to join in petitioning for the repeal of the Act. From Pennsylvania, Dickinson, Bryan, and Morton attended, and Dickinson took a prominent part. He had published, in the summer, a pamphlet,[2] in which he discussed with great ability the condition of colonial trade, and pointed out the injury the new measures would inflict. In this pamphlet and in the work done at the Congress of 1765 he laid the foundation of the fame which his "Farmer's Letters" gave him two years later.

SHIPPEN ARMS.

The Stamp Act was repealed March 18, 1766, the repeal being accompanied, however, with the ill-omened Declaratory Act, asserting the right of Parliament to make laws binding the Colonies "in all cases whatsoever," and condemning as unlawful the votes in the colonial Assemblies which had denied the power of Parliament to tax them. The Declaratory Act was fraught with mischief, because it

[1] He went, he said, "from house to house and store to store . . . After he had procured many of the signatures the document was placed in his father's office at the Coffee-House . . . for public inspection; at which place the remaining names were added." (Wallace's Col. William Bradford, 55, note.) The date October 25 has been very commonly assigned to the Agreement, but it is evident from several contemporary statements that the merchants' meeting was held, as stated, Nov. 7. (Cf. note by F. D. Stone, in Etting's Independence Hall, p. 54.) It may however easily be that the movement to bring about such an agreement was begun, at the Coffee House, as early as the 25th of October.

[2] "The Late Regulations respecting the British Colonies on the Continent of America considered."

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laid the ground for future taxes, but the news of Stamp Act repeal was received in America with unqualified joy. It came to Philadelphia by the brig *Minerva*, which arrived on the 20th of May, and her commander, Captain Wise, was effusively welcomed, treated at the coffee-house, and presented with "a gold-laced cocked hat." The next day, at a dinner at the state-house, three hundred plates were laid, Mayor Lawrence presided, and Governor Penn, Captain Hawker of the *Sardine*, and other officers of the royal service, were guests. The twenty-one toasts began with that to the King, and the fourth, we may pause to observe, was: "May the illustrious house of Hanover preside over the united British empire to the end of time!" A resolution was adopted: "That to demonstrate our affection to Great Britain and our gratitude for the repeal of the Stamp Act, each of us will, on the 4th of June next, being the birthday of our most gracious sovereign George III., dress ourselves in a new suit of the manufactures of England, and give what homespun we have to the poor." And in the spirit of this resolution, when the King's birthday was celebrated, June 4, the final toast at a great dinner "on the banks of the Schuylkill," where "four hundred and thirty persons dined at tables fixed in a beautiful grove near the river," was a recognition of the right of England to the monopoly of manufacture, and the duty of the colonies to confine themselves to agriculture: "May the manufactures of Great Britain, the population of the Colonies, and the cultivation of their lands forever increase, to the mutual interest of both!"

The rejoicings were premature and excessive. June 29, 1767, Parliament passed a new measure to obtain revenue from America, laying duties on paper, glass, painters' colors, lead and tea, imported into the colonies. This was again resisted. The Philadelphia merchants, April 25, 1768, met and set forth their grievances. Their statement included eight heads of complaint, ending with the "emptying their jails upon us." The law forbidding steel furnaces and iron-works, "the restraint laid on hatters, and the prohibition of exporting hats," were among the grievances, and the following appear entitled, even in this rapid summary of events, to full quotation:

"4. The prohibition of carrying wool or any kind of woolen goods manufactured here from one colony to another. A single fleece of wool, or a dozen of home-made hose carried from one colony to another, is not only forfeited, but subjects the vessel, if conveyed by water, or the wagon and horse, if carried by land, to a seizure, and the owner to a heavy fine.

"5. Though the Spaniards may cut and carry directly to what market they please, yet the Americans cannot send to any foreign market, even what the demand in England cannot take off, without first carrying it to some British port, and there landing it, and reshipping it, at a great expense and loss of time.

"6. Obliging us to carry Portugal and Spanish wines, fruit, &c., to England,

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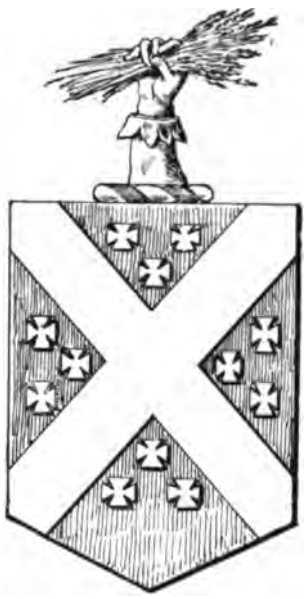
there to unload, pay a heavy duty, and reship it, thus subjecting us to a new expense, and our vessels to an unnecessary voyage of one thousand miles in a dangerous sea.

"7. Imposing a duty on Madeira wines, which, if reshipped to England are subjected to the payment of the full duties there, without any drawback for what was paid here." [1]

These statements speak for themselves. They disclose the difficulties under which the commerce and the industry of the city—the former, as yet, all important, the latter only showing the first signs of life—labored, and they explain why, aside from abstract reasonings and legal arguments, there was so strong a resentment shown toward England in the ten years that preceded the collision at Concord, and the opening of the Revolutionary war.



DENNY ARMS.

New agreements of non-importation were made by the merchants in March and April, 1768. As in 1765, they referred to all English goods, and were generally observed, until in July, 1770, the merchants of New York decided to apply the restriction only to articles on which duty was laid. This occasioned a sharp letter from the Merchants' Committee here to that in New York. "You have certainly weakened that union of the Colonies on which their safety depends," the letter declared, "and will thereby strengthen the hands of our enemies, and encourage them to prosecute their designs against our common liberty. We cannot forbear telling you that however you may colour your proceedings, we think you have in the day of trial, deserted the cause of liberty and your country." [2]

William Denny

By successive amendments the law of 1767 had been modified by Parliament until it imposed a duty only on tea, and that three pence per pound. The whole controversy apparently impinged upon this trifling tax. But the contest, as we have seen, related, in trade, to the general commercial policy of England, and in law, to the right to levy any tax whatever. The general struggle therefore continued, inflamed and heightened by many accompanying events. In December, 1767, John Dickinson had printed in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*—established that year by William Goddard, and making

[1] These statements concerning foreign trade will be better understood by reference to the details given, ante, pp. 224, 225, of the nature of Philadelphia's commerce in 1731.

[2] Pennsylvania Journal, July 12, 1770.

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three weekly newspapers now published in Philadelphia—the first of his "Farmer's Letters." It appeared December 2, and was followed regularly by eleven others, the last appearing February 17, 1768. In these Letters, the most skillfully devised and ably stated contribution to the controversy, up to that time, and which have given John Dickinson a fame inseparable from the American Revolution, the whole constitutional and legal question was argued, and the hardships of the English system upon the Colonies pointed out. "One of the ablest statements of the American case," Mr. Lecky calls them,[1] and Mr. Bancroft says they "carried conviction through all the thirteen colonies."

While the question thus remained pending as to tea, action in England forced it to an issue. The East India Company, so embarrassed in finances as to be almost bankrupt, had in its warehouses seventeen millions of pounds of unsold tea. By a change of the law, made for its benefit, it was allowed to export this directly to the colonies. Its ships were therefore loaded, and the cargoes consigned for sale to American merchants. To Philadelphia came the ship *Polly*, which arrived December 26, 1773, and was sent back as it came, with its cargo untouched. At Boston the ship *Dartmouth* had arrived a few days earlier, and on the 16th of December, in the evening, a body of men disguised as Indians boarded the ship, and two others that had arrived, carried up the boxes of tea, burst them open, and threw them into the bay. These acts were a protest, not merely against the tea tax, but against the general English system. The protest needed a peg to hang upon; it was hung on the import of duty-bearing tea. From the day the ship was turned back at Philadelphia, as the year 1773 closed, and the news spread of the open and flagrant contempt of the law at Boston, the conflict of arms with England became practically inevitable. The Government at London, strong, imperious, and dull of perception, unaware of the ultimate resources of the Colonies, and assured that the rebellious disposition was exceptional, not general, could never endure such defiance. The Act of Parliament commonly called the Boston Port Bill, closing the port at Boston, and transferring the entry and clearance of vessels to Salem, which was also made the capital of the Province, followed, and General Gage was sent with four regiments of royal troops to Boston to enforce the new act. The war was thus practically begun.

Let us review now, more particularly, the Philadelphia incidents in this struggle, between the repeal of the Stamp Act, and the news of the Boston Port Bill. Besides the meeting of the merchants, in

[1] England in the 18th Century, III., 455.

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April, 1768, whose action has been noticed, another meeting was held at the state-house, August 1, where vigorous resolutions were adopted, condemning the course of the ministry, denying Parliament's right to tax those not represented, and demanding the stoppage of importations. The Assembly instructed Franklin and Jackson to press the repeal of the taxes, and resolved that the Colonies had "the undoubted right to correspond with each other relative to grievances affecting the general welfare." The Earl of Hillsborough, now Colonial Secretary in the English Ministry, had instructed Governor Penn that if the Assembly took notice of the address which had been sent out from Massachusetts—"this flagitious attempt to disturb the public peace"—he should prevent any action by instant adjournment or prorogation of that body. The Governor was relieved from attempting such a stroke by the terms of the Charter of 1701; the Assembly of Pennsylvania had now for sixty-seven years met annually on a day fixed, and "sat on its own adjournments." In April, 1769, the birthday of Paoli, the Corsican patriot, was celebrated by a dinner at Byrne's tavern, and the toasts, which ran up to forty-four, began with George the Third, and ended with "Mr. Adams." Other sentiments at this dinner reflect the spirit of the times: "May Great Britain always be just, and America always free!" "The spirit of Paoli to every American!" "May every British minister be convinced that nothing is lawful but what is just!" "The town of Boston!" "Unanimity to the Colonies!"

Wm. Bradford [1]

Cargoes arriving contrary to the second non-importation rule, adopted in 1768, caused trouble, but were dealt with according to the agreement. In July, 1769, the *Charming Polly* arrived from Yarmouth, England, loaded with malt. It was consigned to Amos Strettell, who said he did not know the consignor, and had not heard of the shipment till the vessel arrived. She was sent back, without being discharged; the brewers—Haines and Twells, Isaac Howell, Anthony Morris, Jr., Francis Coade, Anthony C. Morris, Reinard Kreimer, Moore and Chesnutt, Valentine Stanley, and Moore and Pusey—had resolved they would buy none of the malt. A little later the

[1] This is a portrait of William Bradford, the patriot printer of the Revolution, and grandson of William Bradford, the first printer.

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Speedwell, from England, brought a cargo of dry-goods, mostly small lots, for various merchants, which had been ordered before the non-importation agreements. It was agreed to store the goods in a safe place, until the repeal of the tax laws. In October came the ship *Friends' Good Will*, from Hull, with dry-goods, not ordered, but consigned by English traders, on their own account, to merchants here. She was sent back with the goods. In the summer of 1770, two Irish vessels, the ship *Catherine*, from Belfast, and the snow *Charlotte*, from Waterford, brought cargoes of malt, and these being "from Ireland, not England," were allowed to be landed and sold. The merchants at Newport, Rhode Island, in May 1770, broke the agreement of non-import, and were denounced at a meeting at the Coffee-House as "deficient in their public faith," and a vessel from that port, commanded by Captain Whitman, which had just arrived, was requested "to depart quietly without attempting to unload any part of the cargo." Another Rhode Island sloop came two weeks later, and was sent back; the captains of three other sloops from that province left their vessels at the Capes, came to the city, and learning the state of affairs here did not bring their cargoes up. The action of the New York merchants was denounced by a meeting at the state-house, on the 14th of July, (1770), as "a sordid and wanton defection from the common cause," but it became evident within the next few months that it was not practicable to maintain non-importation of all sorts of English goods.

The advancement of the city was marked by various evidences. The old alms-house was found insufficient, and another lot was bought, the square between Spruce and Pine and Tenth and Eleventh streets, and new buildings erected, in 1766–67. These were long known as the "Bettering-House." Its accommodations were for the benefit of the poor of the city proper, the district of Southwark—which had been formed by the Assembly in 1762[1]—and the townships of Northern Liberties, Passyunk, and Moyamensing. The elections for the county were changed from the court-house to the state-house, in 1765, and the city election was held on the day following the county poll. In 1767 the city wardens reported they had erected 320 public lamps, and had 120 public pumps under their care, while 54 other pumps in the streets, lanes and alleys of the city were not under their charge. Eighteen watchmen were then employed. In 1768 the street commissioners advertised for a person to contract to remove,

[1] By Act, March 26, 1762. It was called the District of Southwark, and its bounds were defined, commencing at the Delaware, Cedar street; west to Passyunk road; along this to Moyamensing road; by Keeler's Lane to Greenwich road, thence to the Delaware, and up it to place of beginning. The oversight of the streets was given to three surveyors or regulators, and local taxation to three assessors and three supervisors—all elected annually by the people. The district continued a part of the county, with this composite system, partly urban, partly rural.

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at least once a week, "within the paved streets of the city," what we now call garbage and ashes—"all such dirt as shall arise from and is incident to common housekeeping," said the advertisement. The paving of streets was extended; work done in 1768 is described as on Chestnut street, from Fourth "to the pavement opposite the steps of the state-house," and on High street at the "new market," and on Pine and other streets. The Philadelphia Contributionship, the first fire insurance organization, organized in 1752 as a private partnership, was incorporated in 1768—the first company of the kind in Pennsylvania. The year before the members had done the public the service of erecting milestones, twenty-nine in number, on the York Road as far as Trenton ferry, and twenty more on the road south to Chester and Wilmington. In 1769 the Assembly revived and extended an Act passed in 1762, (limited to seven years,) appointing commissioners of streets, sewers, water-courses, etc.[1] A count of the houses in 1769 found the number in the ten wards to be 3,318, and in the northern and southern suburbs 1,156, making 4,474 altogether.[2] The fire companies, which had previously been entirely self-supporting, began to receive aid from the City in 1770, when the Common Council agreed to house the apparatus of the Sun Fire Company. In the same year the carters, wagoners, and draymen were required to register themselves in the office of the Clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions, and to place their numbers on their vehicles. In 1772, the old jail at Third and High streets being inadequate, the Assembly authorized the county commissioners to purchase another lot, and erect buildings

Rech. de Penn

[1] Wheels of carts were required to have felloes at least four inches wide. This remained the law until 1790, when remonstrances from the country caused its repeal. (An act in 1763 had required the felloes of wagons and carts to be seven inches wide. The carters remonstrated, saying the wheelwrights could not make felloes so wide, and that the prices—if they could—were beyond their means, £7 per pair. The street commissioners insisted on the width being maintained, as necessary for the preservation of the pavements, and said they had procured eighteen pairs of wheels, with the axletrees, at £4 10s. each.)

[2] Mulberry ward 920
Upper Delaware 234
North 417
High 166
Middle 358
Chestnut 112
South 147
Walnut 105
Lower Delaware 120
Dock 739
— 3318
Northern Liberties to Second street bridge at Stacy's run 553
Southwark to the north side of Love lane 603
—
4474

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for a jail, work-house, and house of correction. The new prison was built at Sixth and Walnut streets, later, and was a prominent structure of the city for many years.[1]

In this period the Maryland Boundary dispute, whose beginnings we traced in the time of Markham, before the *Welcome's* arrival, was finally set at rest. The long course of controversy had come to its end at last, in the English courts, and a decision, in 1750, by Lord Chancellor Hardwicke had confirmed an agreement reached in 1732 by the Penns and Lord Baltimore—Charles, the fifth baron, grandson of the Charles whom we saw at Chester in 1682—and decreed its performance. Some difficulties were still thrown in the way, but in 1760 the Lord Chancellor made a further decree, disposing of the subordinate disputes, and on the 15th of November, 1763, there arrived at Philadelphia two English engineers and surveyors, men then of scientific distinction, but since connected by imperishable bonds with American history, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon. They promptly began the work of running the southern line, and were engaged upon it for four years. By the end of 1767 they had proceeded westward nearly to the limit of the Pennsylvania grant, when they were stopped by the Indians. They returned to England a few months later. Their local operations in Philadelphia are of interest, for they had built for their use, immediately after their arrival, in the southern part of the city, a rude frame observatory, the first structure of the kind in America.[2] They were seeking to establish exactly the latitude of the most southerly part of the city of Philadelphia, and they decided this to be a house on the south side of Cedar (now South) street, between Penn and Front. The latitude of the north wall of this building they fixed as 39 degrees, 56 minutes, 29.1 seconds north. Due south of this point fifteen miles they found the latitude of the boundary which divides Maryland from Pennsylvania, "Mason's and Dixon's Line," the separating line, before the century was out, of Freedom and Slavery.

One more topic claims our attention, before we proceed with the details of the Revolution. The resolution of the meeting at the

[1] It consisted of a stone building fronting 184 feet on Walnut street, and 82 feet deep, with wings ninety feet deep. A stone building on Prune street was erected for a workhouse, but became used for the debtors' prison.—Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer: "*Sept. 10, 1774.* Took supper at the new gaol, opposite the state-house yard—a part of the gaol was raised to-day. Joseph Fox and Edward Duffield, of the managers, gave the workmen a supper, and afterwards they asked a few of their friends to the north-east corner room, where something was provided for them separately: William Fisher, Mayor: Thomas Lawrence, Sen'r; Reynold Keen, Robert Smith, James Pearson, Judah Foulke, William Jones, William Gray, and myself." (Pa. Mag., XVI., 97.)

[2] For the observation of the Transit of Venus, June 3, 1769, the American Philosophical Society secured aid from the Assembly, £100, and built an observatory in the state-house yard. Here the phenomenon was witnessed by Dr. John Ewing, Joseph Shippen, Dr. Hugh Williamson, Thomas Prior, Charles Thomson, and James Pearson. At his observatory at Norriton, David Rittenhouse also observed the Transit, accompanied by Dr. William Smith, John Sellers, and John Lukens. At the light-house at Cape Henlopen, Owen Biddle took observations: he had the use of the reflecting telescope sent over by Thomas Penn for Mason and Dixon, and used by them in their work. The weather was favorable for all the parties, and their observations were valuable.

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state-house, in 1766, to discard homespun, and buy English cloth, was a stroke not without a savor of cruelty at the feeble but persevering efforts to establish home manufactures. Up to 1767, little had really been accomplished. Governor Penn, writing January 21 of that year, to the Lords of Trade, was able to answer their jealous inquiries that there were few manufacturing industries in Pennsylvania. He said:

HOUSE WHERE THE FIRST AMERICAN FLAG IS SAID TO HAVE BEEN MADE.[1]

"Nor do I know of any actually carrying on at this time except two. One of them was set up about three years ago in this city by private subscription for the making of sail cloth, ticking and linens; but the persons concerned have already sunk money by their project, for the high price of labor will not allow any of the articles to be made at so cheap a rate as those of the same quality and goodness manufactured in England are sold for by the retailers here; they have therefore lately resolved to discontinue that undertaking. The other is a glass manufactory, which was erected about four years ago in Lancaster county, seventy miles from this city, by a private person. It is still carried on though to a very inconsiderable extent, there being no other vent for their ware, which is of a very ordinary quality, but to supply the small demands of the villages and farmers in the adjacent inland country."

The glass-works in Lancaster county was that of the unfortunate Baron Stiegel; it failed in 1772, in spite of assistance by the Assembly. In the city, 1769, Richard Wistar called attention to the duties laid on glassware, "imposed for the sole purpose of revenue," and advertised for sale his own make of glass lamps, and bottles, at his house "opposite the meal market." A more ambitious enterprise was a porcelain-works established by George Anthony Morris and

[1] This house was formerly No. 89, and is now No. 239 Arch street. In it, in 1776, lived Mrs. Elizabeth Ross. A paper read March 14, 1870, before the Historical Society of Penna., by William J. Canby, of Washington, D. C., grandson of Mrs. Ross, stated that in June, 1776, a Committee of Congress, of whom Robert Morris and Col. George Ross were members, accompanied by General Washington, called on Mrs. Ross, and engaged her to make an American flag—thirteen stripes, alternately red and white, with thirteen white stars (five-pointed) in a blue field. They brought a rough drawing, which at her suggestion was re-drawn by Washington, in pencil, while sitting in her back parlor. The flag thus designed, says Mr. Canby, was adopted by Congress. (Cf. Admiral Preble's History of the Flag, p. 265, et seq.) Washington was in Philadelphia, in 1776, from May 23 to June 6. Congress passed formal resolutions fixing the flag, June 14, 1777.—Mrs. Ross was the daughter of Samuel and Rebecca Griscom; she was born 1752, died 1836. She was successively wife of John Ross, Joseph Ashburn, and John Claypoole. (Cf. paper by Charles F. Jenkins, on John Claypoole, Pa. Mag., XVI., 178.)

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others, in Southwark, in 1771. The projectors declared that American clays would produce porcelain not excelled by that of the famous Bow factories near London. A year later, however, their enterprise failed, and the imported workmen found themselves without resources and in distress. In August, 1770, the *Pennsylvania Journal* welcomed the arrival, on the brig *Dolphin*, of a number of weavers, "the nerves and sinews of any country." Wool manufacture was earnestly urged in the newspapers, and Michael Washington exhibited several pieces of cloth of his own make at the Coffee-House. It was proposed to bring weavers from Ireland, and the Hibernian Society advocated the forming of a patriotic organization for the manufacture of woolens, with permission to raise £1000 a year by lottery. To increase the production of wool it was recommended in 1774 by the Committees of Correspondence that the citizens should not purchase or eat mutton or lamb, between the first of January and the first of May, 1775, and no ewe lamb until the first of October. The butchers, to the number of sixty-one—probably the entire body in the city—resolved that they would not kill animals of these descriptions within the described time. In 1769, Plunket Fleeson, a well-known citizen, advertised paper-hangings of his own make at Fourth and Chestnut Streets, and called attention to the "considerable duty" on those goods. In 1773, the American Philosophical Society turned its attention to paper, and offered premiums for the largest savings of rags sold to paper makers. By 1770, Whitehead Humphreys's steel furnace on Seventh street, between Market and Chestnut, was in full operation, and the Assembly gave it a grant of £100. Two years later he set up a £700 lottery to aid his enterprise. The potash industry, which in 1772 had reached importance, received a notable stimulus from William Henderson, who in that year offered £30 per ton for alkaline salts boiled from the lyes of ashes. The same year, John Rhea started potash works on Goodman's wharf, above Race street.

Benjamin Rush

Ambitious efforts were made to establish the silk industry. The American Philosophical Society gave its patronage, and aided with money. Franklin was agent in London for the sale of the raw silk, and wrote June 14, 1773, to Abel James and Benjamin Morgan that he had realized £210 ,10s. 5½d. from his sales, for which sum they

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might draw on him. The year before, a robe woven from the Philadelphia silk had been presented, on behalf of those engaged in the production, to the Queen, who promised to wear it on the King's birthday. After a long struggle, however, the silk enterprise failed.

Word that the East India Company would consign its tea to America for sale was first given on this side of the Atlantic by a letter from someone in London, published at Philadelphia in Goddard's *Chronicle*, September 27, 1773. The promoters of the movement of opposition consulted at once, and on the 16th of October the first public meeting on the subject was held at the state-house, Thomas Cadwalader presiding. Resolutions were adopted to the effect that the tea must not be landed, and a committee was named to secure pledges from the consignees that they would decline to receive it. This meeting preceded that in Boston, which was held November 5, and which took similar action, using much the same language as the state-house meeting, John Hancock remarking that the Philadelphia resolutions fully expressed the feeling of Boston.

The tea consignees in Philadelphia were the two Quaker firms, conservative and safe, Thomas and Isaac Wharton, and James and Drinker.[1] Both these were waited on by the committee, and both agreed to refuse the tea. A crowd gathered about Abel James, when the demand was made, and he gave his word for his future action, but pointed to his daughter Rebecca, a little girl, who was standing on the top of a hogshead in the store, and pledged her as his surety.

The ship sent by the Company to Philadelphia was a three-decker, the *Polly*, Captain Ayres. Another of the consignees, Mr. Gilbert Barclay, came passenger in the ship. She was anxiously awaited. Anonymous handbills, signed by "the Committee for Tarring and Feathering," were circulated, threatening any pilot who should bring the ships up to the city, while another promised rough treatment to Captain Ayres if he should "ride rusty." He was described in the handbill as "a short fat fellow, and a little obstinate," and it was added that he had been here before, "in the time of the Stamp Act." December 24, word of the "Tea Party" at Boston was received, and it was the next day, Christmas, that an express rode in from Chester to say that the *Polly* was lying in the river before that town. The committee moved promptly. Mr. Barclay, who had probably landed at Chester, was seen, and after an interview agreed to decline also as a consignee, his yielding being "in a manner which affected every one present." At two in the afternoon of Sunday, the 26th, the *Polly* was off Gloucester Point. There she was hailed, and the Captain desired to come ashore. He "landed

[1] Abel James was the son-in-law of Thomas Chalkley, the Quaker sea-captain, merchant, and preacher. His home, "Chalkley Hall," near Frankford, is still a well-known and beautiful old place.

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thro' a lane made by the people," conferred with the committee, and agreed to leave the ship, and go up to the city to learn better the popular feeling. The next morning, upon an hour's notice, a great meeting assembled at the state-house, and that being too small, overflowed into the yard.[1] Resolutions were adopted that the tea "shall not be landed," nor the vessel entered or reported at the custom-house; that the Captain should send his ship to Reedy Island, "next high water," should be allowed a day in town to get necessaries, and in two days should sail for England. The last resolution

THE WALNUT STREET PRISON.

of the series highly approved the conduct of the people of New York, Charles-Town, and Boston, and thanked those of Boston "for their resolution in destroying the Tea, rather than suffering it to be landed." Captain Ayres attended the meeting, "and publicly engaged that he would literally comply" with the requirements made of him.[2] On Tuesday, the 28th, "at three-quarters of an hour after two o'clock," the Captain and Mr. Barclay left Arch street

[1] The account in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, Jan. 3, 1774, which is here followed, says the ground which was covered by the people was measured, and near 8000 were estimated to have been there, while many arrived too late, on account of the short notice.

[2] He had conferred with the Whartons, who advised him not to defy the public feeling. He therefore formally offered them the tea, which they refused, and demanded payment of freight, which was refused also, and a notary certified protest. The Whartons advanced him money for his provisions, and he gave them a bill in payment drawn on his owners. Altogether Captain Ayres seemed not at all "obstinate." (Cf. letter of Thos. Wharton to Thomas Walpole, Penna. Mag., XIV., 78.)

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wharf on a pilot-boat, "having been 46 hours in town." There was a crowd to see them off, "who wished them a good voyage." The *Polly* left Reedy Island, when they were safe on board, and the tea went back in her "to its old rotting-place in Leadenhall street, London," as the *Packet's* account exultingly declared. Such was the Tea episode at Philadelphia—a piece of revolutionary work without blood and without bluster, yet every way clean-cut and conclusive.

The *Polly* made a good eastern voyage, for no later than February 5 the Earl of Dartmouth wrote on behalf of the Ministry to Governor Penn, expressing surprise at the news from Philadelphia, and implying censure of the Governor for not forwarding "a single letter of advice or information." But the Governor could well explain that the whole affair was over so quickly that he had little time to prepare a report.

The closing of the Port of Boston took effect on the 1st of June, 1774. Shortly before that date Paul Revere had reached Philadelphia to deliver here letters sent out by the Boston leaders, who anxiously asked for support. On the evening of Friday, May 20, a meeting was held in the "long room" at the City Tavern, on the west side of Second street, above Walnut. Charles Thomson,[1] John Dickinson, Joseph Reed and Thomas Mifflin spoke. The proceedings, for a time distracted and tumultuous, were concluded by a general agreement to send a sympathetic reply to the Boston letter, and to appoint a committee to propose it. The letter was written next day, and word of the proceedings of the meeting was sent to the Southern colonies, "accompanied with letters intimating the necessity of a Congress of delegates from all the colonies." The letter to Boston was drawn by Dr. William Smith. It was scarcely more than a wordy generalization of the resolution adopted the night before, which said to the Boston people that "we consider them as suffering in the general cause; . . . we recommend to them firmness, prudence and moderation, and . . . we shall continue to evince our firmness to the cause of American Liberty;" but it encouraged the proposal of a general Congress of the colonies.

On the 1st of June the calamity of Boston was remembered and signified in Philadelphia by general evidences of grief. The stores were mostly closed, the ships' flags placed at half mast, the chime of bells in Christ Church muffled. At the Presbyterian Church, at Third and Arch streets, a sermon of lamentation from Esther, iv., 3, was preached. Further action soon followed these demonstrations.

[1] Thomson, by agreement with the other speakers, assumed a vehement tone, pressing for an immediate declaration in favor of Boston, and making common cause with her. "But being overcome with the heat of the room and fatigue, for he had scarce slept an hour, two nights past, he fainted, and was carried out into an adjoining room." (Cf. Chas. Thomson's Narrative, sent to W. H. Drayton, Pa. Mag., II.)

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More meetings were held; one at the state-house, June 18, urged the calling of a general Congress, and appointed a Committee of Correspondence for the city and county, of forty-three members.[1] A circular letter was sent to all the counties of Pennsylvania, asking them to appoint deputies to meet at a conference at Carpenters' Hall on the 15th of July. This conference was duly held; Thomas Willing was president, Charles Thomson secretary. Besides other resolutions, it requested the Assembly to appoint delegates to the proposed Congress. The resolutions were drafted by John Dickinson, and were formally presented to the Assembly, then in session, on July 21. It assented to the request, and named Joseph Galloway, the Speaker, Samuel Rhoads, Thomas Mifflin, Charles Humphreys, George Ross, and Edward Biddle as delegates.[2] (Later, John Dickinson was added.) The Massachusetts Assembly, on the 17th of June, with their door locked, proceeding with the business while the Governor's secretary on the outside was reading a proclamation dissolving them, had designated Philadelphia as the place, and September 1 as the time of meeting.

ALEXANDER WILSON.

On the 5th of September, therefore, at Carpenters' Hall, in Philadelphia, assembled the First Continental Congress.

Carpenters' Hall, on Chestnut street between Third and Fourth, had been built in 1770. It was the property of the Carpenters' Com-

[1] John Dickinson, chairman; Edward Penington, John Nixon, Thomas Willing, George Clymer, Samuel Howell, Joseph Reed, John Roberts, Thomas Wharton, Jr., Charles Thomson, Jacob Baage, Thomas Barkley, William Rush, Robert Smith (carpenter), Thomas Fitzsimons, George Roberts, Samuel Ewen, Thomas Mifflin, John Cox, George Gray, Robert Morris, Samuel Miles, John M. Nesbitt, Peter Chevalier, William Moulder, Joseph Moulder, Anthony Morris, John Allen, Jeremiah Warder, Jr., Rev. Dr. William Smith, Paul Engle, Thomas Penrose, James Mease, Benjamin Marshall, Reuben Haines, John Bayard, Jonathan B. Smith, Thomas Wharton, Isaac Howell, Michael Hillegas, Adam Hubley, George Schlosser and Christian Ludwick.

[2] The Assembly had adjourned to September, but Governor Penn, though declining to call it for the purpose of electing delegates to the proposed Congress, summoned it, late in June, on account of disturbances in the western counties, to meet July 18. It decided, when electing the delegates, to choose them from its own members. Thomas Willing, John Dickinson and James Wilson, who had been among those proposed, were thus excluded. Of this action, and the Assembly itself, a letter of John Young to his aunt, Mrs. Fergusson, of Græme Park, says (Pa. Mag., II., 418):

"I believe the Committees, and, indeed, people in general, are not well pleased at the Assembly's chusing the members of y^e^ Congress out of their own house; indeed, I think it is a reflection on them that the *Farmer* [John Dickinson] was not one of the number. I assure [you] our Honorable House made but a scurvy appearance the day the memorial was presented to them by the Committees. It was enough to make one sweat to see a parcel of Countrymen sitting with their hats on, great Coarse Cloth Coats, Leather Breeches, and woolen Stockings, in the month of July; there was not a Speech made the whole time, whether their silence proceeded from their Modesty, or from their inability to speak, I know not."

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pany, organized in 1724.[1] Though not entirely finished, it had been used as a meeting place by the revolutionary committees, at different times, and by the provincial conference in July. The Assembly was to sit at the state-house September 12, and another place was consequently taken for the Congress.[2]

The delegates to the Congress began to appear early in August; on the 9th there arrived, "in the Charleston packet," Henry Middleton and Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, and on the 22d Christopher Gadsden and James Lynch, also delegates from that province, landed at the wharf, having come by the brig *Sea Nymph* from Charleston. The early arrival of the South Carolinians gave them opportunity for consultation here, and it was James Lynch who made the motions of organization when the Congress met. From New Hampshire there rode down Colonel Nathaniel Folsom, and Major John Sullivan—the latter soon to be a conspicuous soldier, unfortunate, if not unwatchful, at Brandywine—and on the 29th the important four delegates from Massachusetts, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine, were met at Frankford by "a number of carriages and gentlemen," who "cordially welcomed" them to Philadelphia. "We then," says John Adams, "rode into the town, and dirty, dusty, and fatigued as we were, we could not resist the importunity to go to the Tavern, the most genteel one in America."[3] Eleven colonies had their delegates present on the 5th of September, when the Congress organized. Those from North Carolina arrived on the 12th. Georgia was unrepresented. John Dickinson, chosen a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly by Philadelphia county, at the election in October, was later (October 15) made a delegate to the Congress, and taking his seat on the 17th became one of its most active members in the last ten days of the session. Altogether there were fifty-three delegates, and among them, besides those already named, were John Jay of New York, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, Cæsar Rodney, Thomas McKean, and George Read, of Delaware;[4]

[1] They bought the lot Feb. 3, 1768, 66 feet on Chestnut, by 255 feet deep, for an annual ground rent of "176 Spanish milled pieces of eight, of fine silver." A portion of the Chestnut street front was afterwards sold off, leaving the "Carpenters' Court" as entrance to the Hall. The building was begun February 5, 1770, and was sufficiently advanced for a meeting to be held in it Jan. 21, 1771. It was not entirely finished until 1792.

[2] "At ten the delegates all met at the City Tavern and walked to Carpenters' Hall, where they took a view of the chamber, where there is an excellent library. There is also a long entry, where gentlemen may walk, and also a convenient chamber opposite the library. The general cry was that this was a good room, and the question was put whether we were satisfied with this room? and it passed in the affirmative. A very few were for the negative, and they were chiefly from Pennsylvania and New York." (John Adams's Diary.)

[3] The City Tavern, afterwards called the Merchants' Coffee House, was built in 1773, and had just been opened by Daniel Smith, after waiting several months for a landlord. It supplanted Bradford's London Coffee-House, being larger and finer. It stood on the west side of Second street above Walnut, at the corner of Gold street, or Bank alley. "It was, when built considered the largest and most elegant house occupied in that way in America. There were several large club-rooms, two of which being thrown into one would make an apartment fifty feet in length." (Westcott.)

[4] Still known as "the Lower Counties"; the name Delaware was not adopted until 1776.

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Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, and greatest of them all, but not yet taking more than a modest part, and inconspicuous place, George Washington.

Seated in the hall of the carpenters, on the morning of their assembling, these fifty men looked into one another's faces, seeing wide differences of birth, training, habit, and opinion, but animated, with perhaps a few exceptions, by the desire to serve the general welfare of the American people, and above all to preserve them their liberties. Lynch of South Carolina proposed Peyton Randolph of Virginia for president, and, this being agreed to, nominated Charles Thomson of Philadelphia for secretary, which was also approved. We have already spoken of Charles Thomson more than once. He was one of the Ulster immigration, born at Maghera, in county Derry. In the year 1740 the captain of the ship that brought him, his brother and sisters up the Delaware, and on which as they crossed the sea, his sick father had died, harshly put them ashore at Newcastle. He was then eleven years old; he was now forty-four.[1] Intense in feeling, an orator of no small power, his methods were still singularly secretive and cautious. At Easton, in 1767, his honest record of the Indians' speeches had gained from them the name, "The-man-who-tells-the-truth," and the Indians never conferred such a title wrongly.[2] He had been active in the patriotic movement in Philadelphia, and secretary of the provincial conference in July. John Adams designated him "the Sam Adams of Philadelphia, and the life of the cause of Liberty"; but in the long run he was a wiser man than Sam Adams, and a more prudent counsellor in a greater scope of human affairs. Chosen now to be the secretary of the Continental Congress, he served it in that difficult place to the end of its existence, recording its work with precision, helping to

[1] He had been in ill health, a few years before. A letter, Nov. 5, 1763, from George Roberts, in Philadelphia, to Samuel Powel in London, says: "I presented your compliments to Charles Tomson, who poor fellow has been sometime fighting for life with a powerful Consumption, so that he appears like a skeleton in old tapestry. He now walks abroad and seems to mend apace." (Penna. Mag., XVIII., 38.) It proved that Charles Thomson lived twenty-three years longer than George Roberts, and thirty-two years longer than Samuel Powel.

[2] His book, "An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians," published in London, 1759, (already mentioned, ante, p. 251), is of the highest value in understanding the Indian troubles in Pennsylvania.

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guide its action for the best, and keeping its secrets with unswerving fidelity.[1]

In the Congress, on the second day, Cushing of Massachusetts remarked the manner of opening the sessions, and moved that hereafter they begin with prayer. John Jay and Rutledge suggested that the variation of religious views and usages made this impracticable; here are "some Episcopalians, some Quakers, some Anabaptists, some Presbyterians, some Congregationalists." Sam. Adams replied that for himself "he was no bigot," and could hear a prayer from any "man of piety and virtue, who was at the same time a friend to his country." He had heard, he said, of Doctor Duché, the assistant rector of Christ Church, as of that character, and moved that he be invited to attend next day. The motion was agreed to. On the morning of the 7th Duché came in his robes—not altogether welcome, these, perhaps, to the plainer religionists[2]—read prayers "in the established form," and then the Collect for the day, which was the Thirty-fifth Psalm. Then, unexpectedly to all, he added an extemporaneous prayer. His hearers had listened respectfully as he read the prayers, but as he turned to the psalm and recited the sonorous language of the Hebrew petition for deliverance—"*Plead my cause, O Lord, with them that strive with me: fight against them that fight against me. Take hold of shield and buckler, and stand up for mine help. Draw out also the spear, and stop the way against them that persecute me. . . . Judge them, O Lord, my God, according to thy righteousness; and let them not rejoice over me*"—the little gathering was thrilled. "I never saw a greater effect. . . . It seemed as if Heaven had ordained that psalm to be read on that morning," said John Adams. The extempore supplication that followed did not diminish the impression. It "filled the bosom of every man present. I must confess I never heard a better prayer, or one so well pronounced," is his further testimony.

The Congress adjourned on the 26th of October. Its proceedings, so far as they became known—for it sat with closed doors—belong to the history of the nation. Its matured work included resolutions to support Massachusetts in resistance to the unconstitutional change of her government; a Declaration of Rights, in which the greater declaration of 1776 was foreshadowed; the formation of an agreement of commercial non-intercourse with Great Britain, to take effect

[1] Charles Thomson had just been married (Sept. 1), as the Congress gathered. His wife (it being his second marriage), was Hannah Harrison, a granddaughter of the first Isaac Norris, and cousin therefore to Isaac "the Speaker." The pair were at the house of Deborah Logan's mother, Mary Parker Norris, on Chestnut street above Fourth, where the U. S. custom-house now stands, on the morning of Sept. 5, when a messenger hurried in to ask his attendance at Carpenters' Hall. (Cf. Oration of Henry Armitt Brown on The Congress of 1774, Note.) It must be borne in mind that though its secretary, Thomson was not a member of the Congress.

[2] John Adams, whose letter to his wife, Sept. 16, is the authority for this incident in the Congress, said he came "in his pontificals."

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on future dates, under certain stated conditions; a petition to the King, drawn by John Dickinson, and put forth as one more effort at reconciliation; an address to the people of Canada, also written by Dickinson; and a memorial to the inhabitants of British North America, drawn up by Richard Henry Lee. So far as concerned the material conditions and circumstances of Philadelphia, the formation of the "American Association," the agreement in respect to trade, was the most important action of the Congress. It affected every

THE STATE-HOUSE IN 1778.[1]

merchant, every tradesman, every ship-owner, every seaman, and through them the whole business life of the city. It required extended effort to bring about an agreement on this, but it was done, and the "Association," signed on the 20th of October, has fifty-three names appended, Joseph Galloway's at the very top, under that of Peyton Randolph, President. Galloway had proposed in the Congress an elaborate plan for a union of the Colonies, under the Crown —to have a President-General, appointed by the King, and a Grand Council chosen by the several legislatures of the colonies, etc.—but the scheme failed. James Duane, of New York, stood with Galloway for measures as far royalist as possible, and when on October 8, the Congress passed the resolution upholding Massachusetts in her opposition to the Act of Parliament to take away her charter, the two men asked leave to record their protest on the journal, and this being refused, they delivered to each other privately individual declarations

[1] This view of the State House follows the painting by Charles Wilson Peale.

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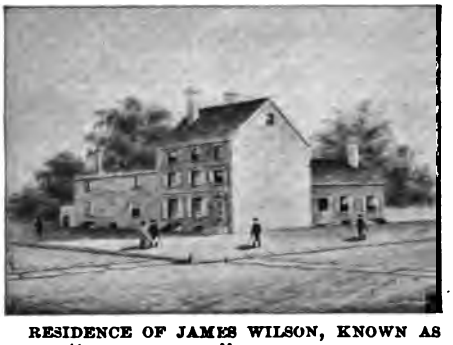
of protest, which might be available thereafter for a royal eye. They were not wrong in estimating the seriousness of that resolution. It was practically treason. Nothing else in the work of the Congress so angered the King and his ministers. Yet the Articles of Association were the most practical outcome of the Congress. "They may be considered," says Hildreth, "the commencement of the American Union."



RESIDENCE OF JAMES WILSON, KNOWN AS "FORT WILSON," SOUTHWEST CORNER THIRD AND WALNUT STS.

The visitors who had thus come to Philadelphia were not only the most truly distinguished men who had ever honored the city with their presence, but they formed the most remarkable body that had ever sat in America. Chatham spoke of the Congress in words of the highest eulogy; Charles Thomson, in the evening of his life, pronounced its members "the purest and ablest patriots he had ever known." No such experience as in these two months had ever come to the city, and it did not fail to show its appreciation of the fact. Its hospitality was liberal. John Adams spoke of Philadelphia in words of stronger praise than he ever vouchsafed it afterward.[1] During the sessions the gentlemen of the city gave the delegates a grand banquet at the state-house, where five hundred persons were present. There were thirty-three toasts, each being accompanied by a discharge of artillery, and altogether the affair exceeded in magnificence any before given in the city. At the close of the Congress the Assembly entertained the members at the City Tavern, and there were again the usual toasts, asserting the popular rights, yet still expressing the hope of reconciliation. One sentiment was given, says John Adams: "May the sword of the parent never be stained with the blood of her children!" Two or three "broadbrims," he proceeds, "were over against me at the table. One of them said: 'This

[1] John Adams's Letters to his wife: Sept. 18. "The esteem, the affection, the admiration, for the people of Boston and the Massachusetts which were expressed yesterday, and the fixed determination that they should be supported, were enough to melt a heart of stone. I saw the tears gush into the eyes of the old grave, pacific Quakers of Pennsylvania. . . . You cannot conceive, my dear, the hurry of business, visits, ceremonies, which we are obliged to go through. . . . It has taken us much time to get acquainted with the tempers, views, characters, and designs of persons, and to let them into the circumstances of our province . . ."

Sept. 25. "I have not been used to such ways. We sit only before dinner. We dine at four o'clock. We are crowded with a levee in the evening. Fifty gentlemen meeting together, all strangers, are not acquainted with each other's language, ideas, views, designs. They are therefore jealous of each other—fearful, timid, skittish."

Sept. 20. "I shall be killed with kindness in this place. We go to Congress at nine, and there we stay, most earnestly engaged in debates upon the most abstruse mysteries of state, until three in the afternoon; then we adjourn and go to dine with some of the nobles of Philadelphia at four o'clock, and feast upon ten thousand delicacies, and sit drinking Madeira, Claret, and Burgundy till six or seven, and then go home fatigued to death with business, company, and care. Yet I hold out surprisingly."

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is not a toast, but a prayer; come, let us join in it.' And they took their glasses accordingly."

The proceedings of the Congress, submitted to the Assembly, were unanimously approved by it, December 10, and it further "most seriously recommended to the good people of the Province a strict attention to and inviolable observation of the several matters and things contained in the Journals of Congress." It could not be said that the Assembly, so long the citadel of the popular rights, was falling behind, even now. Upon approving the Congress's proceedings, the Assembly revised its list of delegates. Galloway was rechosen, but he declined, and was excused in May from the service. The pace of the movement of revolt was too rapid for him; he had designed from the first not to go with it beyond a point from which he could be reached again by the royal favor. John Morton was appointed a delegate, in place of Samuel Rhoads, whose duties as Mayor interfered. Independently of the Assembly, the people, during the winter, had named a new Committee of Correspondence and Inspection, to act under the provisions of the "Association" agreement of Congress. There were sixty-six members for the city, and forty for Philadelphia county.[1]

The news of the collision between the King's troops and the people, at Concord and Lexington, on the 19th of April, 1775, forwarded by messengers who rode night and day, came to Philadelphia at five in the afternoon of the 24th.[2] The next day the organization of soldiers was begun. A meeting at the state-house, estimated at eight thousand people, resolved "to associate for the purpose of defending with arms their lives, liberty, and property." Two troops of light horse, two companies of riflemen, and two companies of

[1] Committee for the City, and the Northern Liberties: John Dickinson, Thomas Mifflin, Charles Thomson, John Cadwalader, Robert Morris, Samuel Howell, George Clymer, Joseph Reed, Samuel Meredith, John Allen, William Rush, James Mease, John Nixon, John Cox, John Bayard, Charles Ludwig, Thomas Barclay, George Schlosser, Jonathan B. Smith, Francis Wade, Benjamin Marshall, Lambert Cadwalader, Reynold Keen, Richard Bache, John Benezet, Harry Keppele, Jr., Jacob Winey, Jacob Rush, Joseph Falconer, William Bradford, John Shee, Owen Biddle, William Heysham, James Milligan, John Wilcocks, Sharp Delaney, Francis Gurney, John Purviance, Robert Knox, Francis Hassenclever, Thomas Cuthbert, Sr., William Jackson, Isaac Melchior, Samuel Penrose, Isaac Coates, William Coates, Blaithwait Jones, Thomas Pryor, Samuel Massey, Robert Towers, Henry Jones, Joseph Wetherill, Joseph Copperthwaite, Joseph Dean, Benjamin Harbeson, James Ash, Benjamin Loxley, William Robinson, Jr., Ruloff Alberson, James Irvine. For Southwark—Elias Boys, Joseph Turner, Abraham Jones and Thomas Robinson. For Kensington—Emanuel Eyre and Jacob Miller.

Committee for the County of Philadelphia—George Gray, Samuel Ashmead, Thomas Potts, John Bull, Jonathan Roberts, Jesse George, Samuel Erwin, John Roberts (miller), Frederick Antis, Benjamin Rittenhouse, Thomas Ashton, Melchior Waggoner, James Stroud, Charles Bonsall, Daniel Keaster, Benjamin Jacobs, Joseph Mathers, Jacob Rise, Isaac Hughes, Frederick Weiss, James Delmer, Edward Milnor, John Bringhurst, Archibald Thompson, Isaac Knight, Jacob Styer, Andrew Knox, Abraham Luckens, Henry Derringer, James Potts, John Muck, Edward Bartholomew, Samuel Leech, John Jenkins, Joseph Lownes, Andrew Haney, John Pawling, Sen., John Moore, George Shive and Alexander Edwards.

[2] The dispatches brought were two, one written on the morning of the fighting, and one next day. They had been forwarded by the various patriot committees from place to place, and at New York the second one had overtaken the first. Forwarded from there at 4 p. m., (Sunday), the 23d, the messengers reached New Brunswick at 2 next morning, Princeton at 6, and Trenton at 9. The time of arrival at Philadelphia given in the text is that stated in the broadside issued by the Bradfords, (cf. C. Marshall's Diary, 20), but it is remarkable that the ride from Trenton should have been so slow. The probability is that the handbill was got out at 5, but that the news came sooner.

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artillery—to have six brass and several iron pieces—were ordered to be raised. Four thousand men, it was thought, would be organized in the city and liberties, in a few weeks. From day to day the enlistment, organization and drill were pushed forward. Three battalions were formed, and among the officers the names now appeared of many of those who were soon to be prominent in the war. John Dickinson, Daniel Roberdeau, and John Cadwalader were chosen colonels; John Chevalier, Joseph Reed, and John Nixon lieutenant-colonels; Jacob Morgan, William Coates, John Cox, John Bayard, Thomas Mifflin, and Samuel Meredith majors; and among the captains were Peter Markoe, of the light horse; James Biddle, Benjamin Loxley, Thomas Proctor, and Joseph Moulder, of the artillery; Joseph Cowperthwait, Richard Peters, Tench Francis, William Bradford, Lambert Cadwalader, John Shee, John Wilcocks, Francis Gurney, and Captains Morgan, Little, Willing, Humphreys, and Furman.[1]

REV. JACOB DUCHÉ.

The Continental Congress came together again on the 11th of May. The members, as they arrived in town, were effusively welcomed. Those from the southern colonies were met, on May 9, six miles out of town by the officers of the military companies and a cavalcade of five hundred people; as they approached the city two companies of troops and a band of music appeared, to swell the demonstration. The next day, early in the morning, a similar procession went out to meet the delegates from New England, returning about eleven o'clock, down Front street, with John Hancock and Samuel Adams "in a phaeton and pair," then Thomas Cushing and John Adams "in a single-horse chair," with Robert Treat Paine on horseback behind. Then came the New York and Connecticut dele-

[1] June 3, 1775, Silas Deane, in a letter to his wife, said: "The militia are constantly out, morning and evening, at exercise. . . The uniform . . . is a dark brown, (like our homespun coat), faced with red, white, yellow, or buff, according to their different battalions; white vest and breeches, white stockings, half-boots, and black knee-garters. The coat is made short, falling but little below the waistband of the breeches. . . Their hats are small . . . with a red, white or black ribbon . . . closing in a rose, out of which rises a tuft of deer, made to resemble the buck's tail . . . six or eight inches high. Their cartouch boxes are large, with the word LIBERTY, and the number of their battalion, on the outside, in large white letters. Thus equipped they make a most elegant appearance. . . The light infantry are in green, faced with buff; vests, etc., as the others, except the cap, which is a hunter's cap, or a jockey's. These are, without exception, the genteelest companies I ever saw. [He describes the rifle companies at some length and adds] West of this city is an open square of near two miles each way, with large groves each side, in which, each afternoon, they collect, with a vast number of spectators."

May 29, 1775, John Adams to his wife: "The military spirit which runs through the continent is truly amazing. This city turns out two thousand men every day. Mr. Dickinson is a colonel, Mr. Reed a lieutenant-colonel, Mr. Mifflin a major. He ought to have been a general, for he has been the animating spirit of the whole." And June 10: "Two days ago we saw a very wonderful phenomenon in this city: a field-day, on which three battalions of soldiers were reviewed, making full two thousand men, battalion men, light infantry, grenadiers, light horse, artillery men with a fine train, all in uniforms, going through the manual exercise and the manœuvres with remarkable dexterity. All this has been accomplished in this city since the 19th of April; so sudden a formation of an army never took place anywhere."

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gates, and others. Sullivan and Langdon, of New Hampshire, had arrived on the 6th, and the South Carolina delegates had come, as before, by ship from Charleston, landing on the 9th. The Congress included many of those most prominent in the sessions of the previous autumn; it had also John Hancock and Benjamin Franklin. The latter had reached the city, "to the satisfaction of his friends and the lovers of liberty," in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, Captain Osborne, from London, on the afternoon of May 5, and next day, with Thomas Willing and James Wilson, was added by the Assembly to the Pennsylvania delegation. Patrick Henry was detained in Virginia, recovering, at the head of his troops, from Lord Dunmore, the value of the provincial powder which that official had arbitrarily seized; he reached Philadelphia on the 18th. On the 21st of June, "Mr. Thomas Jefferson appeared as a delegate for the colony of Virginia, and produced his credentials." Altogether, the Congress had seventy-eight members, representing thirteen colonies, for Georgia added five delegates a little later. New York had increased its delegates to twelve, Pennsylvania to eleven, Maryland to nine, and Virginia to eleven. The sessions began in the Assembly's room in the state-house—vacated by the Assembly, then in session, to oblige the Congress[1]—on the afternoon of May 11, Dr. Duché again offering prayer. Peyton Randolph was again chosen President, and Charles Thomson secretary, but on the 24th of May as the Virginia House of Burgesses, of which he was Speaker, was about to assemble Randolph departed, and John Hancock was elected President in his place. The Congress, it may be added here, adjourned August 1, and reassembled September 5, adjourning again on December 30.[2] Its work, during 1775, assumed in large degree the responsibility of government. Above all, on June 15, it elected George Washington of Virginia, "to be general and commander-in-chief of the army of the United Colonies, and of all the forces now raised, or to be raised by them, and of all others who shall voluntarily offer their service, and join the said army for the defence of American liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof." The act was unanimous;

[1] The Assembly removed to the court-room, in the western end of the state-house, now the museum, and ordered "a dozen Windsor chairs" to increase its stock of furniture.

[2] Peyton Randolph of Virginia, who had been President, died here, of apoplexy, Oct. 22, 1775. He "departed suddenly, after dinner, last First-day, at the country house of Richard Hills," says Christopher Marshall's Diary, Oct. 24. His funeral sermon was preached at Christ Church by Dr. Duché, and the interment made in the Church burial ground. A letter from Solomon Drowne, a young student of medicine, to his sister in Providence, R. I., Nov. 12, says: "On the day his remains were interred there was a greater collection of People than I had ever seen. The three Battalions were under Arms. Their Standards and Colours were furled with black Gauze. The Bells at Christ Church were muffled. Then Mr. Duché preached a most excellent Sermon: thence the corpse was carried to the Burying-yard, the way being lined on each side by the Battalions leaning on their arms reversed." Nov. 14, he says: "We were out to see the Battalions, 3 Artillery Companies and Light Horse in their Uniforms, reviewed by the Pennsylvania Farmer, who is Colonel of the 1st Battalion, and the Members of Assembly. Their appearance was very martial."

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if no other had been performed by the Continental Congress, it must have become immortal by this. Washington, perhaps, had seen the duty coming to him; it is certain he never sought nor shrank from it. At the previous Congress he had worn the dress of a citizen; to this he came and at its sessions habitually appeared in his blue and buff uniform of colonel of Virginian troops.

LANSDOWNE.[1]

The army of the United Colonies having thus had a general appointed, the troops raising in Philadelphia looked to him as their commander. Washington received his commission June 19, and next morning he reviewed, on "the Commons," "the three battalions of this city and liberties, together with the artillery company, a troop of light horse, several companies of light infantry, rangers, and riflemen, in the whole about two thousand. . . They went through the manual exercises, firings, and manœuvres, with great dexterity and exactness."[2] On the evening of the 22d he was entertained at a farewell supper at the City Tavern, and on the morning of the 23d he set off, accompanied by General Charles Lee, to assume his duties, at the head of the troops raised at Boston. Philip Schuyler, Thomas Mifflin and Joseph Reed were of the party. They were accompanied from town by the troop of light-horse, "and by all the officers of the city militia on horseback." The light-horse, afterwards and now the "First City Troop," went with the General, as his body-guard, as far as Kingsbridge, N. Y.; the other troops went five miles and returned. As the party approached Trenton, a messenger met them, hastening southward. He brought them the news of another and more desperate encounter with the King's troops at Boston, the Battle of Bunker Hill. "Did the militia fight?" demanded Washington. "They did," said the messenger. "Then the liberties of the country are safe!" exclaimed the young commander.

The Pennsylvania Assembly had met on the 1st of May. Next day Governor Penn had sent to it a letter of Lord Dartmouth, and

[1] Built about 1773 by John Penn, son of Richard Penn. In 1797 it became the property of William Bingham. In 1816 Joseph Bonaparte, ex-King of Spain, resided there. It was burned in 1854. The ground upon which it stood is now a part of Fairmount Park.

[2] Penna. Evening Post, June 22.—Christopher Marshall's Diary, June 20: "Went to the Factory past eight; stayed till twelve. Just then about, the three battalions, with the troop of horse, train of artillery, and three companies of light infantry, rangers, &c., marched by the Factory [at 9th and Market Sts.] having been reviewed this morning by General Washington, and the members of Congress."

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the resolution adopted by Parliament February 20, commonly known as "Lord North's Olive Branch." This resolution proposed that if any of the colonies would contribute "their proportion to the common defence," it should be relieved of all duties, taxes and assessments, excepting only duties "for the regulation of commerce," and the net proceeds of these should be "carried to the account of such province or colony." The letter of Lord Dartmouth conveyed the King's earnest approval of the resolution, and the Governor, in a message, urged the Assembly to accede to the proposal. "As you are the first Assembly on this Continent," he said, "to whom this Resolution has been communicated," much depended on its action. "You will be deservedly revered . . . if . . . you can be instrumental in restoring the public tranquility, and rescuing both countries from the dreadful Calamities of a Civil War."[1] The answer of the Assembly was returned two days later. It was signed by "John Morton, Speaker," for Galloway, having retired to his wife's country house, at Trevose, in Bucks county—the home of the Growdons—and reporting himself ill, the Assembly, at a session held in March, had chosen Morton in his place. The message now presented was drawn by John Dickinson.[2] It declined to commit Pennsylvania to a separate course of action. "We should esteem it a dishonorable desertion of Sister Colonies, connected by an Union founded on just motives and mutual Faith, and conducted by general Councils, for a single Colony to adopt a Measure so extensive in Consequence, without the advice and consent of those Colonies engaged with us by solemn Ties, in the same Common Cause." And alluding to the Governor's exhortation concerning peace, it said: "Your honor, from a long residence and Conversation among us, must be persuaded that the people we represent are as peaceable and Obedient to Government as . . . any in the World. . . . We can only deprecate, and if it be possible endeavor by prudence to avoid 'the Calamities of a Civil War;' a dreadful Misfortune indeed! and not to be exceeded but by an utter subversion of the Liberties of America."

These were patriotic words. They recalled in courage and candor the messages which this Assembly, since Penn organized it at Chester in 1683, had sent year after year to the Governors. In Virginia, Thomas Jefferson drew the answer of the House of Burgesses to the same "Olive Branch" of the Parliament, but not until more than a month later.[3]

The Assembly adjourned on the 13th of May to the 19th of June.

[1] Col. Records, X., 248, et seq. This message had been drawn by "a member of the Council," appointed to the duty April 28. The members of the Council then present were William Logan, Benjamin Chew, James Tilghman, Andrew Allen, and Edward Shippen, Jr.

[2] Etting, Independence Hall, 83.

[3] It was adopted by that body, June 10. Mr. Morse, in his Life of Jefferson, p. 25, erroneously describes it as "the earliest reply of any Colony to the ministerial proposition."

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It had already voted £2000 to the Committee of the City, for its expenses, and on the 30th of June, it adopted a series of resolutions which established a revolutionary government in Pennsylvania. These resolutions declared (1) "That this House approves the Association entered into by the People of this colony for the Defence of their Lives, Liberties and Property"; (2) that the House would pay the expense of repelling "an Invasion or Landing of British troops, or others," in this or the adjacent colonies, or "any Armed Ships or Vessels" which should "sail up the river Delaware in an hostile manner"; (3) that the pay of those called thus into service should not exceed "that of the Army raised by the Congress of the United Colonies for the Defence of the Liberties of America"; (4) that the Board of Commissioners and Assessors of Philadelphia, and of each county in the Province be earnestly recommended, "and they are hereby enjoined, as they regard the Freedom, Welfare and Safety of their Country," to provide "a proper number of good new Firelocks, with Bayonets fitted to them," cartridge-boxes, knapsacks, ammunition, etc., in quantities specified for each of the eleven counties of the Province; (5) the selection of "Minute Men" was directed, equal in number to the quantity of arms. Other resolutions provided for securing saltpetre, etc. To meet the expense of all this the Assembly directed the issue of £35,000 in bills of credit, and Michael Hillegas was appointed Treasurer. Finally, a new executive power was created, succeeding and superseding all important functions of the Governor, though making no reference to him: a "Committee of Safety" was appointed to call forth the troops, to pay and supply them, to provide for defense of the province against insurrection or invasion, to promote the manufacture of saltpetre, and to draw on the Treasurer for its expenditures. This Committee had twenty-five members;[1] it met on the 3d of July, (1775), and organized by electing Benjamin Franklin president, and appointing William Govett clerk. In the official minutes of Pennsylvania affairs, the "Colonial Records," the proceedings of the Provincial Council terminate with

Th. Jefferson

[1] "9. Resolved, That John Dickinson, George Gray, Henry Wynkoop, Anthony Wayne, Benjamin Bartholomew, George Ross, Michael Swoope, John Montgomery, Edward Biddle, William Edmunds, Bernard Dougherty, Samuel Hunter, William Thompson, Thomas Willing, Benjamin Franklin, Daniel Roberdeau, John Cadwalader, Andrew Allen, Owen Biddle, Francis Johnson, Richard Reiley, Samuel Morris, jun., Robert Morris, Thomas Wharton, jun., and Robert White, Gentlemen, be a Committee of Safety," etc. (Col. Records, X., 280.)

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an entry on the 9th of December, 1775, and their place is taken by those of the "Council of Safety of the Province of Pennsylvania," beginning July 3.

We reach thus the war events of the Revolutionary period in Philadelphia. The city now became the centre of the movement for American Independence. Here were its forces organized. Here the Congress sat, with brief intervals of disturbance by the vicissitudes of war, from 1774 to 1783. Here laws were passed and measures taken for their execution. Here was the military headquarters. Here campaigns were planned and orders issued to the armies. Here the finances were centred. Adopted for many reasons—its geographical position, its size and importance, its remoteness from the menace of the royal fleets, its friendly relations with north and south, its ability to conciliate and fuse the sections—as the capital of the Thirteen Colonies, Philadelphia enjoyed that distinction without rivalry from the day the Congress of 1774 gathered to the end of the war. She was herself a free city. The seeds of liberty had been sown here from the first announcement of Penn's plans, and on down through the years when royal officials and the courtiers of royal authority had deprecated the sowing, the growth from them had not ceased to spread and strengthen. No other Assembly in the Colonies had been more steadily firm in maintaining popular freedom than that which annually assembled here. No one had done more—few had done so much—to establish and to explain the basis on which free government was built up than the men who had led the action of this Assembly from the days of Joseph Growdon down by those of David Lloyd, Andrew Hamilton, John Kinsey, Isaac Norris, and John Dickinson. And now that peaceable resistance to oppression had failed, and the pen yielded place to the sword, other men pressed forward, second to none in courage and fortitude, unhindered by scruples concerning war, to fight out the contest in the arena of last resort. With Franklin as the central figure, and Morris close beside him, there appeared the soldier legions, men like Wayne, Cadwalader, Mifflin, Reed and their companions, who on many fields in the long struggle imperiled their lives for the common cause.

WASHINGTON'S BOOK PLATE.

The great events, at Philadelphia, in the period of the Revolution, after the year 1775, were these:

1. The almost continuous sessions of the Continental Congress here, in the chief public building of the city.

2. Chief of all events in the struggle, except the final acknow-

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ledgment of American Independence, the proceedings in the Congress, in June and July, 1776, when (first) the Resolution of Independence was adopted, and (second) the formal Declaration was made of this decision.

3. The occupation of the city by the British Army, September 26, 1777.

4. The Battle of Germantown, within the present limits of the city, October 4, 1777.

5. The struggle, military and naval, on the Delaware below the city, in October and November, 1777, by which the defenses placed by the Americans were reduced, and the river fully opened to the British, from Philadelphia to the Capes.

HOUSE WHERE JEFFERSON WROTE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, S. W. CORNER OF SEVENTH AND MARKET STS.

6. The evacuation of the city by the British army, June 18, 1778.

The question of Independence was under consideration in the Congress for nearly a month. On the 7th of June, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, in pursuance of instructions adopted by a convention at Williamsburg on the 15th of May, offered a resolution: "That these Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." This resolution was seconded by John Adams. Its consideration was referred to the next day, and the members, in Charles Thomson's minute, were "enjoined to attend punctually at ten o'clock, in order to take the same into their consideration." The next day, Saturday, and again on Monday the 10th, the Congress sat until seven in the evening, debating the resolution. Besides Lee and John Adams, it was advocated by George Wythe and Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, Elbridge Gerry and Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, and Thomas McKean, of Delaware. John Dickinson and James Wilson, of Pennsylvania, Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, Robert R. Livingston, of New York, and probably others, declared that the time was not yet ripe. At the close of the discussion on Monday it was agreed to postpone the final vote to the 1st of July, but it was also resolved to choose now a committee to draw up a formal Declaration, to accompany the resolution if it should be adopted. On the 11th of June,

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therefore, the committee was appointed: Thomas Jefferson (taking the place of Richard Henry Lee, who had gone home), John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston—representing Virginia, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and New York. Between the 11th and the 28th the Declaration was written. Jefferson, at the head of the Committee, was desired to prepare the draft, and at his lodgings in the house of Jacob Graff, a German bricklayer, at the southwest corner of Seventh and High streets, he drew up the immortal paper.[1]

The Pennsylvania Assembly, sitting in the second story of the state-house, was discussing at this time instructions to its delegates. They were finally adopted June 14, and their substance was to "remove the restrictions" which had been laid upon the delegates as to Independence.[2] On the same day the Assembly of Delaware modified its instructions in like manner. New Jersey on the 21st, and Maryland on the 28th, took similar action. New York only, of all the thirteen colonies, remained unchanged against Independence. On July 1, the postponed resolution again came up, and was discussed; on the next day the vote was taken, and all the colonies except New York concurred in adopting it. The draft of the Declaration had been reported by the Committee June 28, but it had been laid over, necessarily, waiting the vote on the resolution. It was now discussed, paragraph by paragraph, after the vote on the 2d, again on the 3d, and still further on the 4th of July, and late in the evening of that day was adopted.[3] Copies were directed to be sent "to the several assemblies, conventions, or committees or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the Continental troops," and on the 6th, the Council of Safety for Pennsylvania minuted the reception of the one sent it, directed other copies to be sent to the sheriff of near counties, "requesting the same to be published on Monday next at the places where the elections for Delegates are to be held," and further—

[1] The site is now occupied by the Penn National Bank. Jacob Graff was the father of Frederick Graff, the distinguished engineer, designer of the Fairmount water-works. The house was newly built, having only been completed in the early part of 1776. Jefferson went to lodge there, at 35 shillings a week, on the 23d of May, occupying the whole second floor. The front room, in which he doubtless did his writing, he used as a parlor, and the back one as a bedroom. His meals he usually took at the City Tavern, in Second street.

[2] The previous instructions of the Pennsylvania Assembly, Nov. 9, 1775, said: "Though the oppressive measures of the British Parliament and Administration have compelled us to resist their violence by force of arms, yet we strictly enjoin you that you, on behalf of this Colony, dissent from and utterly reject any propositions, should such be made, that may cause or lead to a separation from the mother country, or a change of the form of this government."

[3] The time and manner of "signing" the Declaration has been a subject of much discussion. It is carefully examined by Mr. Mellen Chamberlain, in a paper read before the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1884. Briefly, the action of Congress was this: July 2, the Resolution of Independence passed. July 4, the Declaration adopted and ordered to be "authenticated," *i. e.*, signed by John Hancock, President, and Charles Thomson, Secretary. July 19, resolution adopted that the Declaration be engrossed and signed generally by the members of the Congress. August 2, the paper being now engrossed, it was so signed—several signatures being by members now who were not members July 4.

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"*Ordered*, That the Sheriff of Philadelphia read or Cause to be read and proclaimed at the State House, in the City of Philadelphia, on Monday the Eighth day of July, instant, at 12 o'clock at Noon of the same day the Declaration of the Representatives of the United Colonies of America, and that he cause all his Officers, and the Constables of the said City, to attend the reading thereof.

"*Resolved*, That every Member of this Committee in or near the City be ordered to meet at the Committee Chamber, before 12 o'clock on Monday, to proceed to the State House, where the Declaration of Independence is to be proclaimed." [1]

Fra.[s] Hopkinson

Under these orders the Declaration was publicly read in the state-house yard, at noon on Monday, July 8. The Committee of Safety and the "Committee of Inspection" marched to the place. John Nixon, a member of the former, stood upon the observatory erected in 1769 to observe the transit of Venus, and read the document "in the presence of a great concourse of people," who greeted it with cheers. The bells were rung, and unquestionably with them the great bell of the state-house, the Liberty Bell, with its inscription that Isaac Norris had ordered twenty-five years before, pealed forth above all.[2]

The colonial government of Pennsylvania was now superseded. The Assembly had sat in August and September, 1775, again, (the newly elected body), in October and November of that year; again from February 12 to April 6, 1776. At the autumn session a vote of £80,000 had been made for the public service, and at that in the spring £85,000, and it was also determined to raise ten battalions of

[1] Colonial Records, X., 635.

[2] Christopher Marshall's Diary: "July 8. Warm sunshine morning. At eleven went and met Committee of Inspection at Philosophical Hall [in Second street]: went then in a body to the Lodge [the Freemasons' Hall, in Lodge Alley, running from Second street above Walnut to Dock street] joined the Committee of Safety. . .; went in a body to State House Yard, where, in the presence of a great concourse of people, the Declaration of Independence was read by John Nixon. The company declared their approbation by three repeated huzzas. The King's Arms were taken down in the Court Room, State House, same time. From there some of us went to B. Armitage's tavern, stayed till one. I went and dined at Paul Fooks's; lay down there after dinner till five. Then he and the French Engineer went with me on the commons, where the same was proclaimed at each of the five Battalions. . . Fine starlight pleasant evening. There were bonfires, ringing bells, with other great demonstrations of joy. . . " (Diary, p. 93-94.)

Deborah Logan said she heard the Declaration read. "Being on the lot adjoining to our old mansion house in Chestnut street, that then extended to Fifth street [now occupied by the Drexel Building] I distinctly heard the words of that instrument read to the people. I did not see the reader, a low building being on Fifth street, which prevented my sight. . . . It took place a little after 12 o'clock at noon, and they then proceeded down the street, (I understood) to read it at the court-house."

John Adams wrote to Samuel Chase of Maryland, July 9: "The Declaration was yesterday published and proclaimed from that awful stage in the State House yard . . . by the Committee of Safety, the Committee of Inspection, and a great crowd of people. Three cheers rended the welkin. The battalions paraded on the Common, and gave us the *feu de joie*, notwithstanding the scarcity of powder. The bells rang all day and almost all night; even the chimers [of Christ Church] chimed away."

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riflemen and one of "musketmen," of five hundred men each. The next session extended from May 20 to June 14, 1776. Governor Penn's authority was now ignored. Meantime the Congress, on May 15, had passed a resolution recommending to the colonies the establishment of new governments, "under the authority of the people," and acting upon this suggestion, a public meeting which was held in the state-house yard, in a rain-storm, May 20, adopted resolutions declaring the Assembly not fitted and not authorized to form a new government for the province. "The chartered power" of the Assembly, it was declared, in a protest signed by Daniel Roberdeau the chairman, "is derived from our mortal enemy the King of Great Britain." It was resolved, therefore, by the meeting, "that a Provincial Convention ought to be chosen by the people," and on the 18th of June, a Conference at Carpenters' Hall of members of the different county committees of safety, resolved that a Provincial Convention should be held, and that delegates to it should be elected on Monday, July 8.[1] These elections duly occurred, and on the 15th of July the Convention met at the state-house, continuing its sessions until September 28. Franklin was chosen president, George Ross vice-president, John Morris and Jacob Garrigues secretaries. One of its first acts was to elect (July 20) a new set of delegates to the Congress: Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, John Morton and James Wilson, of the old number, and five new men, George Ross, George Clymer, James Smith, Benjamin Rush, and George Taylor, who superseded John Dickinson, Thomas Willing, Charles Humphreys, Edward Biddle, and Andrew Allen.[2] These new delegates, chosen sixteen days

THE COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS DRAFTING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

[1] The Carpenters' Hall Conference organized with Colonel Thomas McKean president, Joseph Hart vice-president, and Jonathan B. Smith and Samuel Cadwalader Morris secretaries. It sat several days, adjourning on June 25. It assumed the authority to provide for raising 4500 militia, in response to resolutions of Congress (June 3 and 4) directing the creation of a "Flying Camp," in the Middle Colonies.

[2] These changes were made on account of the division of sentiment as to the timeliness of Independence. But Robert Morris had voted against Lee's resolution, as well as the five who were displaced. Dickinson, at the time of his removal, was in command of the regiments of "Associators," being the senior colonel, at Elizabethtown, in New Jersey, whither they had marched to support Washington's operations in New Jersey against Howe. The Convention, however, made Daniel Roberdeau brigadier-general over him, and he resigned his military commission. The county of Philadelphia elected him a member of the new Assembly, under the revolutionized government, but after meeting with it in September, he declined to serve, and retired to Delaware, to his farm near Dover, where he mostly remained about two years. Delaware elected him a delegate to the Congress, in November 1776, but he was in poor

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after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, are those whose names are appended to that document, which was not signed until the 2d of August, after they had taken their seats. The Convention assumed all the powers of a constitutional convention, a legislature, and an executive body. It appointed a new "Council of Safety," in place of the Committee which had been exercising authority. Above all it promulgated a new constitution, to take effect at once. This set aside the charter government of Pennsylvania. It provided for a single legislative body, the Assembly, and an executive body, the "Supreme Executive Council," the latter to be composed of twelve members, chosen by the counties, to hold their places three years. This was the "Constitution of 1776."[1] Meantime the Colonial Assembly, which on the 14th of June had adjourned to meet August 26, found itself being set aside. When it met it had not a quorum, and adjourned to September 23. It then made a protest against the overthrow of its authority, settled its accounts and dissolved. The new constitution, a modification of the colonial system, with the important difference that there was no veto anywhere of the Assembly's acts, was condemned from the beginning by many of the Whigs. The creation really of but a small part of the people, it still had behind it the revolutionary forces, and it rode the rough seas, sometimes in triumph, sometimes almost submerged, until in 1790 the second State constitution took its place.

In the decade since 1765 the social and material forces of the city had steadily grown. The fire companies had increased from six in 1750 to nineteen. The light-house at the Delaware Capes had been built by commissioners, under authority of an Act of the Assembly of 1763. For the further assistance of ships protective piers had been built at Reedy Island in 1774–5. A bridge over the Schuylkill at the middle ferry was now projected. The trip to New York, which by water to Bordentown, then by land to Amboy, then by water up to the city, took in 1752 a day for each of these three stages, was reduced in 1766, by the "Flying Machine," to two days, and in 1771, in the months between May and November, to a day and a half. Three new newspapers had been established; the *Pennsylvania Packet*, by John Dunlap, in 1771; the *Pennsylvania*

health, and perhaps for other reasons declined the place. Thomas McKean, acting governor, (then called "President") of Delaware, appointed him a brigadier-general of the Delaware militia, in September, 1777, and it is said that he served as a private soldier in the Battle of Brandywine. In January, 1779, Delaware again chose him a delegate to Congress, and he resumed his seat in that body, in May, and served a few months. In 1781 he was chosen a member of the Supreme Executive Council of Delaware, and shortly after its president. In 1782 he returned to Philadelphia, and was elected to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and in November of that year was chosen by the Assembly, (by 41 votes to 32 for Gen. James Potter), the President of the Council; he thus became the chief executive officer of the State, and served until 1785.

[1] "By the labors chiefly of an *idealogue*, named Cannon, a schoolmaster, assisted by a person not a member of the body at all, a Constitution essentially democratic, without checks and balances, worthy in short of the Abbé Sieyes, or any other theorist of the first Revolution in France, was now made and imposed upon the people."—Wallace's Bradford, 375.

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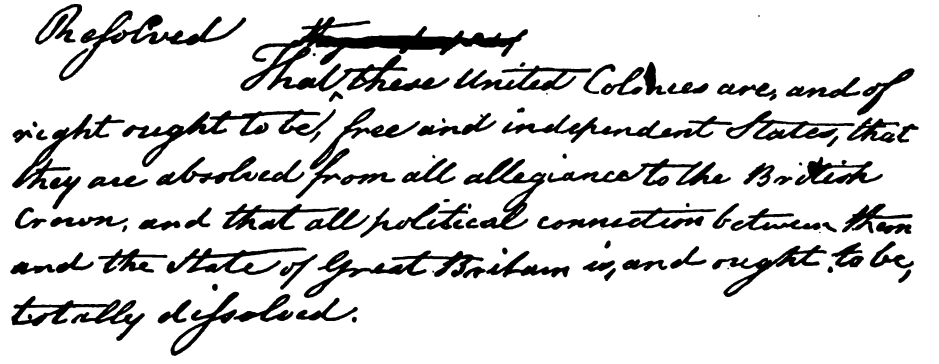
Ledger, by James Humphreys, Jr., and the *Evening Post* (tri-weekly) by Benjamin Towne, in January, 1775. Horse-racing became established at Centre Square about 1760, and two "meetings" were held each year, in May and September. In 1773 the Jockey Club took charge of them. The first theatre was built in 1759 at Cedar and Vernon streets—a rude frame building—and a more permanent one at Cedar and Crab streets in 1766. The fairs, which had so long been an important feature of the trade of the city, were complained



FAC-SIMILE OF THE ORIGINAL RESOLUTION OFFERED BY RICHARD HENRY LEE.

of at last as unnecessary, since so many shops had been established, and as a nuisance besides; they died out about 1776.

A second wave of the Ulster immigration came in the years just before the Revolution. Lord Donegal, a large landowner, cleared his Irish estates, to obtain higher rents, and half a county was depopulated of its "thrifty Presbyterians." These and others, making the number several thousands, came just in time to swell the force of the revolt against England. Entries in the diary of Christopher Marshall, in 1774, show, in July and August, the arrivals of seven ships at Philadelphia and Newcastle from ports in Ireland—Newry, Belfast, Waterford, and Londonderry—with two thousand five hundred passengers on board.

The "British Barracks" had been occupied by detachments of royal troops down to 1774. The Royal Highlanders, the 42d regiment, which had been quartered here for some years, left about the end of July, 1767, and was relieved by the Royal Irish, Colonel John Wilkins. In October of that year, General Gage came from New York to review the troops, and was entertained by the City corporation.[1] In May, 1771, the 21st regiment, the Royal Scotch, arrived, and was reviewed by General Gage. It left the following May, and marched to New York. September 12, 1774, the Royal Irish, eight

[1] Col. Wilkins, in January, 1768, complained to the Assembly of the bad condition of the Barracks, and that body directed the erection of a new three-story building, which after the Revolution became the town-hall of the District of Northern Liberties.

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companies, which had replaced the Scotch, marched away "in two divisions for Amboy and Elizabethtown, to be shipped for Boston,"[1] and this was probably the last seen of the King's troops here, until they entered as victors, in September, 1777.

To describe minutely the movement towards Independence, and a complete break with the mother country, and especially to analyse the changes from month to month and almost from day to day, in the attitude of individuals toward it, would be too tedious for this narrative. Between the Congress of 1774 and that of 1775, Galloway dropped out, and at the close of 1776 joined the British army in New Jersey. The Allens retired from public action in the summer of 1776; the Chief-Justice had resigned his position in 1774, but continued in the Assembly down to the period of the Declaration. Such men as Thomas Willing were classed in May, 1776, as "Moderates," and not as "Advanced Whigs."[2] As for the Friends they found themselves buffeted indeed in such times. Within a few years they had been reviled for not fighting for the King; now they were reviled for not fighting against him. Officially, they preserved the consistency of their profession, issuing from their meetings, from time to time, cautionary epistles, advising their members to "dwell in the quiet," but adding also more than once, such advice not to be concerned in revolt against the constituted authorities, as gave their enemies room to charge them with supporting the King, and discouraging the revolutionary cause. Outside the meeting they were divided into classes. In the country probably three-fourths of them sympathized with the revolution; in the city no doubt more than half did so. A considerable number went openly into the movement. Among these was Thomas Mifflin, the most conspicuous soldier sent by Philadelphia to the field. Equal in number to these, probably, were those who definitely remained loyal to the old rule, and desired to see the revolt suppressed, but except as we search the lists in

SILVER INKSTAND USED AT THE SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.[3]

[1] Marshall's Diary, 11.

[2] At the city election May 1, for four "Burgesses," members of the Assembly, the "Moderate" candidates, and their votes were: Samuel Howell, 941, Andrew Allen, 923, Alexander Wilcox, 921, Thomas Willing, 911. The Whigs and their votes were: George Clymer, 923, Frederick Kuhl, 904, Owen Biddle, 903, Daniel Roberdeau, 890. The Moderates thus chose three of their men, and the advanced Whigs one, (Clymer). It was a hotly contested election, and the polls were kept open by the Sheriff until half past ten in the evening. The Whig nominations had been decided on at secret meetings at "William Thorn's School-room, Videll's alley," and their substantial defeat gave much chagrin to Christopher Marshall, who says (Diary, 77): "I think it may be said with propriety that the Quakers, Papists, Church, Allen family, with all the Proprietary party, were never seemingly so happily united as at this election, notwithstanding Friends' former protestation and declaration of never joining in with that party since the club or Knockdown election." [1742].

[3] This relic, preserved in Independence Hall, was made for the Speaker's desk by order of the Assembly of Pennsylvania in 1752. It was made by Philip Syng, and cost £25 16s.

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Sabine's "Loyalists" for names of individuals, it is difficult to get clear light on the subject, and reading there we find the number of Quakers actually arrested and held for "treason" is very small. The Churchmen—the clergy, however, much more than the laity—found themselves even more embarrassed and entangled than the Friends. They had never professed conscientious scruples concerning war, and now that they were challenged to say on which side they would fight, they could not make the non-combatant answer. Their church was the English Establishment. Their loyalty to it was joined with loyalty to the Crown. It was hard to transfer allegiance from the King whom they had honored and regularly prayed for, to revolutionary self-appointed committees, sitting secretly in school-houses or "lodge" rooms, issuing orders with the implied menace of mob enforcement, and oversetting the established administration of the law. The chimes of Christ Church rang, as we have seen, for the announcement of the Declaration, and at a meeting of the vestry July 4, it had been resolved to "omit those petitions in the Liturgy wherein the King of Great Britain is prayed for, as inconsistent with said declaration." In 1777, Rev. William White, assistant rector of the Church, afterward the eminent bishop, was appointed chaplain by the Continental Congress. But Dr. Duché, who had served the Congress so well in 1774, and up to the time of the Declaration, failed heart then, and when Howe entered the city, after Brandywine, disowned his rebellious course, and went back to the royal side. Rev. Thomas Coombe, assistant rector, (with Mr. White), was arrested by the Supreme Executive Council, just before Brandywine, as an English sympathizer, and ultimately, declining to take the oath of allegiance to the new government, was sent to New York, to depart for England.

The year 1776, after the great event of July, had no further occurrence at Philadelphia of high importance. Troops were recruited, organized, equipped, and sent out. In July the five battalions of "Associators" marched to Amboy, to support Washington's defense of New York, and remained in service some weeks. The defenses on the river, below the city, were pushed forward. Ships and armed boats, for the Provincial navy and that of the Congress, were built, equipped, and put into service. Some were sent abroad for supplies—arms, gun-powder, etc.—and some remained for the defense of the river. A swarm of privateers went out, and a number of English prizes were taken. The King's ships watched the Capes, and even entered the Bay,[1] but their blockade was not effective.

[1] May 8, 1776, a spirited engagement took place on the Delaware, just below the mouth of the Christiana—opposite the present city of Wilmington—the first naval battle of the Revolution, on the Delaware, and probably the first which had occurred on those waters since the white settlement. The royal ships

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The disasters to the American army, at New York, its depletion, and retreat through New Jersey, in the autumn, brought the alarms of war almost to the gates of the city. In November it was feared that Howe might immediately march upon Philadelphia. The loss of Fort Washington, on the Hudson, November 16, and the capture there of many Philadelphia officers and men, deepened the gloom.

In a few days the condition was practically that of panic. The Council of Safety issued, November 30, a notice that "the inhabitants of this city who wished to avoid the insults and oppressions of a licentious soldiery" should prepare to remove their wives and children, and valuable effects, on short warning, to some place of security.[1] The "Associator" regiments, which had already been out, again took the field, and Cadwalader's brigade marched to Bristol, December 13, to support Washington's operations. Congress, after declaring by resolution, December 10, that it would not leave Philadelphia, adjourned the day after to Baltimore. General Putnam, who had been sent by Washington to take command of the city, arrived December 12, and at once issued stringent orders for the control of the city.[2]

But Washington's courageous strokes at Trenton and Princeton, as the old year went out and the new came in, relieved the city, and left it safe for eight months more. Not until Howe's great fleet set sail

Roebuck, 44 guns, and the *Liverpool*, 28, were attacked by the "thirteen Provincial armed boats," sent down from Fort Island, and after a sharp fight from 3 P. M., to evening, and a renewal of the attack next day, were driven down the Bay.

[1] The Council also issued the following as a "broadside" or handbill:

"IN COUNCIL OF SAFETY,
"Philadelphia, December 2, 1776.

"*Resolved*, That it is the Opinion of this Board that all the Shops in this city be shut up, that the Schools be broke up, and the Inhabitants engaged solely in providing for the Defence of their City, at this Time of extreme Danger. By Order of Council,

"DAVID RITTENHOUSE, *Vice-President*.

"[Philadelphia, Printed by Henry Miller, in Race-street.]"

[2] See his orders, Dec. 12, 13, 14, in Marshall's Diary. —The following entries in the Diary add details of interest:

"December 2d. The city alarmed with the news of Howe's army being at Brunswick proceeding for this place. Drums beat. A martial appearance. The shops shut. . . . Our people began to pack up some things, wearing and bedding, etc., to send to the place [his farm in the country].

"December 3d. Numbers of families loading wagons with their furniture, etc., taking them out of town.

"December 4th. Great numbers of people moving.

"December 10th. Our people in confusion, of all ranks, sending their goods out of the town into the country.

"December 11th. Further accounts of the rapid progress of General Howe. Our Congress leave the city for Baltimore. . . . Streets full of wagons going out with goods.

"December 14th. Alarming and fresh accounts of Howe's near approach. People hurrying out of town."

After citing these, in his Life of Bradford, Mr. Wallace adds: "The terror was increased by the ill-considered proclamation of the 30th, by the Council of Safety, [referred to in the text]. And the people were made more anxious to get their goods into the country by the fact that an idea prevailed that rather than let the city fall into General Howe's hands the Continental army would itself burn it; an idea so prevalent that on the 8th of December, martial law was declared."

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from New York, in July, 1777, and passed down the New Jersey coast bound whither the Americans knew not, did the city again feel itself threatened. Washington, waiting for definite news from the enemy, lay north of the city until he learned August 22d that the fleet had entered Chesapeake Bay. On the 23d his army moved toward Philadelphia, and reached Germantown, his headquarters being at "Stenton." On the 24th, the first day of the week, his column marched through the city, "going in at, and marching down Front street to Chestnut, and up Chestnut to the common," then to the middle ferry, now Market street, where it crossed the Schuylkill, and proceeded southward to Wilmington. Washington had been in and near the city since the first of the month,[1] when it had been expected Howe meant to bring his fleet up the Delaware. On the 1st he had inspected the defenses on the river, below Philadelphia, and during his stay in the city, between that and the 5th, had met for the first time that generous volunteer in the cause of American Independence, whom afterward he came to love as scarcely he did any other man, the Marquis de Lafayette. With him had arrived also that other brave and resolute European volunteer, John Kalb, and the commissions of the two, as issued by Congress, were dated July 31.

TABLE UPON WHICH THE DECLARATION WAS SIGNED, AND CHAIRS OF PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, 1776.

The army as it passed through the city looked well. Washington rode at the head, Lafayette by his side. The baggage-wagons, spare horses, and all ammunition wagons but one for each cannon, had been sent around the city to the middle ferry. There were no "camp-followers." The drums and fifes of each brigade were "collected in the centre of it," and a quick-step—but not too quick—directed the march. Crowds had gathered on the Sabbath morning.

[1] The army lay at Roxborough, now within the city, during the first week in August, and Washington made his headquarters for several days at the house of Henry Hill. On the 8th of August, after a review, the army marched by way of Germantown and Whitemarsh to the "Cross Roads" on the Neshaminy, near Hartsville. (Cf. The Camp by Schuylkill Falls, by William S. Baker, Pa. Mag., XVI.) Jacob Hiltzheimer's Diary says: "July 31. At 10 o'clock to-night, his Excellency General Washington came to town with about 200 light-horse." (Pa. Mag., XVI., 99.)

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Here was the Continental army. Here rode the commander, tall, dignified, imposing, a man whom few even of those who loved him least ever ventured to scoff at. Here was the young and rich nobleman of France who had come to help the patriot cause—no longer execrated as an enemy, but welcomed with shouts of joy. It had rained early in the day, but not enough to spoil the occasion.[1] There were eight or nine thousand men—a great number, when seen on the march. They had stuck sprigs of green in their hats. They "held well burnished arms, and carried them like soldiers." The spectacle made its impression. News had come but yesterday of the defeat of Baum by Stark at Bennington. It seemed that troops like these could and would face the armies of the King.

The day of Brandywine was one of anxious suspense. There had been all sorts of desperate preparations to defend the city—less panic-stricken than in the previous December, but still of little use when a veteran army of enemies is at the door. The Hessian and other prisoners of war had been sent to Reading, Lebanon and Carlisle. The Executive Council, on the 10th, had issued an impassioned proclamation, calling upon the people to rise and oppose General Howe's army, "the only British army that remains formidable in America or in the World," and "all the well-affected Militia" were ordered out, "to meet on the Commons, near the centre House," at ten next day, "with their arms, accoutrements, muskets, and intrenching tools." On the 11th, as the artillery duel began athwart the Brandywine, at John Chadd's Ford, between Knyphausen and Wayne, the sound of the guns was heard in the city,[2] and many walked toward the Schuylkill to listen to the battle. Men were sent through the streets, "ringing a bell and ordering all houses to be immediately shut up, alarming the inhabitants that General Howe is advancing, and that every man who can carry a gun must appear on the Commons." Word of the result of the battle came in slowly, but after the several movements of the two armies, the crossing and recrossing of the Schuylkill, the barbarous night attack on Wayne at Paoli (Sept. 20), and many alarms, rumors, and disturbing reports, Howe's army marched to Germantown on the 25th, and on the next morning entered the then city, "amidst the acclamations," Captain John Montrésor says in his journal, "of some thousands of the inhabitants, mostly women and children"—an estimate which we

[1] John Adams to his wife, Aug. 24: "This morning was fair, but now it is overcast and rains very hard, which will spoil our show, and wet the army.—12 o'clock. The rain ceased, and the army marched through the town between seven and ten o'clock. The wagons went another road. Four regiments of light horse, Bland's, Baylor's, Sheldon's, and Moylan's. Four grand divisions of the army, and the artillery with the matroxes. They marched twelve deep, and yet took up above two hours in passing by."

[2] Letter of Mrs. Stedman to Mrs. Fergusson of Græme Park, Sept. 11: "Mr. Stedman, with numbers of others, is just returned from a walk to the Bettering House, [10th and Spruce streets], where the firing is very distinctly to be heard." (Penna. Mag., XIV., 64.)

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will choose to esteem too high.[1] It was the division of Cornwallis which entered, "two battalions of British grenadiers and Hessian grenadiers, two squadrons of Sixteenth dragoons and artillery." With them rode three well-known citizens of Philadelphia, Joseph Galloway, Andrew Allen, and William Allen,[2] and as they met the glances, or returned the salutations of the people, the returning refugees may well have felt that their confidence in the King's strength was now justified, and that they had come back to take first place in the city.

Rob^t Morris.

The Congress had left Philadelphia in undignified haste on the morning of the 19th. The members "were alarmed in their beds," says John Adams, "by a letter from Mr. Hamilton," notifying them that the British might enter the city at any time. The official papers of Congress had already been sent to Bristol, and escaping in that direction the members rode off by Trenton to Easton and Bethlehem, and thence by Reading and Lancaster to York. The State government went to Lancaster; the Supreme Executive Council began its sessions there October 1. Before their departure, in the days of excitement over the approach of Howe, the Congress and the Council had caused the arrest of a number of persons, mostly Friends, upon the general charge of opposing and discouraging the American cause.[3] August 28, the former body had named eleven of the leading Friends, including the three Pemberton brothers, for arrest, and the

[1] Montrésor's Journal, Pa. Mag., VI.—Robert Morton, the Loyalist youth, in his Diary (Pa. Mag., I.), says the spectators "testified their approbation of the arrival of the troops by the loudest acclamations of joy." J. P. Norris told Watson, (Annals, II., 256): "I recollect seeing the division march down Second street, when Lord Cornwallis took possession of the city. The troops were gay and well clad. A number of our citizens appeared sad and serious. When I saw them there was no huzzahing" A lady told Mr. Watson: "I saw no exultation in the enemy, nor indeed in those who were reckoned favorable to their success"

Elizabeth Drinker says: "Sept. 25. This has been . . . a day of great confusion in the city. . . Enoch Story informed us this morning that ye English were with 4 or 5 miles of us. We have since heard that they were by John Dickinson's place [Fair Hill]. . . Most of our warm people have gone off, tho' there are many who continue here that I should not have expected. . . A great number of ye lower sort of ye people are gone out to meet them [the British]. It is now near 11 o'clock, [p. m.], and it has been raining for several hours, which I look upon as a remarkable favor, as 'tis said that tarred faggots are laid in several outhouses in different parts . . . Numbers met at ye State House since nine o'clock to form themselves into different companies to watch ye city; all things appear peaceable . . . ye watchmen cry ye hour without molestation." (Journal, p. 51-52.)

[2] Junior, son of the old Chief Justice.

[3] Founded chiefly, if not entirely (as afterward appeared in an interview between friends of the "Exiles" and members of the Congress, at York, in January), upon the "Epistles" and "Advices" issued officially by the Friends' meetings and committees (See reference in text, p. 342.)

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Council, on the 31st, increased the number to forty-one, adding other Friends, and also Provost Smith, Rev. Mr. Coombe, the assistant rector, Dr. Phineas Bond, and others. Fifteen of the forty-one, for various reasons were not arrested, but twenty-six, seventeen of whom were

IN CONGRESS, July 4, 1776.

A DECLARATION

By the REPRESENTATIVES of the

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

IN GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

WHEN in the Course of human Events, it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the Political Bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the Earth, the seperate and equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind requires that they should declare the Causes which impel them to the seperation.

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such Principles, and organizing its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient Causes; and accordingly all Experience hath shewn, that Mankind are more disposed to suffer, while Evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the Forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long Train of Abuses and Usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a Design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security. Such has been the patient Sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the Necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The History of the present King of Great-Britain is a History of repeated Injuries and Usurpations, all having in direct Object the Establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid World.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public Good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing Importance, unless suspended in their Operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the Accommodation of large Districts of People, unless those People would relinquish the Right of Representation in the Legislature, a Right inestimable to them, and formidable to Tyrants only.

He has called together Legislative Bodies at Places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the Depository of their public Records, for the sole Purpose of fatiguing them into Compliance with his Measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly Firmness his Invasions on the Rights of the People.

He has refused for a long Time, after such Dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the Dangers of Invasion from without, and Convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that Purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their Migrations hither, and raising the Conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the Tenure of their Offices, and the Amount and Payment of their Salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new Offices, and sent hither Swarms of Officers to harrass our People, and eat out their Substance.

He has kept among us, in Times of Peace, Standing Armies, without the Consent of our Legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a Jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, and unacknowledged by our Laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation.

For quartering large Bodies of armed Troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all Parts of the World:

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us, in many Cases, of the Benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended Offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an arbitrary Government, and enlarging its Boundaries, so as to render it at once an Example and fit Instrument for introducing the same absolute Rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all Cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our Seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our Towns, and destroyed the Lives of our People.

He is at this Time, transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the Works of Death, Desolation and Tyranny, already begun with Circumstances of Cruelty and Perfidy scarcely parallelled in the most barbarous Ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized Nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the Executioners of their Friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited Domestic Insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the Inhabitants of our Frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages whose known Rule of Warfare, is an undistinguished Destruction, of all Ages, Sexes and Conditions.

In every Stage of these Oppressions we have petitioned for Redress, in the most humble Terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated Injury. A Prince, whose Character is thus marked by every Act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the Ruler of a free People.

Nor have we been wanting in Attention to our British Brethren. We have warned them from Time to Time of Attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable Jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the Circumstances of our Emigration and Settlement here. We have appealed to their native Justice and Magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the Ties of our common Kindred to disavow these Usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our Connections and Correspondence. They too have been deaf to the Voice of Justice and of Consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the Necessity which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of Mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the Rectitude of our Intentions, do in the Name and by the Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly Publish and Declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political Connection between them and the State of Great-Britain, is, and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of Right do. And for the Support of this Declaration, with a firm Reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

Signed by ORDER and in BEHALF of the CONGRESS,

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

Attest.

CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.

REDUCED FAC-SIMILE OF BROADSIDE DISTRIBUTED THROUGH THE COUNTRY.

Friends, were taken by Colonel William Bradford, with a military guard, and confined in the Masons' Lodge. Congress suggested, September 3, that the party be sent to Staunton, Virginia, and after sev-

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eral days of disputation, in which the Friends, apparently unaware or disregardful that *inter arma silent leges*, stiffly and perseveringly maintained their right to freedom under the law, twenty[1] of the party were loaded in "light covered wagons," at the door of the Lodge, and sent off under guard on the afternoon of the battle at Brandywine. They went by way of Reading to Harris's Ferry, and thence through the Cumberland valley to Winchester, Virginia, where they remained until the following spring, when they were released. The incident has taken a conspicuous place in the local history of the time, and its rights and wrongs have been earnestly argued, but it need only be said here that in time of war private rights usually suffer, and that in such a situation as existed at Philadelphia in September, 1777, non-combatants would have been remarkably fortunate to wholly escape misjudgment and annoyance. In the end the authorities conceded sufficiently that the Friends had not committed any overt act, and when they returned home in April, General Gates, General Mifflin, and others treated them courteously on the way.[2]

The British occupation of the city continued through all the remaining days of autumn, the winter, and spring, and into the early summer. Sir William Howe commanded. Lord Howe, his brother, admiral of the royal fleet, Cornwallis, and Knyphausen, were the other chief officers. There were besides others who then or later had historic fame: Colonel afterward Sir Ralph Abercromby, who fell in battle with the French in Egypt, in 1801; Lord Rawdon, who spent the closing years of his life as Governor General of India, and received high promotion in the British peerage; Tarleton, who like Rawdon, served against us in the South, but in spite of his daring activities, saw his cause expire at Yorktown; and, above all, that romantic and picturesque figure, victim of war's hard code, Major André.[3] Sir William Erskine was quartermaster-general. Cunningham, pilloried in all our accounts of him, for cruelty, was provost marshal. As the troops marched in on the 26th of September they

[1] James Pemberton, Miers Fisher, John Pemberton, Samuel Pleasants, Thomas Gilpin, Samuel Fisher (son of Joshua), Owen Jones Junior, Edward Penington, William Drewet Smith, Charles Eddy, Israel Pemberton, John Hunt, Thomas Pike, Thomas Fisher, Henry Drinker, Elijah Brown, William Smith (broker), Thomas Wharton, Sen., Charles Jervis, Thomas Affleck. (Cf. Colonial Records, XI., 296, Exiles in Virginia, 111.) All these were Friends except three. John Hunt and Thomas Gilpin died at Winchester. Thomas Pike, the "dancing master," escaped. William Drewet Smith left the party in a few weeks and returned to Philadelphia.

[2] The Friends' view of the transaction is very fully stated in Gilpin's Friends Exiled to Virginia. A view from the other side is in Wallace's Bradford. See also Elizabeth Drinker's Journal, for interesting details.

[3] The lodgings of the British officers are given by Westcott. General Howe first lived in General Cadwalader's house, Second street below Spruce; later in the house on Market street between Fifth and Sixth then the property of Richard Penn, afterward of Robert Morris—the house occupied by Washington when President. Admiral Howe occupied John Lawrence's house, in Chestnut street above 4th, afterward the site of the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank. General Knyphausen took Gen. Cadwalader's house, after Gen. Howe left it. Lord Cornwallis first lived at Peter Reeves's on Second street near Spruce, then in David Lewis's house, near by. Major André lived in Dr. Franklin's house, in a court, running south from Market street, between Third and Fourth.

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were posted, "the Hessian grenadiers to the north of the city, the last battalion British grenadiers at the Bettering House, &c., fronting out from the centre of the city, and the first battalion British grenadiers at the shipyard, to the south of the city, forming a semi-circle, and covering the whole." [1]

The military question, now that Howe had taken the city, was whether he could remain in it. His fleet could not get up the river so long as the Americans maintained their forts and obstructions below. With the river closed, and Washington's army covering the country north and west of the city, the large army within it could not be fed. "Without the free navigation of the Delaware," said Washington, "I am confident that General Howe will never remain in Philadelphia." A desperate, but uneven struggle for the control of the river therefore began. On the 27th of September two American frigates, the *Delaware* and *Montgomery*, each 24 guns, with some smaller armed vessels, were sent up from the fleet below, by Commodore Hazelwood, to attack the batteries which the British were placing on the front of the city. An action of an hour or less followed, disastrous to the Americans. The tide falling, the *Delaware* grounded, and, unable to move, under fire of the battery on shore, surrendered. The other frigate withdrew. The British thus gained control of the city front, and of the ferry to the New Jersey shore.

Jos. Reed

The defenses below consisted of the fort, on an island just below the mouth of the Schuylkill, known afterward as Fort Mifflin; one opposite, and about 1900 yards away, on the New Jersey shore, at Red Bank; and a fortification at Billingsport, five miles below, also on the New Jersey shore. The fort on the island had been projected, as a work to defend the river for King George, in 1771, and the engineer officer then recommended by General Gage, at New York, for its planning, was named Montrésor. How much he did is uncertain, but now, in the army that had captured Philadelphia, the chief engineer was Captain John Montrésor, the same person, and he brought to the work of reducing the fort all the knowledge which he had acquired in designing and constructing it. He had been a few days engaged in laying out defensive works about the city, and

[1] Montrésor's Journal, Pa. Mag., VI., 41.

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starting their erection, when he began the engineering operations for the capture of Fort Mifflin.

Washington's visit to these river defenses, on the 1st of August, has been mentioned. Du Coudray, a French engineer, had been sent by Congress to report on them.[1] Neither thought well of the works at Billingsport, and their judgment was justified by the event. Howe had brought his fleet promptly after Brandywine from the Chesapeake into the Delaware, and October 6—two days after the battle of Germantown—it lay in the river off Chester. Four days earlier, October 2, the Billingsport works had been abandoned by the Americans, Colonel Bradford finding their defense impracticable. The operations against Fort Mifflin were then vigorously pressed. The British seized Province Island, and threw up works there. From about October 10, for more than a month the fort was gallantly held, though at great disadvantage by weakness of numbers, want of supplies, and exposure to the enemy's attack. Some successes encouraged the defenders. On the 22d of October, an attack by the Hessians upon Red Bank was repulsed with heavy loss, among the killed being Count Donop, their commander. On the next day, the *Augusta* frigate, 64 guns, and the *Merlin*, 18 guns, which in operating against Red Bank had got aground, were both burned and blown up, their magazines exploding, one just before noon, the other at three o'clock, with terrific shocks, heard at Philadelphia and far into the country. By the 15th of November, the fort in the river, desperately defended during the last three days by Major Simeon Thayer and a handful of men, became untenable, and it was abandoned on the night of the 15th, Thayer and his men withdrawing to Red Bank. This place was presently abandoned also, upon the movement of a heavy force of British troops against it—Cornwallis marching from Philadelphia to Chester and there crossing the river, while Clinton sent a body to coöperate from New York—and the defenses below the city were thus reduced. The ships of the Continental and State "navies,"

John Cadwalader

[1] "Sept. 16. Gen. du Coudray, with nine French officers, set off for camp over Schuylkill. The General remained mounted in the boat; his horse leaped overboard and thereby drowned the General. In the evening I went to the Schuylkill and saw his body taken from the water." (Hiltzheimer's Diary.)

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under Commodore Hazelwood, attempting to escape the powerful fleet of the enemy and pass up the river in front of the city, mostly failed and part were burned. Before the end of November, therefore, the army in Philadelphia could be victualled from the sea, and was in no danger of starvation.

Meantime occurred the battle of Germantown. Howe had been but eight days within the city when, in the early morning of October 4, Washington, coming from his encampments in the country above, fell upon the left wing of his army, under Knyphausen, posted at Germantown, with its line extending to the Schuylkill on the left, and towards Branchtown on the right. The British pickets, at Mount Airy, were reached by the American right wing, soon after sunrise, and troops under Wayne pressed forward with the cry, "Remember Paoli!" Howe, whose headquarters were at "Stenton," rode toward the front, to find his infantry falling back. Before he could gather his forces, the attacking column of the Americans had pushed to Germantown, a mile south of the first collision. Here was Chew's house, the fine stone mansion, built fourteen years before by Benjamin Chew.[1] Into this strong building Colonel Musgrave had thrown six companies of British light infantry, and Washington, with the reserve, following Wayne, who marched east of the main street of the town, and Sullivan on the west, found this obstacle—a "fort" or "castle," as General Knox, chief of the artillery, persisted in regarding it—in the way. The resistance made by Musgrave, the hesitation of the attacking column, the dark, foggy morning, enabled Howe to gather his troops. Greene had attacked on the eastern side of Germantown. Armstrong with a body of militia, threatened the British left. The Americans under Sullivan had pushed on into the town, when as the British resistance increased to a return attack, and the firing at Chew's house, in the American rear, continued, the crisis of the battle was reached, and the Americans began to retreat. Howe pressed after them, but they withdrew in tolerable order. The battle had lasted two hours and three-quarters. The American loss, as stated by the Board of War, was 30 officers and 122 men killed, 117 officers and 404 men wounded, and about 400 taken prisoners. The British acknowledged 13 officers and 58 men killed, and 55 officers and 395 men wounded. The Americans had General Nash, a North Carolinian, killed, and the English General Agnew, who died in the Wister house, where his blood-stains may yet be seen. In a military sense the battle had its value to the Americans, for it increased the proof of their ability to contend with their veteran

[1] See illustration, p. 264.—Chew was Attorney-General of the province from 1755 to 1769, and succeeded William Allen as Chief Justice in 1774. At this time he was staying, (after arrest by order of the Supreme Executive Council, August 11), at Union Iron Works, New Jersey, in company with ex-Governor John Penn.

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enemy. In a political sense it had a greater importance, for it impressed people everywhere, but especially in Europe, to see Washington resume the offensive so soon after Brandywine.

Withdrawing, after the battle, to the upper Perkiomen, Washington again drew near the city, toward the close of October, and was at Whitemarsh, his troops on "Camp Hill," on November 2.

CONTINENTAL CURRENCY.

On the 3d of December Howe marched out of the city against him, with a force stated at 15,000 men, and a general battle was anticipated, but after manœuvring and one or two sharp skirmishes, Howe returned on the evening of the 8th, his expedition empty of result.[1] December 11, Washington left Camp Hill, crossed the Schuylkill on the night of the 12th, lay at Gulf Mills until the 19th, and then marched to Valley Forge. There he remained until the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British in June.

The military operations between December and June, in and about the city, were chiefly excursions of foraging and annoyance, on the part of the British. Given in detail they make an extended narrative, but none were important. The sanguinary surprise of Lacey at the Crooked Billet, May 1, and the attempted capture of Lafayette and his detachment at Barren Hill, May 20, are among the more notable events. Within the city, a line of redoubts, ten in number, from the Delaware about Willow street, to the Schuylkill at Fairmount, were constructed, following a plan laid out and begun by

[1] To this affair belongs the story of Lydia Darragh, who is said to have listened, in the Loxley House, to the plans of the British officers for surprising Washington, and then to have hurried to the American lines at Frankford with the news, thus frustrating the enterprise. Conceding the verity of the story, it is certain, however, that the Americans were informed, some days before the time given for Lydia's visit, of the intended movement of Howe against them.

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General Putnam a year before. On the 19th of October the troops were brought within these works. When winter came on, they were quartered in the public buildings, in the old "British Barracks," and in private houses. The artillery was placed on Chestnut street from Third to Sixth, some of it in the state-house yard. In November, upon the pretence that the Americans used the large houses outside the redoubts to annoy his men, Howe ordered them to be burned, and on the 21st, "Fairhill," the home of John Dickinson, and many others, were destroyed.[1] "Stenton" was saved by a quick-witted servant who tricked the soldiers sent to burn it. This destruction did not impress favorably the admirers of the British rule, and they soon found other cause for criticism. Galloway, whom Howe had placed at the head of the police administration of the City, and otherwise favored with appointments, found himself, as he thought, coolly treated, and there was much heart-burning over the appointments to raise local bodies of Tory troops. Howe himself had the repute of gross immorality, and his example was followed by others.[2] Gambling was common, and some of the officers, beggared by losses, went away in June leaving large debts behind. During the pinch for provisions, before the river was opened, supplies were seized in private houses, to the grief and surprise of Tory housekeepers.[3] When the transports came up the river, they brought a large number of strange trades-people, who took the empty stores of the absent Whigs, and began business.[4] Two of the old newspapers,

Anth. Wayne

[1] Robert Morton says eleven, "besides out-houses, barns," etc. Deborah Logan, in a letter to Colonel Garden, says that from the roof of her mother's house, in town, she counted seventeen on fire at one time.

[2] See in Eliz. Drinker's Journal the enticement of her servant girl, and other naive relations.

[3] Young Robert Morton, who had been so pleased to see the British enter, says in his Diary, Oct. 24: "The Hessians and British Soldiers have taken above 50 Bus. of our Potatoes, notwithstanding the gracious proclamation of his Excell'y to protect the peaceable inhabitants in a quiet possession of their property. The ravages and wanton destruction of the Soldiery will I think soon become irksome to the inhabitants, as many who depended upon their vegetables, &c., for the maintenance of their families are now entirely and effectually ruined. . . . I presume the fatal effects of such conduct will shortly be very apparent by the discontent of the inhabitants who are now almost satiated with British clemency. . . Nov. 22. But what is most astonishing is their burning the furniture in some of those houses that belonged to friends of government . . . Here is an instance that Gen'l Washington's Army cannot be accused of."—Elizabeth Drinker's Diary: "Dec. 11. These are sad times for thieving and plundering; 'tis hardly safe to leave the door open a minute. A number of friends to Government, about y^e^ country, have lately been plundered and ill-used by the British Troops; things wear a very gloomy aspect at this present time."

[4] Westcott gives a long list of these new-comers. Marshall says it was reported at Lancaster there were

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Towne's *Evening Post* and Humphreys's *Ledger*, had continued publication, changing their tone to suit the change of circumstances, and in March, unaware how brief the British occupancy would now be—two new men, James and Alexander Robertson, began the issue of the *Royal Pennsylvania Gazette*. There were numerous balls at the City Tavern. The old theatre on South street was reopened, and a number of performances given, the talents of Major André being employed to write prologues and paint scenery. These pleasures were crowned on the 18th of May by the famous entertainment, the "Mischianza," a combination of regatta, tournament and ball, arranged in large part by André, but under the nominal management of Sir John Wrottesley, Colonel O'Hara, Major Gardiner, and Captain Montrésor, which took place at "Walnut Grove," the Wharton residence in Southwark.

The pageant of the Mischianza lighted up the departure of Sir William Howe. On the 9th of April, a ship from England had brought dispatches recalling him, and Sir Henry Clinton succeeded him in the command on the 11th of May. General Howe was regarded in England as wanting in energy, and is so commonly estimated in the English histories; it may be noted here that other British commanders—Burgoyne, Cornwallis, Clinton—attained no greater success. He left Philadelphia in the *Andromeda* frigate, May 24, for England.[1] Preparations had already begun for abandoning the city, and on the day of his departure Clinton held a council of officers, which recommended the step. Cannon were removed, redoubts dismantled, and baggage sent away, from this time to the 18th of June, when, early in the morning Clinton marched his army to Gloucester Point, crossed there on flat-boats to the Jersey side, and started for New York. News of the departure was carried quickly to Valley Forge, for Washington knew of it by half-past eleven in the forenoon, and immediately set his army in motion eastward, in pursuit. The battle of Monmouth occurred ten days later.

The Americans entered the city as the British went out, Allan McLane and his light horsemen coming so quickly that they picked up some laggards in the streets. The following day General Arnold arrived, having been detailed by Washington to take command of

one hundred and twenty-one of them. A man named Smith reopened Bradford's London Coffee House, at Front and Market streets, and the Indian King tavern, on Market street, was opened by Peter Lennox, and called "The British Tavern."

[1] James Allen, son of Chief Justice Allen, who was in the city part of the winter, says in his diary: "May 11. The military have lived a very gay life the whole winter, and many very expensive entertainments given. . . This city swarms with refugees, and living is very expensive. . . June 8. Sir William Howe . . . has given little satisfaction either here or in England. He has lost by supineness many opportunities of destroying his enemy, and has offended all the friends of Government by his neglect of them, and suffering their property to be destroyed. . . The markets are extravagantly high, and parties of the enemy all round the city within a mile or two, robbing the market people. Consequently the distress of the citizens, and particularly the refugees, has been very great."

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the city. It bore the marks of the war experiences through which it had just passed. Many of its people were absent. Those Tories who dared not remain had marched with Clinton to New York, their baggage, it is said, encumbering his movements. The Whigs who had left home in September had not yet returned. The ruins of the burned houses made a melancholy spectacle. Other houses had been plundered. The general aspect of the town was that of destruction, disorder, and dirt.

Congress returned and met at the state-house, June 25. The Supreme Executive Council met next day. Retaliation upon the Tories was to be the most prominent topic for months to come. The Congress had had various experiences during its exile beyond the Susquehanna, but two great events had meantime occurred, which gave the war a new face. The autumn had produced the victories on the Hudson, and Burgoyne's surrender; the spring had brought word of the French Alliance. With the support of France—money, men, munitions, fleets, but above all money, for the desperate resource of unlimited issues of paper currency had now come nearly to the end of its tether—the struggle became hopeful and its success probable. There was still to be more than three years of active war, but with the alliance of Britain's ancient enemy—that one whom in but our last chapter we were expected to hate so heartily—it could be endured and survived. Congress had only fairly resumed its labors, when, on the 12th of July, Monsieur Conrad Alexander Gérard, Minister of his most Christian Majesty, the King of France, to the United States of America, came up from Chester, where he had landed from one of the ships of D'Estaing's fleet. Here was the emphatic and definite evidence that the new Republic was one of the nationalities of the world. He was formally received on the 13th by the Congress, his credentials presented and read, and speeches interchanged. This was the beginning of a chapter of experience which was to last during most of twenty years. M. Gérard was the first of a procession of French envoys who were to make themselves conspicuous figures at Philadelphia.

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS, GERMANTOWN.

The war operations in this quarter were thenceforth of no great

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moment. One incident attracts us, however, at the beginning of the few notes necessary. The Americans, when they recovered the city, were in pressing need of ammunition, and cartridge paper was anxiously sought. At length, in a lumber-room of Dr. Franklin's, a quantity was found, nothing less indeed than Gilbert Tennent's war sermons of 1747, on the text from Ezra. The edition printed had been in excess of the demand. A cartload of these valuable sheets lay unbound. They were gladly made into cartridges and fired away at Monmouth. The redoubts constructed across the city by Montrésor were dismantled, the trees of the abattis cut up for firewood, and sent to the almshouse. The British military bridge over the Schuylkill, at Middle Ferry, was placed at Gray's Ferry, and the floating bridge which Putnam had built at the former crossing, in 1776–7, was brought from its concealment and replaced. A magazine of small arms was established at the state-house, and cannon were directed to be again mounted at Billingsport and Fort Island. Some of the ships of the State fleet, which in the disasters of the preceding fall had been sunk to avoid capture, were raised and put in service. But above all the privateers resumed their activity, and a swarm of them went out once more.[1]

A Burr.

There now occurred, in the operations of the armed ships which went out from Philadelphia an incident which led to a series of events which demand our attention. The "case of the sloop *Active*" is one of interest. The brig *Convention*, fitted out by the State, and the privateer *Le Gérard*, cruising in company off the New Jersey coast, found the *Active* steering in for Little Egg Harbor. On board of her were Gideon Olmsted, a Connecticut fisherman, with his crew of three men, and also fourteen Englishmen, prisoners below deck. Olmsted and his companions, captured by a British ship, near Cape Charles, a short time before, had been taken to Jamaica, and there

[1] Relieved by the departure of the British, and probably infected by their example, society in the city in 1778-9 became quite gay. General Greene wrote Feb. 9, 1779: "Luxury and dissipation are very prevalent . . . when I was in Boston last summer I thought luxury very predominant there; but they are no more to compare with those now prevailing in Philadelphia than an infant babe to a full grown man. I dined at one table where there were an hundred and sixty dishes." Mrs. Bache wrote to her father: "Last winter was a season of triumph to the Whigs and they spent it gaily." (Cf. F. D. Stone's Philadelphia Society One Hundred Years Ago, Pa. Mag., III.)

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put on the *Active*, under compulsion, as part of a crew to take her, with a valuable cargo of arms and supplies for the British army, to New York. On the way up they had risen, surprised the British captain and his men, and driven them below, and after a two days' struggle, in which Olmsted was severely wounded, had got control of the sloop. The *Convention* and *Le Gérard* now claimed her as a prize. The fisherman declared she was his, his capture being complete. They, however, had the weighty argument of superior force, and took her up to Philadelphia, where, in the admiralty court before Judge George Ross, a jury decided that the fisherman and his three men were entitled to one-fourth of the prize, the other three-fourths to go to the State, the owners of the privateer, and the officers and crews of the *Convention* and *Le Gérard*. It was probably an unjust verdict, influenced by local feeling. The question was whether Olmsted was entirely in control when the other ships appeared. The jury assumed he was not.

Olmsted was then a man under sixty. He saw the end of this case, thirty years afterward, in 1809, his life having extended long enough to fight it out in five different courts, including the Supreme Court of the United States. We must speak in a later chapter of this litigation, and its consequences. Meantime the case involved the military commander at Philadelphia, General Benedict Arnold. This officer, connected with American history, and indeed with universal history, by such an act as can have no oblivion, was now nearly forty, a bold soldier, an unscrupulous man. He had come to Philadelphia, probably, with the idea of quickly bettering his fortunes. Four days after his arrival he had made an agreement with two other persons for sharing the profits of an illicit traffic in supplies for the army, and Judge Richard Peters, then Secretary of the Board of War, asserts that he directly converted to his private use fifty thousand dollars placed in his hands for public purchases. He entered at once on a most ostentatious style of living. He rented the Richard Penn mansion, in Market street, vacated by General Howe. He rode in a coach, he kept his servants in livery, he gave magnificent entertainments. He bought, in March, of Captain John Macpherson—an old seaman, who in 1759–62, in the war with France, had had the good luck to make many rich prizes in the *Britannia*, a famous 20-gun privateer—his handsome place, now in the East Park, "Mount Pleasant." He had paid his court promptly to Miss Margaret ("Peggy") Shippen, the daughter of Edward Shippen—afterward Chief Justice of the State—and the great-granddaughter of Edward Shippen, Mayor in 1701. She was one of the belles of the city, and is famous in André's account of the Mischianza, as one of the fourteen young ladies of "the Blended Rose" and "the

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Burning Mountain," in whose honor the knights entered the mimic fray, though it is the tradition of the family that neither she nor her sister was allowed by their father to attend the pageant.

To Miss Shippen Arnold was married in April following—1779. The attacks upon his administration had begun earlier; February 3, the Supreme Executive Council brought charges against him, one of them in connection with the case of the *Active*, in which he was accused of preventing an adjustment, after the verdict in Judge Ross's court, by purchasing an interest in the claim of Olmsted and his companions.[1] These charges led finally to a court-martial,

WASHINGTON MEDAL.

ordered by Congress, on four of the Council's charges, and he was tried at last in January, 1780, when on one of minor importance he was convicted, and sentenced to be reprimanded by the Commander-in-chief. That Washington did not duly estimate the seriousness of Arnold's delinquencies appeared from his appointment of him, a few months later, to the important post of commandant at West Point.

Arnold had been attacked here vigorously by General Joseph Reed, who was now, (by election of the Assembly, 1778), President of the Supreme Executive Council, and in return he had incited sundry vicious attacks upon Reed. The newspapers were filled with charges and counter charges, expressed and implied. The controversy was typical of many at this time and after. John Dickinson was thus engaged a little later. Tom Paine and Silas Deane had an embittered quarrel, which involved among other details the famous chapter of Beaumarchais, the French dramatist, secret agent, and speculator, and his "Lost Million."[2] Brigadier-General William Thompson and Chief Justice Thomas McKean indulged themselves in like manner. The temper of the time was vindictive. The attack upon those charged

[1] In order to appeal the case from the verdict in Ross's court, Olmsted had to give security. Arnold became or furnished this, and probably exacted a share in the claim for compensation.

[2] Cf. Dr. Stillé's paper on the subject, Penna. Mag., II.

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with English sympathies ran in all directions, and to serious lengths. Thomas Willing, for not voting for the Declaration, was bitterly assailed, when in 1781 he was made by Congress president of the Bank of North America. Robert Morris sustained quite as much criticism and assault. The acrimony and bitterness of such personal and factional contests, notable at the time, continued for many years, and formed a distinct peculiarity of political, and even of social life.

Laws passed by the Assembly, directed at the persons and property of those who had favored the royal cause, began to be enforced in 1778. Two men, Abraham Carlisle, a carpenter, of Philadelphia, and John Roberts, a miller of Lower Merion, were hanged together, on the 4th of November. They had been tried before Chief Justice McKean, and found guilty of treason.[1] Carlisle had stayed in the city during Howe's occupation, and had taken a somewhat active part in giving out passes, and otherwise aiding the British, but his offense, like that of Roberts, was manifestly not enough to justify the extreme penalty of the law. Earnest efforts were made to save their lives; they were "hung as an example," and to satisfy the clamor for reprisals upon the Tories. There were a few other executions, but none so notable, and none probably in which political feeling

[1] The treason trials began in September, 1778, the court sitting at the College building, presided over by Chief-Justice McKean. There were sixteen cases tried, and they lasted until December. (One indictment was ignored, and twenty accused were discharged by proclamation, no one appearing against them.) The most conspicuous case in 1778, perhaps, other than those of Carlisle and Roberts, was that of William Hamilton, of "Woodlands," nephew of Governor James Hamilton. Isaac Ogden, a Tory of New York, writing to Galloway, in London, Nov. 22, said: "Billy Hamilton had a narrow escape; his trial for treason . . . lasted twelve hours. I have seen a gentleman who attended his tryal. He informed me that his acquittal was owing to a defect of proof of a paper from Lord Cornwallis, the direction being torn off." (Sabine, I., 513.)

Many of the accused in the treason trials were defended by William Lewis. He was engaged, says Horace Binney, "especially in cases of high treason . . . of which there was a plentiful crop in our City of Brotherly Love, up to the advent of peace. . . Perhaps this City was the only judicial school in the country for the law of treason. . . He was uniformly on the side of the defendant, and was generally successful . . . in a trial. He had at the tip of his tongue all the gibes and scorns that prosecuting attorneys had spit into the faces of the accused in the oppressive spirit of former times, and would repeat them with disdain at the first symptoms of renewal in his presence. I cannot forget the vehemence, amounting to rage, with which, in rebuke of some harsh general reprobation of a prisoner upon trial, he arraigned, as an example to be forever abjured, the Attorney General Coke for his brutal language to Sir Walter Raleigh, on the trial of the *bye* and the *main*: 'Thou viper! I *thou* thee, thou traitor!' 'Thou art thyself a spider of hell!' 'Go to. I will lay thee on thy back for the confidentest traitor that ever came to the Bar!'" (Cf. Leaders of the Old Bar of Philadelphia, by Horace Binney, 1859.)

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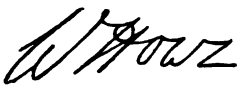
so much influenced the conclusion. The turbulence of the times subsided slowly. In 1779 the rule of committees, appointed at public meetings, or self-appointed, threatened to be restored. On the 25th of May, at a town-meeting at the state-house, committees were appointed on the subject of prices;[1] one of these, organizing June 6, as a "Committee of Inspection," after the plan of that disbanded in 1777, issued an order fixing the prices which were to be paid for a long list of articles from coffee, tea, sugar, and rum, to blacksmiths' iron and sole-leather. If "any inhabitant of this city shall give more than fifteen shillings for a pound of butter," he was to be summoned "to appear at the next town meeting," or pay a fine of twenty shillings. Cargoes of flour imported by Robert Morris and others were not sold in a manner to satisfy the popular tribunal. At a meeting at the state-house, General Cadwalader was mobbed, and prevented from speaking,[2] so that he and those acting with him adjourned to the college yard, where they held a separate meeting, denounced the other one, and passed resolutions vindicating Morris. Both meetings, however, agreed upon the choice of a new Committee by popular vote, and this, consisting of one hundred and twenty persons, was chosen a few days later. Its stringent regulation of prices soon brought protests from merchants and tradespeople, with a clear demonstration that such interference with natural laws would inevitably cause greater troubles than those which already existed, especially as to imported goods, which certainly would not be sent here for sale at a loss.



The rule by committee, however, still had many supporters. Another committee was appointed at a school-house meeting to proscribe persons whom it might consider "inimical to the United States," and this being apparently too slow in its action, some of the militiamen formed what was called the "Committee of

[1] Many details as to the enormous rise of prices, due to the depreciation of the paper money, may be consulted in various contemporary accounts. In May, 1779, Christopher Marshall records that butter sold in market at two to three dollars a pound, flour £20 per hundred weight; two pairs of shoes cost him fifty dollars, two silk handkerchiefs eighty dollars. Samuel Adams says he was asked 400 dollars for a hat, 300 for a pair of leather breeches, 125 for a pair of shoes, 1600 for a suit of clothes. Mrs. Bache wrote to her father, Dr. Franklin, that gauze had risen to fifty dollars a yard, and she would be contented with muslin caps for the winter, if she could get them; in summer she "went without." "It takes a fortune," she said, "to feed a family in a plain way." William Ellery, of Rhode Island, who arrived at the end of November, 1779, to attend Congress, says: "I went to board 3 December, at $300 per week, for myself and servant. . . at the expiration of seven weeks the board was raised." May 31, 1780, Owen Biddle noted the prices of marketing as follows: "Peas, 30 dols. a half peck; asparagus, 5 dols. pr. bunch; butter, from 8 to 12 dols. pr. pound."

[2] Letter of Silas Deane to his brother, July 27, 1779: "We are here in the greatest possible Anarchy and Confusion. On Saturday night the house of Mr. Humphreys, a respectable citizen and as true and brave a Whig as any in this State, was forced by the Rabble, excited and led on by two of the Committee. He was from home, [but returned and defying the mob] without any assistance from the authority of the city or his neighbors dispersed them. . . The contest is between the respectable citizens of fortune and character, opposed to the Constitution of this State, and people in lower circumstances and reputation . . . supposed to be secretly supported by the Pres't and Council."

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Privates," which was to arrest Tories and Quakers, and redress all grievances as to prices. This committee proved itself more active. After many rumors of its plans had alarmed the town, placards were found posted on the morning of October 4, denouncing Robert Morris, Blair McClenachan, James Wilson and others, Wilson's chief offense being his defending successfully several of those who had been tried for treason. The Committee of Privates proceeded to the Pine-street Friends' meeting, where they seized John Drinker, a prominent Friend, then arrested three other citizens, and marched them through the city. Proceeding toward the house of James Wilson, at Third and Walnut streets, the purpose of the party to capture him was apprehended. The house was filled with Wilson's friends, including many prominent people—Robert Morris, General Mifflin, George Clymer and others. Between those inside and the militia in the street a fight now took place, which might have had even more serious results if President Reed with some of the City Troop had not arrived on the scene. As it was, two were killed in the street and one in the house, while many were wounded, some of them by the sabres of the Troop. The house was famous long afterward as "Fort Wilson." The occurrence showed the extreme need of substituting law and order for mob rule. The city government, it may be mentioned here, had ceased to exist.[1] It was considered that by the changes wrought by the new constitution proprietary charters had lapsed, and the British occupation besides had effectually broken up the old system. Samuel Powel, elected in October, 1775, was the last Mayor under the old charter. The last minutes of Common Council are those of February 17, 1776. They make no allusion to

BENEDICT ARNOLD.

[1] Act of Assembly, March 14, 1777: "Sect. 2. And Whereas, by the change of the government of the said Province, the powers of the mayor, recorder, and aldermen have ceased, and become void, whereby the aforesaid acts of assembly [recited in Sect. 1, for raising money, regulating party walls, etc., employment and relief of the poor, regulating and caring for streets, water courses, sewers, etc.; regulating the watch, lighting the streets—five Acts in all] cannot be put in force, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, to the great inconvenience and injury of the good people of the said city, district [of Southwark] and township[s] [Moyamensing, Passyunk, and Northern Liberties]; for remedy whereof, "Sect. 3. Be it enacted," etc. [that the powers granted to the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen shall be vested in the Justices of the Peace of the said city.]—(Cf. Bailey's Laws, I., 38-39.)

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disturbed conditions, but simply end the record with minutes of routine business.

The privateers were active in 1780, and had their share of good and ill luck. Two men afterward famous appear conspicuously among their captains—Thomas Truxtun and Stephen Decatur. The news of Arnold's treason was received September 27, and processions in the streets, especially one on the 30th, carrying his effigy, menaced by a figure of Beelzebub holding a pitch-fork, signified the popular abhorrence of the crime. His house, "Mount Pleasant," was confiscated, and his life-right in it ultimately sold. His wife was sent, in November, to New York. Most notable of all events were those which indicated the approaching termination of the war. The support of France appeared definitely when, at the end of the summer, 1781, Rochambeau came with Washington to Philadelphia, accompanied by a distinguished suite, being received of course with all possible honor. They preceded but by a day or two the column of the united armies on its way south to coöperate with the fleet of De Grasse against Cornwallis. The American troops passed through the city on Sunday, September 2, and on Monday and Tuesday the French regiments came in. At the state-house they were reviewed by Thomas McKean, as President of Congress, with Washington, Rochambeau and Luzerne, the French minister, at his side. The dignity of the United States, and the supremacy of the civil power, were shown in the covered head of the President, while the other three stood hat in hand. By Wednesday, September 5, the rear of the French having arrived, Washington and Rochambeau left for the South. Less than seven weeks later, at three in the morning of October 22, a messenger arrived with a dispatch to President McKean, announcing the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. The news roused the town. An old German watchman cried through the streets: "Basht doo o'clock and Gornwallis ish daken!"[1] On the morning of the 24th,

THE PROCESSION OF ARNOLD AND THE DEVIL. FROM AN OLD PRINT.

[1] The Quakers and the disaffected suffered at such times in the rejoicings. Elizabeth Drinker's Journal: "October 19. Ye 17th of this month Gen[l] Cornwallis was taken, for which we grievously suffered on ye 24th. . . . A mob assembled about 7 o'clock or before, and continued their insults until near 10 to those whose Houses were not illuminated. Scarcely one Friend's House escaped. We had nearly 70 panes of glass broken; ye sash lights and two panels of the front Parlor broke in pieces—ye Door cracked and violently burst open; when they threw stones into the House for some time, but did not enter. Some fared better and some worse. Some houses, after breaking ye door, they entered and destroyed the furniture, &c. Many women and children were frightened into fits, and 'tis a mercy no lives were lost."

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Major Tilghman of Washington's staff brought the official dispatch to Congress, and on the 3d of November twenty-four English standards, prize of the great victory, gladdened the hearts of the Whigs. They were borne through the streets in triumph, taken to the state-house, and there "laid at the feet of Congress and of his Excellency the Ambassador of France." One may wonder what Edward Braddock might have said, could he have witnessed the scene, and if he, what other words Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, might have added.

Major André

Less gladdening than these trophies had been the distressful company who had arrived in July preceding, a large number of citizens of Charleston, cruelly expelled from that city by Sir Henry Clinton, after its surrender on the 12th of May, in the previous year—1780. The families of these unfortunate men—among whom were many of high distinction, General Moultrie and others—had been sent here several months before, and as they were now reunited, they made altogether nearly a thousand persons. The city welcomed, and to the best of its ability, helped them. Dr. George Logan of "Stenton," who had returned in 1779 from his medical studies abroad, and had devoted himself to repairing the devastation at his home, took the families of Governor Rutledge, Charles C. Pinckney and Thomas Pinckney, and for six months provided them a generous hospitality.[1]

Two more war events claim our attention, both of them on the sea. In the spring of 1782, the commerce of the city was menaced at the Capes by a British privateer, the *General Monk*. Collecting

Anna Rawle, whose stepfather was Samuel Shoemaker, the Loyalist, and ex-Mayor, in a letter to her mother, then in New York, gives similar details: "*October 25.* Fifth day. I suppose, dear Mammy, thee would not have imagined this house to be illuminated last night, but it was. A mob surrounded it, broke the shutters and the glass of the windows, and were coming in. . . . Not knowing what to do we ran into the yard. Warm Whigs of one side, and Hartleys of the other, (who were treated even worse than we), rendered it impossible for us to escape that way. [Two men climbed the fence; they thought them the mob] but it proved to be Coburn and Bob Shewell who . . . fixed lights up at the windows, which pacified the mob, and after three huzzas they moved off . . . Even the firm Uncle Fisher [William Fisher, Mayor 1773-4] was obliged to submit to have his windows illuminated, for they had pick-axes and iron bars, with which they had done considerable injury to his house, and would soon have demolished it, had not some of the Hodges and other people got in back and acted as they pleased. . . . For two hours we had the disagreeable noise of stones banging about, glass crashing, and the tumultuous voices of a large body of men, as they were a long time at the different houses in the neighborhood. At last they were victorious, and it was one general illumination throughout the town."—(Pa. Mag., XVI., 105.)

[1] "It is said there are not less than 2000 men, women, and children, who have left Charlestown for different parts of the Continent. . . . Many Quakers, from policy or an humane principle, have offered their country seats for their accommodation, and every effort is made by the inhabitants for their relief."—(Joseph Harrison to Mrs. John Lawrence, June 16, 1781. Pa. Mag., XIV., 83.)

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some money by subscription, and borrowing some more from the Bank of North America, the merchants fitted out an armed ship which, to emphasize their hatred of England, they named the *Hyder Ali*. Captain Joshua Barney, a famous privateersman, they placed in command, and sent him to convoy their fleet of merchantmen out of the Delaware. At the Capes, April 26, Barney encountered the *General Monk*, which was supported by two companion ships, one of them the frigate *Quebec*. These he avoided; the *Monk*, after a desperate battle of less than half an hour, he captured. She carried a heavier armament and more men, and his triumph, as he returned to Philadelphia, made him the hero of the hour. The neighborhood of the Capes, however, continued to be infested by British men-of-war, and when, in September, three French ships, two of them frigates, arrived off the Delaware, the English fleet, eight in number, fell upon them, and two were captured, one inside the Bay. The third, *La Gloria*, by great good fortune escaped; it had on board a most distinguished company of the *haute noblesse*, including a prince, a duc, a marquis, and numerous vicomtes, comtes, barons, and chevaliers, on their way to join the French army. Their capture would have been mortifying indeed to our Gallic ally.

Cornwallis

Franklin, who had come home in 1775, in time to sit in the Congress of that year, and had then remained until after the Declaration, and the overset, in Pennsylvania, of all things proprietary, had gone back to Europe again, in the autumn of 1776, but this time to Paris, not London. He was now our Minister to France. At the capital he had enjoyed, for a time at least, a positive hero-worship, directed to his person, his air, his marten-skin cap, his plain, brown clothes, his spectacles, and his walking-stick, as also his philosophic fame and cheerful *bonhomie*. He had been abroad now, in the closing months of 1782, six years. Here in Philadelphia, John Dickinson, rising once more above the malice of those who wished him ill, had been chosen by the Assembly, under the new constitution which he had so opposed, and which he still, probably, so despised, to be President of the State, in succession to Joseph Reed. General Reed himself had just been engaged in a bitter controversy with General Cadwalader over questions as to the measure of their courage, and the degree of their Whiggery. Timothy Matlack and Isaac Howell, representing those Friends who had been disowned for

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their military activities, but who insisted that War and Quakerism would mix very well, were pressing the Assembly to revise the procedure of the monthly meetings, and pass a law to give them their old rights in the Society's meeting-houses and burying-grounds.[1] Two new newspapers had been established, the *Freeman's Journal*, "Bailey's paper," in April, 1781, and the *Independent Gazetteer*, Eleazar Oswald's,

MEDAL COMMEMORATING TRIUMPH OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

in April, 1782; it was in these that public men exchanged their bitter invective, vehement rhetoric, and little-veiled libels.

These things, we say, engaged attention here. In Paris, Franklin, with his associates, John Adams and John Jay, were laboring to arrange the terms of the agreement by which Great Britain would cease to make war on her American colonies and would acknowledge them a free and independent state. It was on the 12th of March, 1783, that Captain Joshua Barney—he of the *Hyder Ali*—came up the Delaware, bringing news that the provisional articles of peace had been signed at Paris on the 30th of November. His ship, the *General Washington*, had come in eight weeks from L'Orient, and the joyful announcement was thus first made in this country. Eleven days later, March 23, the French sloop *Triumph*, commanded by the Chevalier Duquesne, thirty-six days out from Cadiz, brought the further news that the preliminary articles of a general peace between England, France and Spain had also been signed on the 20th of January. On the 16th of April, the Supreme Executive Council, relaxing from its ordinary duties of settling military accounts, and considering applications for pardons and passes, issued its proclamation, "declaring the cessation of arms, as well by sea as by land, agreed upon by the United States of America and his Britannic Majesty; and enjoining the observance thereof." At the court-house the sheriff read the

[1] These disowned Friends formed, 1781, the organization called "Free Quakers," by which the meeting-house at 5th and Arch streets, now the Apprentices' Library, was built 1783.

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official document, in the presence of the magistrates, and—as we remember in the old times, on such occasions—"a great concourse of people." This concourse rent the air with shouts which undoubtedly were sincere. The joy was general. The bells were rung. In a few days a ship with the British flag displayed, the *Hibernia*, Captain Roger Scallion, of Dublin, last from New York, came up the river. At Gloucester Point she fired a salute of eleven guns, and Captain Barney, in the *General Washington*, responded with five. In front of the city Captain Scallion fired another salute of thirteen guns, and upon landing was politely received. The war was over.

COPPER COIN STRUCK AFTER TREATY OF PEACE.

MAYORS OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1766–75.

1766.—JOHN LAWRENCE.

1767–8.—ISAAC JONES.

He was born in Philadelphia, July 17, 1716, the son of Henry Jones. He was a merchant. He was chosen a Common Councilman, 1742, an Alderman, 1764, and Mayor in 1767 and 1768. His wife was Frances Strettell, daughter of Robert Strettell, chosen Mayor in 1751, Provincial Councillor, etc. He served as Trustee of the College, Manager of the Pennsylvania Hospital, etc. He died October 18, 1773.

1769–70.—SAMUEL SHOEMAKER.

He was the son of Benjamin Shoemaker, chosen Mayor in 1752 and 1760, and was born about 1725. He was a merchant, a Friend, a Justice of the Peace, and two years member of the Assembly. He was chosen a Common Councilman in 1755, and Mayor in 1769 and 1770. He sympathized with the Crown, and during the British occupancy remained in the city, acting as a civil magistrate under the authority of General Howe. When the army left, he went with it to New York, was helpful there to the American prisoners, then went to England, where he was intimate with Benjamin West; returned to Philadelphia after the war, and died here October 10, 1800. Much of his property in the city was confiscated and sold, prior to the treaty of peace, 1783, which protected the remainder.

1771–2.—JOHN GIBSON.

He was a merchant, and was chosen Mayor October 1, 1771, and again October 6, 1772.

1773.—WILLIAM FISHER.

He was a merchant, a Friend. His wife was Sarah Coleman. His house was in Arch street, between Front and Second. He was made a Common Councilman, 1767, an Alderman, 1770, and chosen Mayor, October 5, 1773. He was (1770) a Manager of the Corporation for the Relief of the Poor. One of his sons was Samuel W. Fisher, President of Select Council, 1811–13.

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1774.—Samuel Rhoads.

He was born in Philadelphia, 1711. He became a Common Councilman, 1741, and Mayor, 1774. He served in the Assembly, 1761, in 1762–64, and in 1771–74, being chosen by that body one of the delegates to the Continental Congress of 1774. He was a founder and manager of the Pennsylvania Hospital, etc. He died December 14, 1784.

1775.—Samuel Powel.

He was born in Philadelphia, 1739, the son of Samuel and Mary Powel; graduated A. B. at the College of Philadelphia in 1759. His family were Friends, but during a stay in London (including the years 1761–64), he attached himself to the Established Church, and after his return was a member of St. Peter's church. Chosen Mayor in 1775, his term extended to October, 1776, and included the period of the revolutionary change caused by the State Convention and new constitution, after which the city charter of 1701 was canceled. He was therefore the last Mayor under Penn's charter. When, by the Act of 1789, the city corporation was re-established, he was again made Mayor—the first under that charter. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Senate, and Speaker, 1792. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Willing, Mayor in 1748 and 1754. Mr. Powel left a large estate, including "Powelton," on the Schuylkill, at Market street, in West Philadelphia. He died September 29, 1793.

NON-IMPORTATION RESOLUTIONS AND SIGNATURES, 1765.

The merchants and traders of the City of Philadelphia, taking into their consideration the melancholy state of the North American commerce in general, and the distressed situation of this province of Pennsylvania in particular, do unanimously agree—

That the many difficulties they now labor under as a trading people are owing to the restrictions, prohibitions, and ill-advised regulations made in several Acts of the Parliament of Great Britain lately passed, to regulate the colonies, which have limited the exportation of some parts of our country produce, increased the cost and expense of many articles of our importation, and cut off from us all means of supplying ourselves with specie enough even to pay the duties imposed upon us, much less to serve as a medium of our trade.

That this province is heavily in debt to Great Britain for the manufactures and other importations from thence, which the produce of our land has been found unequal to pay for, when a free exportation of it to the best markets was allowed of, and such trades open as supplied us with cash and other articles of immediate remittance to Great Britain.

That, the late unconstitutional law (the Stamp Act), if carried into execution in this province, will further tend to prevent our making these remittances to Great Britain for payment of old debts or purchase of more goods, which the faith subsisting between individuals trading with each other requires; and therefore, in justice to ourselves, to the traders of Great Britain, who usually give us credit, and to the consumers of British manufactures in this province, the subscribers hereto have voluntarily and unanimously come into the following resolutions and agreements, in hopes that their example will stimulate the good people of this province to be frugal in their use and consumption of all manufactures, excepting those of America, and lawful goods coming directly from Ireland, manufactured there, whilst the necessities of our country are such as to require it, and in hopes that their brethren, the mer-

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chants and manufacturers of Great Britain, will find their own interests so intimately connected with ours, that they will be spurred on to befriend us from that motive, if no other should take place.

First. It is unanimously resolved and agreed that, in all orders any of the subscribers to this paper may send to Great Britain for goods, they shall, and will direct, their correspondents, not to ship them until the Stamp Act is repealed.

Secondly. That those amongst the subscribers who have already sent orders to Great Britain for goods, shall, and will, immediately countermand the same until the Stamp Act is repealed. Except such merchants as are owners of vessels already gone, or now cleared out, for Great Britain, who are at liberty to bring back in them, on their own accounts, coals, casks of earthenware, grindstones, pipes, iron pots, empty bottles, and such other bulky articles as owners usually fill up their ships with; but no dry goods of any kind, except such kinds of dye stuffs and utensils necessary for carrying on manufactures that may be ordered by any person.

Thirdly. That none of the subscribers hereto shall, or will, vend any goods or merchandise whatsoever, that shall be shipped them on commission from Great Britain after the 1st of January next, unless the Stamp Act be repealed.

Fourthly. That these resolves and agreements shall be binding on all and each of us, the subscribers, who do hereby, each and every person for himself, upon his word of honor, agree that he will strictly and firmly adhere to and abide by every article from this time till the first day of May next, when a meeting of the subscribers shall be called to consider whether the further continuance of this obligation be then necessary.

Fifthly. It is agreed that if goods of any kind do arrive from Great Britain, at such times or under such circumstances as to render any signer of this agreement suspected of having broken his promise, the committee now appointed shall inquire into the premises, and if such suspected person refuses to, or cannot give them satisfaction, the subscribers hereto will unanimously take all prudent measures to discountenance and prevent the sale of such goods until they are released from this agreement by mutual and general consent.

Thomas Willing.
James Pemberton.
Joseph Ffox.
Joshua Fisher and Son.
Alexander C. Smith.
B. Fuller.
Samuel Burge.
Buckridge Sims, Jr.
Thomas Bond, Jr.
T. Morris, Jr.
Amos Strettell.
Joseph Swift.
Thomas Montgomery.
John Chew.
Stamper and Bingham.
Abraham Mitchell.
John Bayard
John Gibson, Jr.
Thomas Smith.
Conyngham and Nesbitt.
Carson, Barclay and Mitchell.
Israel Morris, Jr.
Benjamin Gibbs.
Francis Jeyes.
Robert Montgomery.
Samuel Caldwell.
John Ladd Howell.
Samuel Purviance, Jr.
John Ross, Jr.

Andrew Bankson.
Hugh and George Roberts.
Jeremiah Warder.
Robert Tuckniss.
John Cox.
Theodore Gardner.
Samuel Sansom, Jr.
Thomas Bond.
James Eddy.
Philip Kearney.
Richard Bache.
Jonathan Evans.
Anthony Stocker.
Joseph Sims.
Hugh McCullough.
John Knowles.
William Vanderspiegle.
Philip Syng.
Garret and George Meade.
J. Craig.
William Morrell.
John Bayly.
John Peters.
Hubley and Graff.
Thomas Dicas.
Mease and Miller.
John Reynell.
William and Andrew Caldwell.

Bartram and Lennox.
Daniel Wister.
John Wister.
Henry Keppelle, Sr.
Philip Kinsey.
James Hunter.
Humphrey Robeson
Barnard Gratz.
Thomas Mifflin.
Thomas Lightfoot.
William Turner.
Vincent Loockerman and Son.
Samuel Mifflin for Phineas Bond.
Joseph Redman.
McNeill and Tolbert.
Stewart, Duncan and Co.
John Relfe.
John Clayton.
Charles Meredith.
Hugh Bowes.
James Fullton.
James Wallace.
Robert Hardie.
David MacMurtrie.
Thomas Carpenter.
John Kidd.
Joseph and Amos Hillborn.

Cadwallader and Samuel C. Morris.
Joseph Saunders.
Baynton, Wharton and Morgan.
Kearney and Gilbert.
Samuel Smith.
William Storrs Fry.
John Cox, Jr.
Abraham Usher.
Peter Wikoff.
Fras. Richardson, Jr.
David Hall.
Stephen Carmick.
William Scott.
James Budden.
Samuel Mathey.
John Shee.
Robert Morris.
Thomas Wallace.
Benjamin Levy.
Benjamin Sweet, Jr.
Thomas Wharton.
Daniel Rundle.
John Nixon.
Joseph Wharton, Jr.
Persifer Frazer.
Enoch Story.
John Ord.
Francis Harris.

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Benjamin Wynkoop.
John Wikoff.
James Harding.
Peter Reeve.
Samuel Hudson.
Daniel Benezet.
Sampson Levy.
John and Peter Chevalier.
David Deshler.
David Sproat.
William Richards.
David Potts.
Wills and Jackson.
John and David Rhea.
Reese Meredith.
Joseph Richardson.
Joshua Howell.
Richard Parker.
Samuel Morton.
William Heysham.
John Peirse.
William Bradford.
Thomas West.
Benjamin Rawle.
James Harvey.
Zachariah Hutchings.
Philip Benezet.
Tench Francis.
Joseph Wood.
Thomas Wharton, Jr.
Benjamin Morgan.
Charles Thomson.
William Sitgreaves.
Caleb Jones.
John Hart.
Tench Tilghman.
William Henry.
George and John Kidd.
Peter Turner, Sr.
Isaac and Joseph Paschall.
Lydia and Elizabeth Hyde.
William Symonds.
John Test.
Joseph Pennock, Jr.
Robert Taggart.
William Falconer.
William Craig.
Owen Biddle.
Benjamin Hooton.
Samuel Carruthers.
Jacob Shoemaker, Jr.
Bartram and Dundas.
Robert Bass.
Payton and Adcock.
Nathaniel Tweedy.
Richard and Peter Footman.
Adam Hoops.
Caleb Hewes.
Samuel Fisher.
Joseph Baker.
Coxe and Firman.
Robert Waln.
George Robotham.
Joseph Swift.
William West.
John Leacock.
James White.
John Allen.
George Glentworth.
William Pusey.
Joseph King.
William and Samuel Corry.
Hercules Courtenay.
John Moon.
John Byrn.
Thomas Robinson.
Chris. Marshall and Sons.
Benjamin Marshall.
Benjamin Chew.
David Franks.
John White.
John Flanagan.
Benjamin Booth.
Stephen Shewell.
John and Thomas Phillips.
Latham and Jackson.
Charles Wharton.
Alexander Lunan.
John Heaton.
Charles Batho.
Richard Budden.
John Dickinson.
Philemon Dickinson.
William Logan.
John Boyle.
Robert Harris.
Joseph Trotter.
George Morrison.
E. Milne.
Cornelia Bradford.
Abel James signs for Jonathan Zane, by his desire.
Thomas Savadge.
Plunkett Fleeson.
Moses Mordecai.
Barnard and Jugiez.
James Claypoole.
Thomas Charlton.
Isaac Morris, Jr.
Peter Howard.
Marcy Gray.
Israel Pemberton.
Richard Humphries.
Magdalen Devine.
John Wallace.
Caleb Foulke.
Richard Stevens.
William MacMurtrie.
Francis Street.
Andrew Allen.
William Fisher.
Ellis Lewis.
Neave and Harman.
Lester Falkner.
Matthias Bush.
Michael Gratz.
Daniel Williams.
John Bringhurst.
Joseph Dean.
James Alexander.
Wishart and Edwards.
George Davis.
Murray and Blair.
John Kearsley, Jr.
Walter Shee and Son.
John Wood.
George A. Morris.
Joseph Morris.
William Nicholls.
Orr, Clenholme and Co.
John Priest.
John Wilcocks.
P. Sonmans.
Henry Harrison.
Shaw and Sprogell.
W. Jones for Jones and Wall.
Andreas Zweisell.
A. Morris, Jr.
William Clampffer.
Isaac and Moses Bartram.
William Shippen, Jr.
Samuel Cheesman.
John Drinker, Jr.
Jacob Winey.
John Head.
Stephen Collins.
William Ibison.
Woodham and Young.
Benjamin Harbeson.
William Wilson.
William Bryan.
James Tilghman
Thomas Cadwalader
James McCubbin.
Abraham Bickley.
James Searle.
James Stuart.
John Fullerton.
William Hodge.
Benjamin Kendall.
John Baldwin.
Ann Pearson.
Isaac Wikoff.
Samuel Ormes.
Robert Wilson.
Benjamin Armitage, Jr.
Charles Stedman, for self and brother.
Godfrey Leacock.
John Wharton.
William Humphries.
Jonathan Brown.
John and Lambert Cadwalader.
P. Turner, Jr.
Joseph Richardson.
Jacob Duché.
Clement Biddle.
William Moore.
William Ball.
John Cotringer.
Oswald Eve.
Thomas Paschall.
Judah Foulke.
Thomas Lawrence.
William Dowell.
Samuel Morris, Jr.
Daniel Roberdeau.
Josiah Hewes.
Samuel Mifflin.
Thomas Riche.
Samuel Purviance.
Willing and Tod.
George Clymer.
Da. Bevridge.
George Emlen, Jr.
George Bryan.
Townsend White.
Peter Knight.
Alexander Huston.
John Sparhawk.
Thomas Turner.
James and Drinker.
Francis Wade.
James James.
Samuel Howell.
William Rush.
Hugh Donnaldson.
Elijah Brown.
John Mifflin.
John Morton.
Archibald McCall.
John Mease.
John Armitt.
Samuel Meredith.
Charles Coxe.
Thomas Penrose.
James Penrose.
Dowers and Yorke.
James Benezet.
William Lloyd.
John Steinmetz.
Hugh Forbes.
B. T., for Randle Mitchell.
Joseph Claypoole.
Richard Swan.
Allen and Turner.
Joseph Jacobs.
John Inglis.
John Pringle.
John Nelson.
Samuel Bunting.
Thomas Clifford.
Isaac Cox.
Samuel Smith.
James Hartley.
William Allison.
S. Shoemaker.
Hyman Levy, Jr.
James Wharton.
John Bell.
Magee and Sanderson.
John Hughes.
Reuben Haines.
Owen Jones.
Elizabeth Paschall.
Benjamin Davies.
Hudson Emlen.
Richard Waln.
Peter Thomson.
William Pollard.
Henry Keppele, Jr.
David Bacon.

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CHAPTER VIII

1783–1800

THE NATIONAL CAPITAL

THE city of Philadelphia, at the close of the Revolutionary War, had—including its north and south suburbs—a population of nearly forty thousand. There were, as we have seen, 4474 houses in 1769. The number of houses in 1776 was stated at 5,460, but Galloway, who had them and the stores counted and the people enumerated, for Howe, soon after the British entered—say October, 1777—reported 5985 dwellings, and 356 stores, with 23,734 people, not counting men over sixty. Allowing for these, and the absent families—there were 590 empty dwellings—the total population must have been about thirty thousand.[1] In 1783 it was estimated there were 6,000 houses, but this, if Galloway's count can be depended on, was an under-estimate. Chastellux says, (1780): "Philadelphia contains about forty thousand inhabitants," and as he took pains to inquire, and met the best informed people, that no doubt was the estimate of the time. That it was rather over the mark is indicated by the Federal census figures, ten years later, 1790, which reported 42,520 for the City, the Northern Liberties, and Southwark, and 44,996, counting in Passyunk and Moyamensing.[2]

The trade of the city, with the return of peace, was large. By the middle of June, 1783, two hundred vessels had arrived, and a corresponding number had sailed, that season. Many of the people had been ruined by the Revolution; on the other hand many had grown rich.[3] Prices were high, but money, such as it was, was abundant.

[1] Galloway's Census: City proper, Northern Liberties, and Southwark: Occupied dwellings, 5,395; unoccupied, 590; total, 5,985; occupied stores (all in City) 116, empty, 240, total, 356; males under eighteen, 5,335, males between eighteen and sixty, 4,996, total, 10,331; women of all ages, 13,403; total population, not including men over sixty, 23,734.

[2] City, 38,522. Northern Liberties, 8,337, Southwark, 5,661, Passyunk, 884, Moyamensing, 1,592; total, 44,996.

[3] Notes by the Translator of Chastellux's Travels (I., 201): "The profits on successful voyages [in the closing years of the war] were enormous, but it was no uncommon thing to see a man one day worth forty or fifty thousand pounds, and the next day reduced to nothing; indeed those rapid transitions were so frequent that they almost ceased to affect either the comfort or the credit of the individual. Flour shipped on board at Philadelphia cost five dollars, and produced from twenty-eight to thirty-four dollars a barrel, in specie, at the Havannah, which is generally but a short run, and the arrival of one . . . cargo out of three amply repaid the merchant, so that notwithstanding the numerous captures, the stocks were continually full of new vessels to supply such as were lost or taken. In short, without having been upon the spot at that period, it is impossible to conceive the activity and perseverance of the Americans. There was scarcely a captain, or even common sailor, who had not been taken six or seven times during the war, nor a merchant who had not been more than once rich and ruined."

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The gay manners and lavish living which were noted in 1779 had not materially changed. The old aristocracy of 1775 was almost destroyed, but other families, definitely Whig, or not so much tainted with Toryism as to lose their property and their standing, took its place in the social leadership.[1] The city had great repute. Travelers approached it with lively anticipation, and viewed its attractions with interest. The State-House, Carpenters' Hall, Christ Church, the College building, the Hospital, the Prison, the Bettering-House, the fine country places on the Schuylkill, the handsome houses in town, the many ships, the abundant markets, all commanded their attention, and usually their praise. "Philadelphia," said that intelligent Yankee, the Reverend Manasseh Cutler, after his visit to the city, in July, 1787, "is the capital city in America. It is large, elegant, and populous. It contains 10,000 houses,[2] and covers twice the quantity of ground to that of Boston. The state-house, hospital, and most of the other public buildings are magnificent." We may think now this last word strong, but Cutler spoke by comparison with other American cities of that day; he had just been visiting at New York, and he was well acquainted with Boston.[3] "The market," he tells us, "is considered by many as the greatest curiosity in the city," and he describes with animation the extent of the market-houses (on High street), "near half a mile," the orderly arrangement, the neatness and cleanliness, the abundant supplies, and the "crowds of purchasers."

[1] Of the social changes caused by the War, Mr. F. D. Stone, in an address, says: "To understand them, we must recall the state of society as it existed before that event, when the Allens, the Hamiltons, the Shippens, the Lawrences, the Swifts, the Willings, the Lardners, the Cadwaladers, the Plumsteds, the Harrisons, and many others whose names we read on the old subscription lists of the Dancing Assembly, composed the most fashionable circle, and from the fact that they gathered around the Provincial Governor or represented the Royal authority, might be called the Court circle. Besides these there were the Logans, the Morrises, the Pembertons, the Rawles, the Lloyds, and the Whartons, who with other descendants of early settlers, formed a Quaker aristocracy, and with the Governor's set, represented the wealth and stability of the city. We must understand, further, how these were superseded, how the authority, and to a great extent the wealth, of those I have named passed from their hands into those of another class, and study the contrast presented by the two conditions."

[2] A serious over-statement, undoubtedly, unless he included the distant suburbs, and even then too great.

[3] Cf. Life, Letters and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, I., 284. He further says, in his description: "It is singular there are only two steeples in the city, when there are upward of twenty houses for public worship . . . Whatever may be said of the private benevolence of the Philadelphians, there is certainly a greater display of public charity here than in any other part of America. The streets . . . are well paved, and, at a distance of ten feet from the house is a row of posts, and in this range of posts are all their pumps. It is well furnished with lamps. The pavements between the posts and houses are laid with free stone or large tile, and entirely smooth, which makes walking on them delightful. They are kept perfectly clean, being washed every day, and

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The city, as the war closed, and until 1789, when a new charter was granted, had no corporate existence. There was no Mayor, and no City Council. The powers which the old corporation had exercised were divided by the Assembly amongst various bodies and officials—the Supreme Executive Council, the magistrates, the wardens, the street commissioners, etc., etc. There was one bank, the earliest chartered in the United States, the Bank of North America. It had received a charter from Congress, December 31, 1781, and from the State Assembly, March 26, 1782. There were four newspapers: Dunlap's *Packet*, Towne's *Evening Post*, Scott's (lately Bailey's) *Freeman's Journal*, and Oswald's *Independent Gazetteer*. None of these was published oftener than three times a week, but on the 21st of September, 1784, Dunlap, with David C. Claypoole as his partner, began the issue of the *Packet* daily, and this was the first daily newspaper in America.

Besides the suppression of the city corporation, two other important changes had occurred. The proprietary estates of the Penns had been seized, by resolutions of the Assembly, in 1779, and their possession "vested"—as the resolutions expressed it—in the Commonwealth. Their "tenths," or manors, and their private estates, were reserved to the Penns, and £130,000 was directed to be paid them in compensation for the proprietary rights now confiscated, this "in remembrance of the enterprising spirit of the Founder," and "of the expectations and dependence of his descendants." The quit-rents were abolished as "being badges of slavery, and reserved without any just authority." The proprietary rule which Charles II. had committed to William Penn, and which for nearly a century had continued in force and virtue, thus ended, and the rights of his descendants in Pennsylvania became those of private citizens only. The other important change was the abolition of slavery. The taxes upon the importation of negroes, which we noticed in the days of Gookin and Keith, had been maintained by acts of the Assembly down to the Revolution. The Friends, in 1755, had made it a disownable offense to buy slaves, in 1758 had urgently advised their members to set free the slaves they held, and in 1776 had emphasized this by resolving to disown any who disregarded the advice. This action was largely due to the efforts of Anthony Benezet and John Woolman, though, as in the case of the national anti-slavery movement in our own century, there were many pioneers who had long labored to the same end. In 1775 there was organized the "Society

here all the foot passengers pass. While I was walking with Mr. Strong [Caleb Strong, delegate from Massachusetts to the Convention to form the Constitution] I happened to step without the posts, and walked a few steps in the street. He desired me to come within the posts, for he said they would certainly call me a *New England man*, if I walked there. The middle parts of the streets are generally very dirty, and the view of these extended streets interrupted frequently by piles of various kinds of lumber."

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for the Relief of Free Negroes unlawfully held in Bondage," and in 1778 George Bryan, vice-president of the State, (acting in place of Thomas Wharton, Jr., the President, who died in office, May 22, 1778), had recommended the Assembly to pass a law for the gradual abolition of Slavery. The time, he said, was propitious; the slaves, always comparatively few in Pennsylvania, had been much reduced in number "by the practices and plunder of our late invaders." The act would be a mark of gratitude for the recent deliverance of the State. Bryan's successor, President Joseph Reed, in February, 1779, renewed the recommendation, and on the 3d of November, George Bryan, Joseph McClean and David Thomas were appointed by the Assembly a committee to draft the bill. November 18, it had reached third reading, and passed that stage by a vote of forty-three to eighteen. It was then laid over to February 15, 1780, and then, on the 1st of March, passed finally by thirty-seven to twenty-one, those voting in the negative recording their protest. The abolition of Slavery in Pennsylvania therefore dates from 1780. The measure provided that all children of negroes or mulattoes held to servitude, born after the passage of the bill, should be free at twenty-one years of age. The authorship of this Emancipation Act has been variously ascribed; it is certain that Anthony Benezet earnestly urged it, and it is left on record by Horace Binney that he had always heard that William Lewis, the lawyer, drew the bill; but George Bryan appears as the active instrument of the work, and upon his gravestone, in the burial-ground of the Arch-street Presbyterian church, it is recorded that the "Act of Abolition" "issued from his pen."[1]

MIFFLIN MANSION.

The Congress, which for nine years had made Philadelphia its home, in June 1783 departed suddenly—as in its temporary flights of 1776 and 1777—and not over-gracefully. The occasion was the threatening visit of some of the soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line, and a difference with the Supreme Executive Council as to the proper

[1] "The Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race," originated, as stated in the text, in 1775, but lay inactive during the Revolution, and was reorganized in 1784. In 1785, Benjamin Franklin was elected President, and he continued in that office to his death in 1790. The Society was incorporated in 1789, and is still in existence, commonly known as "the Abolition Society," and exerting itself mainly with the income of trust funds left to it in time past, in the direction indicated by the last clause of the title—improving the condition of the African Race.

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course of action thereon. The party of soldiers came down from Lancaster, marching in a body, and "behaving very regularly," but avowing their determination "to have their accounts settled." On the 21st of June, thirty of them, armed, marched from the old Barracks, where they had been quartered and supplied upon orders from the War Office, to the state-house, and there presented a message in writing to the Council, demanding "authority to appoint commissioned officers to command us, and redress our grievances." "You will immediately issue such authority," continued the imperative message, "or otherwise we shall instantly let in those injured soldiers upon you. . . . You have only twenty minutes to deliberate. . . . The officers in general have forsaken us, and refuse to take any further command."

The Council took prompt action on the message, by rejecting its demands. In the meantime more of the soldiers had arrived; there were now about three hundred about the state-house, "under the direction of sergeants." They paraded on Chestnut street, stationed a party "in the yard, opposite to the south windows of the Council Chamber," and posted guards at the doors of the state-house—who, however, did not stop people from going in and out. Congress was not in session, it being Saturday, but the President, Boudinot, and a number of members met in their hall for consultation. General St. Clair at length proposed that he should confer with the men, with authority to say that the Council would hear a committee appointed by them. This offer of the General was promptly accepted by Council and Congress. He succeeded in persuading the soldiers to return to the Barracks. Congress now resolved that the authority of the United States had been "grossly insulted," and that "effectual measures" should be "immediately taken for supporting the publick authority." "Effectual measures" meant the calling out of the city militia to suppress the revolt. A Committee of Congress, Hamilton and Ellsworth, met the Council next morning, Sunday, at President Dickinson's house. The Council explained their situation: the mutineers had control of the "State magazine," the Commissary of Military Stores had but little ammunition, the militia were a dubious dependence, delay was desirable, the men had so far done no damage, and now showed a disposition to negotiate; they were, at any rate, Continental troops, and not to be regarded, in their military quality, as citizens of Pennsylvania. The committee appeared satisfied, but next day a further conference was held, and on Tuesday the Council assembled the militia officers to ask their advice—Colonels Shee, Eyre, Knox, Marsh, Read, Will, Dean, Henry, Coates; Majors Rees, Brown, Casdrop, McCullough, Boyd, Panqueke; and Captain Morris, of the City Troop. The officers, after consulting an hour privately,

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were clearly of the opinion—stated by Col. Shee—that "it would be very imprudent to make any call of militia at present, as they were convinced it would be ineffectual." Public opinion favored the men, and so long as they behaved no worse there would be a poor response to a muster of the militia. Congress, however, resolved at once to leave Philadelphia and meet at Princeton on the following Thursday, which accordingly it did, taking its dignity thus into retirement, and leaving the Council to deal with the soldiers. This required some

PENNSYLVANIA HOSPITAL AS IT APPEARED IN 1799. (BIRCH VIEW.)

skill and patience, but they were finally persuaded to return to their duty, and at noon on Thursday, the 26th, they set out on their return march to Lancaster.[1] Congress was invited to return, but declined, after some hesitation, to do so. It sat elsewhere, until it returned, December, 1790, upon the compromise adopted at New York that the national capital should be fixed at Philadelphia for ten years, and then, 1800, on the banks of the Potomac.[2]

The provisions of the Treaty of Peace with England which

[1] A body of 1500 Continental troops, under General Robert Howe, was sent by Washington, and arrived in the city in a few days. Two men who promoted the mutiny, Carberry and Sullivan, escaped to British ships, and got off. Several ringleaders were court-martialled, and two sergeants, Naglee and Morrison, were sentenced to be shot, but were pardoned by Congress, in front of the firing party.

[2] Congress sat at Princeton to November, 1783, then at Annapolis till June, 1784, (Washington resigning his commission there), then at Trenton in November and December, 1784, and at New York from January, 1785, to August, 1790.

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forbade further confiscations and prosecutions for sympathy with the King during the war, had an ill sound in the ears of the more ardent patriots. The fifth article of the provisional agreement recommended the States to restore to their former owners estates already confiscated; the sixth explicitly prohibited confiscation proceedings and prosecutions. Meetings of persons who disapproved these were held at the state-house, May 29 and June 14, 1783. Colonel John Shee presided at the former, Colonel Samuel Miles at the latter. Resolutions were adopted denouncing all persons who since April 19, 1775, had withdrawn from this or other States and joined the armies or aided the measures of the King, and declaring that those participating in the meeting would use all the means in their power "to expel with infamy" any such refugees as might return.

But this and other harshnesses in a little time showed signs of abatement. The habitual more moderate spirit returned. At the session of the Assembly, in March, 1784, a petition for the repeal of the test laws of 1779—requiring the oath of allegiance, as a qualification for voting, etc.—was laid on the table, but only by a vote of 37 to 27, and in September following the repeal effort was renewed. It was estimated that by the operation of the Act nearly one-half those otherwise qualified were deprived of citizenship. General Wayne, a member of the Assembly from Chester county, earnestly urged the modification of the law. The controversy continued, and with much earnestness, during the next five years, until in 1789 the test laws were entirely repealed, foreigners alone being required to take the oath of allegiance, upon naturalization. The penal code also drew attention. In September, 1785, Chief Justice McKean, Judge Bryan, and the grand jury for the city of Philadelphia sent memorials to the Assembly urging a reformation of the criminal laws, and a revision of the punishments, to make them less sanguinary. The next year the Assembly took action, and the death penalty for burglary and other crimes was abolished. One feature of the reform, however, from which much was expected, proved unsatisfactory. This was the employment of convicts in labor on the streets, the worst of them confined by a chain and ball. These "wheelbarrow men" became a terror, and their crimes outside, and violent attempts to

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break jail, especially in October, 1788, when thirty-three escaped, and in January, 1789, when they were fired on in the prison, to reduce them to submission, two or three being mortally wounded, brought about the abolition of the street labor system, and more strict confinement of prisoners inside the walls.[1] In 1787, the Society for the Alleviation of the Miseries of Public Prisons, the successor of an earlier organization of 1776, whose work had been interrupted by the Revolution, was fully formed, with Bishop White for president, and continues its good work to the present day. The Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, etc., already mentioned, was reorganized in April, 1785, and elected Franklin its President. All these were signs of the humane temper of the city—a characteristic from its earliest to its latest day—reasserting itself.

Franklin returned from France in September, 1785, and once more was warmly welcomed. He had had his enemies, and his popularity had at times been somewhat obscured, but now in his old age, coming home to close his career, and bearing the honors of the well-managed Treaty of Peace, there were few who did not greet him kindly.[2] He was immediately made a member of the Supreme Executive Council, and then chosen President of it, succeeding John Dickinson, who had now served three years. It was an honor rendered the old gentleman in kindness, and in his own philosophic way he held the place until 1788, avoiding hard work, which he left to the vice-president, devolving on that officer also a good part of the troublesome responsibilities.[3] Surviving now for five years, he became the chief figure in Philadelphia, the first among its celebrities. He was approached by strangers with mingled awe and admiration. "There was no curiosity in Philadelphia," says Manasseh Cutler, "which I felt so anxious to see as this great man, who had been the wonder of Europe, as well as the glory of America. . . In short, when I entered his house, I felt as if I was going to be introduced to the presence of an European monarch." The good

[1] The prison at Sixth and Walnut Streets was an abode of misery and horror for a long period of years. Rev. Manasseh Cutler's Journal, in describing the state-house square, 1787, says: "At the foot of the Mall, and opposite to the court-house [then just building] is the Prison, fronting directly to the Mall. It is very long and high . . . and built of stone. . . . The building itself, which is elegant, would appear well, were it not for its unsavory contents. Your ears are constantly insulted with their Billingsgate language, or your feelings wounded with their pitiful complaints. Their long reed poles, with a little cap of cloth at the end, are constantly extended over into the Mall [this is surely an error: they could not reach across Walnut street] in order to receive your charity, which they are incessantly begging. And if you refuse them they load you with the most foul and horrid imprecations. In short, whatever part of the Mall you are in, this cage of unclean birds is constantly in your view, and their doleful cries attacking your ears."

[2] "Wednesday, September 14. My son-in-law came with a boat for us; we landed at Market street wharf, where we were received by a crowd of people with huzzas, and accompanied with acclamations quite to my door. Found my family well. God be praised and thanked for all his mercies!" (Franklin's Autobiography, III., 331.)

[3] Franklin, Feb. 24, 1786, to Jonathan Shipley: "My reception here was, as you have heard, very honorable indeed, but I was betrayed by it, and by some remains of ambition, from which I had imagined myself free, to accept of the chair of government for the State of Pennsylvania, when the proper thing for me was repose and a private life. I hope, however, to be able to bear the fatigue for one year, and then to retire." (Autobiography, III., 344.)

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parson, however, had no difficulty in reaching the presence. "We found him in his Garden, sitting upon a grass plat, under a very large mulberry, with several other gentlemen and two or three ladies . . . I saw a short, fat, trunched old man, in a plain Quaker dress, bald pate, and short white locks, sitting without his hat under the tree, and as Mr. Gerry introduced me [he] rose from his chair, took me by the hand, expressed his joy to see me, welcomed me to the city, and begged me to seat myself close to him. . . Notwithstand-

SOUTHEAST CORNER OF THIRD AND MARKET STREETS IN 1799. (BIRCH VIEW.)

ing his age, his manners are perfectly easy. . . He has an incessant vein of humor, accompanied with an uncommon vivacity, which seems as natural and involuntary as his breathing."

One further public service Franklin was to perform. He had sat in the Congress which declared Independence; he was now to sit in that ever-memorable convention out of whose labors came the Constitution of the United States. Once more, in May, 1787, representatives of the Thirteen Colonies began to gather at Philadelphia. The Continental Congress, at New York, enfeebled by the withdrawal of many of its greater members, and overwhelmed by the responsibilities which fell upon its inadequate powers, was near the end of its career. As in 1774, and in 1776, the country's attention centred upon Philadelphia. On the 13th of May, the first day of the week, George Washington arrived, and at Gray's Ferry the City Troop and a large company of people met and welcomed him. On

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the 14th, the delegates present in the city met at the state-house, but Virginia and Pennsylvania were the only two States sufficiently represented. Not until the 25th were there seven States present, making a quorum, and allowing an organization. Then Washington was chosen president, and Major William Jackson secretary. To deal with the great questions which were involved in the Convention's work the States had sent many men already well known at the national capital. Pennsylvania's delegates included Franklin, Robert Morris, George Clymer and James Wilson, all of whom had signed the Declaration of Independence, and Delaware sent George Read, also a signer, and John Dickinson, with three others. Two men of the highest capabilities for the duties in hand came from New York and Virginia—Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, Jr. Altogether there were fifty-five delegates, representing twelve colonies. Rhode Island was not represented.

The Federal Convention and its proceedings belong to national history. But while it sat nothing else was so important to the city. The Convention deliberated with closed doors. Its proceedings were absolutely secret. It adjourned finally on the 17th of September, and the members departed to their homes. It is of interest to note how Washington had bestowed his time outside the Convention. He accepted during his stay the hospitality of Robert Morris, in his mansion on Market street—originally Masters's, then Richard Penn's, for a time Arnold's, but now the residence of the great merchant and financier.[1] His first duty, on arriving, was to pay his respects "to the President of the State, Dr. Franklin." He dined with the Doctor three days later, and took tea and spent the evening with John Penn —him whom we knew as Governor of the colony, and who, surviving the troubles, still had his home in Philadelphia, and could now invite and have the company of the leader of the rebellious armies. On the 23d of May he dined at Benjamin Chew's, "with the wedding guests," for the ex-Chief Justice's daughter, Miss Peggy—another of the beauties of the "Mischianza"—had just been married to Colonel John Eager Howard, of Maryland, a distinguished officer in Washington's army. To enumerate all his other social visits would be too tedious for this narrative; occasionally he dined and supped at home, but usually with some one of the many who claimed his company. June 1st, he "dined with Mr. John Penn, and spent the evening at Bush Hill, at a very elegant entertainment given to a numerous company by Mr. Hamilton, the owner of it." Later he "dined at Mr.

[1] After Arnold left it, the house was occupied by John Holker, the French Consul-general, and during his tenancy it was burned Elizabeth Drinker's Journal: "1780, January 2. Richard Penn's large house, up Market St. took fire last night, and this morning is consumed all but y^e^ lower story. A most violent snowstorm this afternoon and all night." Robert Morris purchased the lot, with the ruins, 1785, and rebuilt the house.

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John Penn's, the younger"—he of "Solitude," now in the Park. Other dinners he took with a club at "the Indian Queen"—a famous hotel on Fourth street above Chestnut, torn down in 1851—and with another club at the City Tavern. He reviewed the military on the Common, visited Bartram's Garden, dined with the Sons of St. Patrick, the Society of the Cincinnati, and the City Troop, sat to Charles Wilson Peale and Robert Pine, for portraits, met with the Agricultural Society at Carpenters' Hall, inspected at Dr. Franklin's "a machine for smoothing clothes instead of ironing them," spent two days in a visit to Valley Forge, rode to Whitemarsh to the old camp-ground of 1777, and "went up to Trenton on a fishing party," with the Morrises. His first Sabbath after arriving he went "to the Romish Church," St. Joseph's, in Willing's Alley, "to a high mass;" subsequently he "went to church, heard Bishop White preach, and saw him ordain two gentlemen into the order of deacons;" and on the Fourth of July attended "at the Calvanist Church," to hear "an oration on the Anniversary of Independence." September 18, in the afternoon, he set off in his chariot for Mount Vernon, and reached there on the 22d, "by sunset, after being absent 4 months and 14 days."

THE UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS ON NINTH STREET, AS THEY APPEARED ABOUT 1820.[1]

First among the States to ratify the new constitution was Delaware, and the act remains justly among the things which her citizens proudly recall. Pennsylvania followed next. But ratification here was not so easy. Two parties quickly formed, and the line was drawn, in part, upon the division of those who disapproved and those who supported the State constitution of 1776. It had but one legislative chamber, the new Federal Constitution proposed two, and it had been a question hotly debated for years whether to prefer one chamber or two. Carrying this feature of the old dispute into the new one, the Republicans now became the Federalists—while the

[1] The large building on the right was built 1792-7 by the State of Pennsylvania, and offered to the general government as a residence for the President of the United States in case Philadelphia should be selected by Congress as the permanent seat of government. The house was never occupied for any purpose until it was purchased in the year 1800 by the University, together with the whole of the lot extending along Ninth street from Market to Chestnut street, and in depth half way to Tenth street. The building on the south with a skylight and semi-circular window was erected for the medical department. In 1829 these buildings were torn down and two other buildings erected, which continued to be used by the University until 1872, when the property was sold to the general government, and the site is now occupied by the Post-Office building.

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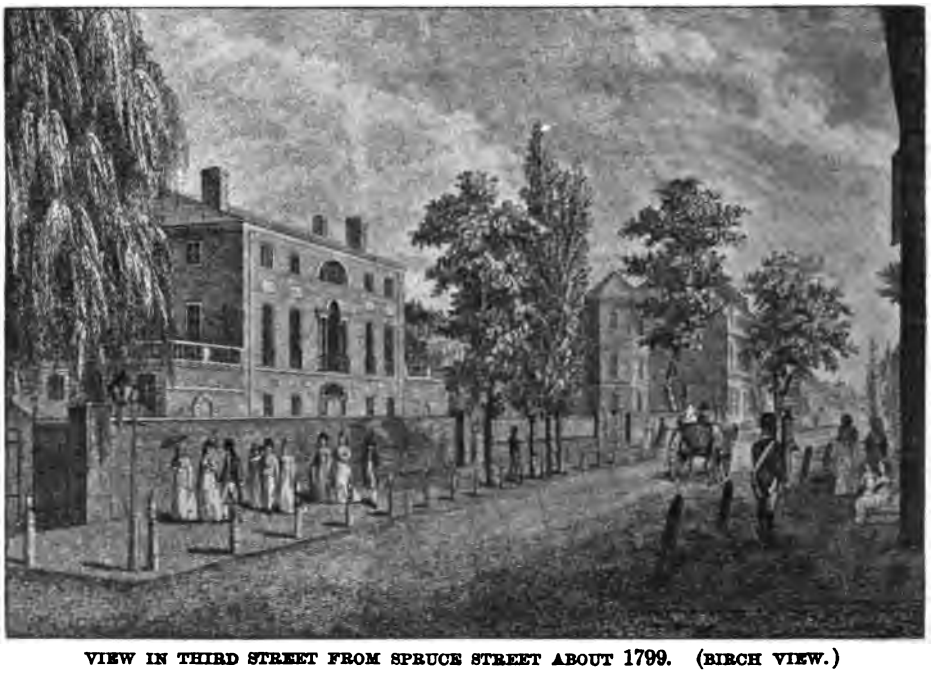
Constitutionalists became the Anti-federalists. But the issues were so serious and so exigent, the interests at stake so great, the need of a stronger union so apparent to every thoughtful and patriotic man, that the Federalists quickly gathered greater strength than their opponents, and the temper of the city, though the wordy discussions in the newspapers, reflecting the contentions in taverns and coffee-houses, might obscure the fact, was strongly in favor of the new Constitution. The period of rule by "committees" and intimidation by street mobs had never been congenial to the majority of Philadelphians, and they welcomed with satisfaction the prospect of an



VIEW IN THIRD STREET FROM SPRUCE STREET ABOUT 1799. (BIRCH VIEW.)

efficient national system as part of the frame-work of stable government.

The movement to ratify was immediately begun by the friends of the Constitution. The Assembly was in session at the state-house, expecting to adjourn September 29, when, on the morning of the 28th, George Clymer rose, and to the dismay of the Anti-federalist faction, offered resolutions for the holding of a convention to consider the Constitution, to meet in Philadelphia in November. This move was unexpected; it had been supposed by the Anti-federalists that the question of calling a convention would be left to the new Assembly, and they were expecting to enjoy for weeks or months to come the excitements of a hot political contest. Whitehill, of Cumberland county, and others from the interior and western parts of the State, resisted bitterly any immediate action. A vote was taken, however,

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and the first of the resolutions approved, forty-three to nineteen, and the House then adjourned till four o'clock in the afternoon. At that hour reassembling, it found itself with only forty-five members present. The nineteen absentees, it was evident, meant to break the quorum and prevent any further action at this session. The sergeant-at-arms was sent to compel their presence; he found them, he said, at Major Boyd's, in Sixth street, but they declined to come. The Assembly, baffled and angry, adjourned to next morning at half-past nine. At that hour forty-four members were present, one, Brown of Northampton, having now joined the bolters. Forty-six were needed for a quorum—two-thirds of sixty-nine. The sergeant-at-arms again went out, accompanied this time by the assistant-clerk, and taking with him a copy of the resolution of Congress referring the report of the Federal Convention to the States. This resolution—the want of which had been assigned the day before by Whitehill and others as reason for delay—had come in the night by express from William Bingham, at New York, to George Clymer.

If we turn now to the minutes of the Assembly, to see the further course of this interesting Saturday morning's session, we find it stated that "the Speaker left the chair, and in a few minutes Mr. James McCalmont [of Franklin county] and Mr. Jacob Miley [of Dauphin county] entered the House." The minutes employ a dignified euphemism. The fact was that a crowd of people had seized upon McCalmont and Miley, at Boyd's, and had brought them by force to the Assembly room in the State-house. It was alleged that their clothes were torn; it was also said that they kicked and scuffled, and were "white with rage." Whether this be true or not, they were brought to the Assembly, and—not having learned modern filibustering—imprudently answered to their names. With them present, there were forty-six, the quorum was made up, the business proceeded, and before the session closed the State convention was called to meet at Philadelphia on the 21st of November, and the elections of delegates appointed for the first Tuesday of that month. During the proceedings Mr. McCalmont offered to pay a fine, five shillings, so that he might—as he proposed—withdraw, and at one time he moved toward the door to escape, but was promptly headed off by the people standing there. The House heard his and Mr. Miley's complaints that they had been treated rudely, but took no action, following apparently the view of Daniel Clymer of Berks county, that while it might be true that the manner of securing their attendance was irregular, and might give them a ground of action against those who laid hands on their persons, their presence as members, being now an accomplished fact, was strictly in order, and they could not be allowed to depart. Mr. Clymer cited "the case of General

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Ganfell, who was arrested by the sheriff's officers in a protected place." The court held "that as he was taken, he should be confined until the debt was paid, though he had his action against the officers." This sounds like very good law; at any rate it served; the Convention was called, the election appointed. The Assembly, having thus done a good final day's work, adjourned *sine die*, the crowds in front of the state-house cheered, and the bells were rung.

The election for delegates occurred November 6. The Anti-federalists had made a desperate but losing fight. Besides the newspaper controversies, a great meeting had been held at the state-house, October 6, a week after the adjournment of the Assembly, at which James Wilson, in a strong speech, had presented the claims of the new constitution. The popular feeling ran one way. The five Federalist candidates, George Latimer, Benjamin Rush, Hilary Baker, Thomas McKean, and James Wilson, were elected by a vote of nearly ten to one. The Anti-federalist ticket had on it Franklin—who amiably or weakly let his name be used—and included also Charles Pettit, David Rittenhouse, John Steinmetz, and James Irvine. Latimer had 1215 votes, Pettit 150, Franklin 235, General Irvine but 132. The city of Philadelphia was settled in its desire for "a more perfect Union," and anxious to help raise "the New Roof."

The State convention had sixty-nine members. It sat from November 21 to December 15. Frederick A. Muhlenberg, son of Henry M. Muhlenberg, the Lutheran pastor, whose arrival we noted in 1742, was president. December 12, just five days later than Delaware, the vote of ratification was passed, and curiously enough by exactly two-thirds—46 to 23. The southeastern counties, Philadelphia, Bucks, Montgomery,[1] Northampton, Chester, Lancaster, (one vote excepted) and York, were solidly with the City in the affirmative, these eight delegations casting 39 votes out of the 46, while Berks, Dauphin, Cumberland, Bedford, Fayette, and Westmoreland gave 19 of the 23 negative votes. The separation of the eastern region from the border people, the difference between those inclined

[1] Montgomery county had been set off, by Act of Assembly, 1784.

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to stable government and those who chafed under its restraints, was clearly seen in this vote. It was an index to later events—the removal of the State capital to the Susquehanna, the political severance of the interior of the State from Philadelphia, and even the crude and ill-considered revolt, in 1794, of the ultramontane settlers against the collection of the whisky-tax. Berks county did not fairly belong in the negative; among her five votes on that side was one cast by Abraham Lincoln, a near kinsman of the President of 1860, and another by Joseph Hiester, who, though he now stood alongside of William Findlay, of Westmoreland, the Anti-federal leader, was in time to be the Federal candidate for governor against him, and (1820) to snatch from him the coveted honor of a second term.

To give emphasis to its action, the Convention, on Thursday, December 13, marched in procession to the court-house, and there had the ratification publicly proclaimed. Thirteen guns were fired, and the bells were rung. The friends of the Constitution then waited anxiously for the action of the other States. New Jersey ratified six days later, and the three central States thus formed the nucleus of the Union. But not until June 21, 1788, did the ninth State, New Hampshire, give its approval. Then Philadelphia began in earnest to arrange for the greatest procession of triumph the city, or indeed the whole country, had ever seen. A meeting at Eppley's tavern, earlier in the month, had resolved that such a demonstration should be made when nine ratifications had been given.

The Federal Procession of July 4, 1788, resulted. It was a demonstration outdoing all that had gone before, and making an example of achievement for many years to come. The whole country marveled at it. The city gave itself up to an expression of rejoicing, in which the return of Peace, the establishment of Order, the formation of National Union, and the encouragement of American Industry, were the leading thoughts. The pageant represented, in a degree seldom found, the emotions and aspirations of the people, and has therefore historic value.

There were now ten States to rejoice over. Virginia had ratified —thanks to George Washington, James Madison, and John Marshall, wiser men than Patrick Henry—and the news had come to Philadelphia just in time to add fresh spirit to the great rejoicing. At sunrise July 4, the city bells were joyfully rung, and a salute was fired from the *Rising Sun*, lying in the river at Market street. Ten other ships, dressed and decorated, one for each of the ten States, took position in the river, the line extending from New Hampshire, opposite Callowhill street, to Georgia, at South street. The vessels at the wharves displayed their colors, and a lively breeze spread

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them to view. At 8 o'clock, at Third and South streets, the procession began to collect; at 9.30 it moved up Third to Callowhill, to Fourth, to Market, to the Union Green in front of "Bush Hill" mansion, "William Hamilton, Esq., having kindly offered his spacious lawn for the purposes of the day." There were nine "superintendents" of the procession—General Mifflin and eight others—who were "distinguished by white plumes in their hats, and furnished with speaking trumpets." To describe the parade in detail would fill pages; as reported in the newspapers there were eighty-eight distinct features. Twelve axe-men led, the City Troop rode next, and the County Troop of Light Horse brought up the rear. There were other bodies of military, but soldiers were the spectacular feature; the great effort had been given not to celebrate war, but civil order and domestic industry. Conspicuous above all else in the line was the New Roof, or Grand Federal Edifice; it was a dome, supported by thirteen corinthian columns, ten of them complete, three unfinished, mounted on a carriage drawn by ten white horses. Atop the dome, upon "a handsome cupola," stood Plenty, with her cornucopia. There was, too, the Federal ship *Union*, completely fitted and furnished with a crew of twenty-five men; her hull the barge of the famous old ship *Alliance*. Not less conspicuous than these was the display by the Manufacturing Society, with its spinning- and carding-machines and looms. Mounted on "carriages"—or as we should say "floats"—these were in full operation. Two persons carded cotton "at the rate of fifty pounds weight per day;" a woman, "a native of and instructed in this city," was engaged in "drawing" cotton, "suitable for fine jeans or federal rib." One workman wove "a rich scarlet-and-white livery lace," another, on a "large loom with a fly shuttle," wove jeans. Mr. Hewson's apparatus was printing muslins "of an elegant chintz pattern," while near by sat Mrs. Hewson and her four daughters, at work, "all dressed in cottons of their own manufacture." Decorated with flags, the exhibit displayed the motto: "May the Union Government Protect the Manufactures of America!" But there were scores of other features of interest: ten gentlemen, natives of the ten ratifying States, walking arm-in-arm, and representing the new Union; the Judges, McKean, Atlee, and

THE ANTHONY BENEZET HOUSE.

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Rush, in "a lofty, ornamented car, in the form of a large eagle;"[1] the foreign consuls in "an ornamented car," farmers with teams of oxen, ten ship captains, five abreast, carrying their quadrants; carpenters and builders to the number of four hundred and fifty, delegations of weavers, pilots, boatbuilders, sailmakers, ship-carpenters, ship-joiners, rope-makers, ship-chandlers, merchants and traders, cordwainers, coach-painters, cabinet and chairmakers, brickmakers—who carried a flag with the motto, "It was found hard in Egypt, but this prospect makes it easy"—painters, porters, clock- and watch-makers, bricklayers, tailors, coopers, blacksmiths, whitesmiths and nailers, coachmakers, potters, hatters, tinsmiths, skinners, breeches-makers and glovers,[2] tallow-chandlers, victualers, driving "two stately oxen;" printers, book-binders and stationers—with a press at work printing an ode by Francis Hopkinson, whose concluding stanzas read:

"My sons for freedom fought, nor fought in vain,
But found a naked goddess was their gain;
Good government alone can show the maid
In robes of social happiness arrayed.

"Hail to this festival!—all hail the day!
Columbia's standard on her roof display!
And let the people's motto ever be,
United thus; and, thus united, free!"

—saddlers, stonecutters, bread and biscuit-makers, gunsmiths, coppersmiths, goldsmiths, silversmiths, and jewelers, distillers, tobacconists, brass-founders, stocking-manufacturers, tanners and curriers, upholsterers, sugar-refiners, brewers, peruke-makers and barber-surgeons, engravers, plasterers, brushmakers, staymakers, instrument-makers, turners, windsor-chair and spinning-wheel makers, carvers and gilders, planemakers, whip and canemakers.

The front of the procession, which extended a mile and a half, and included, it was estimated, five thousand persons, reached the Union Green a half hour past noon. Here tables had been spread and the people ate. The Federal Edifice was given a central place, the ship *Union* was safely moored, the scores of flags and banners were displayed, the military fired salutes, and James Wilson delivered an oration. Ten toasts were drunk, "American porter, beer and cider" being "the only liquors." They began with "The people of the United States!" and concluded with "The whole family of man-

[1] "The car was so very high that I did not think the judges altogether safe. They had to go up a ladder to get into it. . . . It reminded many of the spectators as well as myself, of seeing men go up a ladder who never came down." (Autobiography of Charles Biddle, 226.)

[2] "To these," says the official report, perhaps intending the pun, "Mr. Joseph Rogers, parchment and glue manufacturer, attached himself." These tradesmen, fifty-eight in number, wove "buckskin breeches and gloves," and carried bucks' tails in their hats.

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kind!" the ninth was: "May Reason, and not the Sword, hereafter decide all national disputes!" Seventeen thousand people, it was estimated, were gathered at Union Green; by six o'clock, the festivities being over, they had all departed, and—says the report—"soberly!" It was a great day.

The exhibit made by the Manufacturing Society especially typified—though many of the trades also made practical display of their work, which brevity forbids us to describe—the endeavor to establish domestic manufactures. In 1775, "The United Company of Philadelphia for Promoting American Manufactures" had been formed, and an earnest effort made to promote the textile industries. Cotton, flax and wool were to be spun and woven. Prominent in this Company were Christopher Marshall and Samuel Wetherill, the latter, with Tench Coxe, standing at the front, in Philadelphia, for many years, of the laborious and struggling movement in behalf of home production. The factory of the Company was established at Ninth and Market streets, on part of the lot now occupied by the post-office, and until the catastrophe of Brandywine, and the enforced retirement of Christopher Marshall and others, it did well. Flax was given out to women to spin, and in the autumn of 1775 it was stated that, including these, nearly five hundred persons were given employment by the Company. It even prospered financially, for two years after the start a dividend was paid, (April, 1777), and the shares, par £10, had risen to £17 6s. 6d. Broken up, in the autumn of 1777, a fresh effort was made in 1787, when, in August, the "Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts" was formed, largely through the efforts of Tench Coxe. A factory was again established,[1] by a committee of the Society, and jeans, corduroys, bird's-eye, plain and flowered cottons, flax-linens, and tow-linens were made. Tench Coxe had, at his own cost, contracted with an English mechanic to return to England and procure models of the Arkwright machinery for spinning cotton. The man went home, made the models, in brass, and in 1788 they were on the point of being sent to

Dav? Rittenhouse

[1] This was described as standing at Ninth and Market streets, on the southwest corner, "adjoining Peter Markoe's house." It was burned on the night of the 24th of March, 1790, it was thought by design, and the Supreme Executive Council offered a reward of £300 for the incendiary.

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France, to be shipped to Philadelphia, when he was arrested, his models seized, and he put under bonds not to depart the country for three years. The Society, in 1787, offered premiums for (1) improved power for factories—"a machine, or engine, to be moved by water, fire, or other means"; (2) the best crops of hemp, flax and cotton, raised in Pennsylvania; (3) the best book-printing, on home-made types, and home-made paper; (4) the best home-made earthen ware, flint-glass, glass bottles, and sheet-glass; (5) for potash, bleached wax, painters' colors, smiths' anvils, the best yield of wool, etc.

These offers showed the directions in which efforts at development were making. Above all, the minds of inventors turned to the increase of power, applied to machinery, and to wagons and boats. A singular and interesting figure came now upon the streets of Philadelphia, a straight, sinewy, dark-skinned man, six feet two inches high, with piercing eyes, black hair, and quick temper. Born in Connecticut, raised on a farm, then by turns sailor, clockmaker, brass-founder, potash manufacturer, button-maker, silver-smith, soldier, armorer, sutler, land-owner and surveyor in Kentucky, copper-plate engraver, and map-maker, he had been married, separated from his wife, captured by Indians, held a prisoner at Detroit, made rich in Continental money by selling beer and tobacco to the troops at Valley Forge, and in April, 1785, this genius, John Fitch, was seized with the idea of applying steam to the propulsion of vessels. In June he came to the city with his great thought in his mind, and endeavored to enlist the interest of persons with means. In September he deposited a model and description with the Philosophical Society. By July, 1786, he moved a skiff on the Delaware—"the first boat successfully propelled by steam in America"; in March, 1787, the Assembly, declining to give him money, granted him exclusive rights of navigating by such means the waters of Pennsylvania; in August of that year, he ran a steamboat on the Delaware, successfully, its machinery too small, but proving his design practicable; in 1788, he tried another one, with the old machinery; in 1789, still another, with its engine increased from 12-inch cylinder to 18-inch; and in the spring of 1790 the enterprise appeared to have

John Fitch

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overcome its difficulties. On the 11th of May, in a northeast storm, with the tide, but against the wind, the boat ran up to Burlington in three hours and a quarter, and then throughout the season it made trips up and down the river, so that by fall it had run, it was estimated, nearly three thousand miles. On one trip it made ninety miles in twelve hours and a half—being an average speed of seven and a half miles an hour, while Fulton's *Clermont*, on the Hudson, in 1807, made but four and three-quarter miles.

Success thus seemed attained. It was, however, only the proof that steam navigation was practicable, and Fitch and those who had

HIGH STREET FROM NINTH STREET IN 1799. (BIRCH VIEW.)

stood by him, through an infinity of difficulties not here recorded, and with the expenditure of what were then large sums of money, had but prepared the ground on which others would build. A new boat, the *Perseverance*, nearly finished, broke from her moorings, and was wrecked on Petty's Island. The company backing Fitch were discouraged. Their money was exhausted, and more could not be raised. In 1791, he made fresh efforts, but vainly. "Often have I seen him," said Thomas P. Cope afterward, "stalking about like a troubled spectre, with downcast eyes and lowering countenance, his coarse soiled linen peeping through the elbows of a tattered garment." In October, 1792, he sealed up his manuscript journals, and descriptions of his invention, in five volumes, deposited them in the Philadelphia Library, with directions that they should not be opened for

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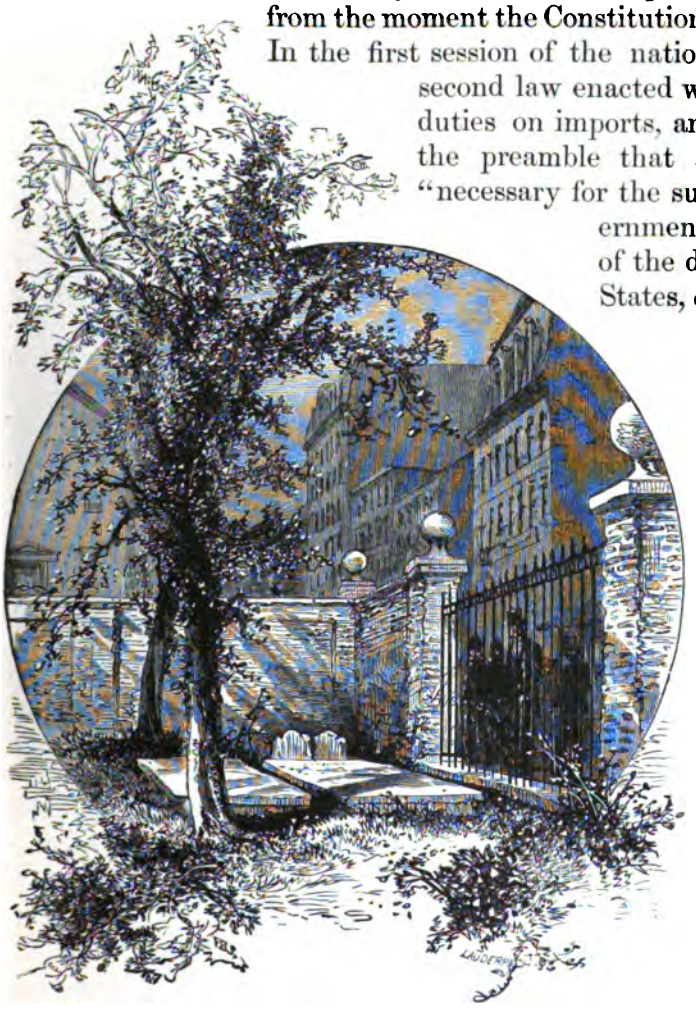
thirty years, and quitted the city. In 1798, in Kentucky, despondent and desperate, he took a dozen opium pills, and died. His papers were found to contain, when opened in 1823, besides other matter, predictions of the brilliant future of steam navigation, and by that time they were already practically verified.

The more secure position of manufacturing industry, under the new Union, had been clearly forecast. Enterprise was encouraged from the moment the Constitution became effective. In the first session of the national Congress, the second law enacted was that to fix the duties on imports, and it declared in the preamble that such duties were "necessary for the support of the government, for the discharge of the debt of the United States, *and the encouragement and protection of manufactures.*" Prominent in the discussion of the measure, advocating permanency, and urging increase in the list of articles upon which specific duties should be laid, with the desire thus "to encourage the productions of our country, and to protect our infant manufactures," was Thomas Fitzsimons, member from Philadelphia. He was an Irishman born, and a Catholic; taking refuge in Penn's Colony, he had become one of the prosperous merchants of the city, and throughout the struggle for Independence had given it hearty support. Like every other thoughtful American, he saw the need of encouraging production at home. In March, 1787, a meeting of manufacturers and mechanics of the City, Northern



GRAVES OF BENJAMIN AND DEBORAH FRANKLIN, CORNER OF ARCH AND FIFTH STREETS.

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Liberties, and Southwark had been held to petition Congress to lay such duties on foreign manufactures as would give a decided preference to home industry, and in the same month the mechanics and tradesmen of Baltimore had forwarded their first petition to Congress, praying it to make the country, by adequate protection, "*independent in fact as well as in name.*"

Under the New Roof, therefore, though the duties fixed were low, and in most instances inadequate, manufactures began to increase.

Tho: M: Kean

The manufacture of paper-hangings, in which some beginnings had been made before the Revolution, was re-established 1789. In 1790 it was estimated there were in the city not less than twenty establishments manufacturing snuff and tobacco. In the discussion on the Tariff bill, in Congress, George Clymer, colleague of Fitzsimons from Philadelphia, said the paper-mills of Pennsylvania produced annually seventy thousand reams of various kinds of paper, and that fifty-three paper-mills were within the range of the Philadelphia market. The duty on wool-cards was fixed at fifty cents a dozen, in that act, for Clymer said those made in Pennsylvania were as good as the imported. The printers and publishers were encouraged; in 1790, Thomas Dobson, "at the stone-house," in Second street, above Chestnut, began the most extensive and costly work in print that had yet been executed in the country, the republication of the "Encyclopedia Britannica," in twenty-one volumes. Mathew Carey, another of the vigorous men whom Ireland sent to Philadelphia, and who had landed here November 1, 1784, had established in January, 1787, the *American Museum*, which took rank at once as the most important periodical in America. Lafayette had kindly received him on his arrival, and advanced him money, and Thomas Fitzsimons, Robert Morris, and others, had cordially aided him.

The Federal Census was taken in 1790. Its figures have already been given.[1] Three events of high importance had occurred in the time when John Fitch was striving to perfect his steamboat. These were the granting of a new charter to the City of Philadelphia, by

[1] Note, ante, p. 371.

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the Assembly, 1789; the formation of a new constitution for the State of Pennsylvania, 1789–90; and the removal of the national capital to Philadelphia, in the autumn of 1790.

The new charter of the City had been long delayed, and was imperatively called for. The Act is dated March 11, 1789. It established a system in strong contrast to the mediæval charter of 1701. The latter, as was explained earlier, created a corporation separated from the people, and self-perpetuating; the new one was essentially a system of popular self-government. The bounds of the City were the same as before; the title was "The Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of Philadelphia." The usual corporate powers were granted. Fifteen aldermen, elected septennially by the freeholders, and thirty common-councilmen, elected triennially by the freemen, composed, with the mayor and recorder, a Common Council, with power to make and enforce the ordinances of the city. The mayor was chosen by the aldermen from their own number, the recorder by the mayor and aldermen from the freemen of the city. This charter was amended at different times down to the period of Consolidation in 1854, but the most important changes were those of April, 1796, by which the legislative body was divided into Select and Common Council, and the recorder and aldermen were deprived of legislative function, and their appointment given to the Governor; and the Act of June, 1839, by which the mayor was made elective by the people. The word "freemen," just used, may be dwelt on a moment; it does not appear clearly what the prescribed qualification was to constitute a freeman, but after the Act of 1796, the electoral qualification was defined by the right to vote for state senators and representatives. State citizenship, apparently, and residence in the city, created freedom of the city.[2]

"SOLITUDE," RESIDENCE OF JOHN PENN, NOW IN THE PARK.[1]

It was the close of a long controversy, in which the old "Republican Society" had been most active in the affirmative, when the Assembly in September, 1789, passed resolutions providing for a state convention to revise the constitution. The delegates to it were chosen in October, and the convention assembled on the fourth Tuesday of November. It sat in Philadelphia, and its sessions being prolonged by adjournments, completed its work on the 2d of September,

[1] Built 1783–4.

[2] Cf. Allinson and Penrose, 67.

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1790. The essential changes which it made corresponded with those in the national constitution. Two legislative chambers were created, the Supreme Executive Council was abolished, and the Governor, taking its place, was made elective by the people. The new constitution took effect at once, and in October, 1790, General Thomas Mifflin was chosen Governor. He served, it may be added, nine years, from December 21, 1790, to December 17, 1799, having been twice reëlected. A few days after the expiration of his term of office,

OLD PHILADELPHIA LIBRARY AND SURGEONS' HALL IN FIFTH STREET. (BIRCH VIEW.)

he died at Lancaster—on the 21st of January, 1800—ending thus, says William Rawle, "a checkered life . . . brilliant in its outset, troubled and perplexed at a period more advanced, again distinguished, prosperous and happy, finally clouded by poverty, and oppressed by creditors."

On the evening of Saturday, April 17, 1790, Franklin died, in his 85th year. It had been sixty-seven years since he landed at Market street wharf, and walked up the street eating his loaf. His career, so long and so remarkable, was rounded out. The city gave him its highest honors, and in France, Mirabeau, in the National Assembly, delivered his eulogy. On Wednesday, the 21st, his remains were buried, by the wall in Christ Church ground, beside those of his wife, where day after day, through the iron railing since set in the wall, thousands passing may view the simple memorial stone.

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As the convention to amend the State constitution completed its labors on September 2, the first citizen and highest official of the Republic rode in from New York, President George Washington. His family accompanied him. They were received outside the city by a body of troops, and escorted to the City Tavern. In the evening a fête champêtre was given in their honor at Gray's Ferry; the next day they departed for Mount Vernon. In December the national Congress met at Philadelphia, and the offices of the Federal Government were established here. The Congress met in the building at the corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets, the court-house of Philadelphia county, tendered for the purpose by the Commissioners, the House of Representatives occupying the lower floor, the Senate the second story.[1] John Adams, vice president, presided in the Senate: Frederick A. Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania, was Speaker of the House. Here the several Congresses continued to sit—the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth—until the adjournment of the first session of the Sixth, in May, 1800, to convene next at the city of Washington in November following. At Philadelphia, Washington's inauguration for his second term, and John Adams's inauguration took place. Here the announcement was made to Congress of Washington's death, and here—in Zion Church—Henry Lee delivered the famous oration, appropriating, with the modification of a word or two, John Marshall's expression that the dead hero was "First in war, First in peace, and First in the hearts of his countrymen."

The structure at Fifth and Chestnut streets, the City Hall, was begun after the passage by the Assembly of the Charter of 1789. It was finished, probably, some time in 1791. But immediately, it too was in part appropriated to the uses of the national government. In the large back room on the second floor, afterward known as the Com-

[1] "Perhaps you have a curiosity to have a description of Congress Hall; it is a large elegant brick building, the north end on Chestnut street. The Representatives' room is on the lower floor. The Speaker sits in a large arm-chair, with a table before him like a toilette, covered with green cloth, fringed. The Speaker's seat is elevated about 2 feet and is on the west side of the hall. The members' seats are 3 rows of desks, rising one above another in the form of a semi-circle, opposite the Speaker; these are writing-desks with large armed chairs with leather bottoms. . . . There are two fire-places, on each side of the hall with stoves.

"There is a good deal of room outside the semi-circle, or, as we speak, 'without the bar,' to which we introduce strangers to hear the debates, and where considerable numbers are always in attendance, as well as in the gallery, which is at the north end. At the south end, without the bar, there is an area or half circle with three large windows, looking into a large square or walk, the only mall in the city, and two doors from the hall open into it.

"The Senate chamber is over the south end of the hall; the Vice President's chair is in an area (like the altar in a church) at the south end. The senators' seats, two rows of desks and chairs, in a semi-circle, but not raised from the floor. The floors of both halls are covered with woolen carpets. The lower room is elegant, but the [upper] chamber much more so. You ascend the stairs leading to the chamber at the north end, and pass through an entry, having committee rooms on each side; in that on the east side of the Senate chamber is a full length picture of the King of France, and in the opposite room is one of his Queen. . . . They were presented by the King. There is a building on the east side of the hall on Chestnut street for offices, connecting the hall with Pennsylvania state-house, in which their General Court is now sitting; this is as large a building as Congress Hall, and these buildings form the north side of the square or mall." (Letter of Theophilus Bradbury, M. C., from Massachusetts, to his daughter, Dec. 26, 1795. Pa. Mag., VIII., 226.)

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mon Council Chamber, the Supreme Court of the United States assembled in 1791, and here its sessions continued to be held until August 15, 1800. Here sat Chief Justices John Jay, John Rutledge and Oliver Ellsworth. The associate justices, during the ten years, were William Cushing, James Wilson, John Blair, James Iredell, Bushrod Washington, Samuel Chase, Thomas Johnson, William Paterson, and Alfred Moore. For his own residence President Washington took the Robert Morris mansion, on Market street below Sixth. Vice-President Adams occupied for two years the Hamilton mansion, "Bush Hill." The Department of State took the building at the northwest corner of Eighth and Market streets. The Treasury Department was in the old Pemberton mansion, at the southwest corner of Third and Chestnut streets. The several officers of the national government found homes in different directions. Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, took the house on Market street above Eighth (now No. 806); Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, lived at the southwest corner of Third and Walnut streets. General Henry Knox, Secretary of War, lived at 129 South Second street, below Dock. Efforts were made to provide an official residence for the President. The Legislature, 1791, appropriated £20,000 for the purpose, and a lot was bought on the west side of Ninth street, between Market and Chestnut, (part of the site of the present post-office), on which a huge and homely house was built, the corner-stone being laid May 10, 1792. The erection, however, was so slow that Washington's second term expired before it was completed, and John Adams, when he became President, begged to be excused from its occupancy. By Act of March 17, 1800, it was authorized to be sold, and it became the property of the University of Pennsylvania. It was torn down in July, 1829.

At the Morris house, the President established a refined and stately hospitality. On Christmas day, 1790, he gave his first levee, and the beauties of Philadelphia made it a notable occasion.[1] Every other Tuesday, from three to four, he held a public reception, receiving any respectable person who chose to present himself.[2] The

[1] "A constellation of beauty," said Mrs. Adams. "It was brilliant beyond anything you could imagine," wrote Sally McKean, daughter of the Chief-Justice of Pennsylvania.

[2] "The receptions were in the dining-room, on the first floor, in the back part of the house. At three o'clock, all the chairs having been removed, the door was opened, and the President, usually surrounded

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social gaieties of the city increased. At the President's levee, on his birthday, 1792, "one hundred ladies, elegantly, if not superbly dressed, graced the ball-room," and twice as many gentlemen "made their appearance during the evening." On the 21st of February, 1792, the "Old" City Dancing Assembly gave a ball in the President's honor; on the following evening the "New" City Dancing Assembly gave another. There were two circles, the seasoned and the unseasoned aristocracy; Washington avoided discrimination and difficulty by attending both balls.

Upon the ordinary affairs of life there fell, in the summer and autumn of 1793, a terrible interruption. Introduced from the West Indies, probably by a ship from Cape François, the yellow fever desolated the city, from August to November. It appeared along the river, in Water street, in July, but was not at first recognized. Presently, it began to be observed that the season was "sickly," and that there was an unusual number of deaths. By the 19th of August, it was clearly seen that pestilence was present. The deaths of the month, up to that date, had numbered 118—a rate which would represent in the Philadelphia of to-day nearly three thousand a week. The mayor, Matthew Clarkson, took action on the 22d of August, by directing a special cleaning of the streets, and the removal of waste. The physicians of the city, four days later, issued an address, describing the disease, and giving directions for its treatment. By the 1st of September many of the citizens had left town, and hundreds of houses and stores were closed. September 10, a notice was published in the newspapers that the Overseers of the Poor could no longer take care of those needing assistance, being "almost overcome with fatigue," and a citizens' committee was organized on the 12th, at the city-hall, which a day or two later

by the members of his Cabinet or other distinguished men, was seen by the approaching visitor standing before the fire-place, his hair powdered and gathered behind in a silk bag, coat and breeches of plain black velvet, white or pearl-colored vest, yellow gloves, a cocked hat in his hand, silver knee- and shoe-buckles, and a long sword, with a finely-wrought and glittering steel hilt, the coat worn over it and its scabbard of polished white leather. On these occasions he never shook hands, even with his most intimate friends. The name of every one was distinctly announced, and he rarely forgot that of a person who had been once introduced to him. The visitor was received with a dignified bow, and passed on to another part of the room. At a quarter past three the door was closed, the gentlemen present moved into a circle, and he proceeded, beginning at his right hand, to exchange a few words with each. When the circuit was completed he resumed his first position, and the visitors approached him in succession, bowed, and retired."

Theophilus Bradbury describes a dinner at the President's, in 1795: "Last Thursday I had the honor of dining with the President, in company with the Vice President, the Senators and Delegates of Massachusetts, and some other members of Congress, about twenty in all. In the middle of the table was placed a piece of table furniture, about six feet long and two feet wide, rounded at the ends. It was either of wood gilded, or polished metal, raised only about an inch, with a silver rim round it like that round a tea board; in the centre was a pedestal of plaster of Paris, with images upon it, and on each end figures, male and female, of the same. It was very elegant, and used for ornament only. The dishes were placed all around, and there was an elegant variety of roast beef, veal, turkey, ducks, fowls, hams, puddings, jellies, oranges, apples, nuts, almonds, figs, raisins, and a variety of wines and punch. We took our leave at six, more than an hour after the candles were introduced. No lady but Mrs. Washington dined with us. We were waited on by four or five men servants, dressed in livery." (Pa Mag., VIII., 226.)

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increased its number to twenty-seven, with the mayor as chairman. This committee practically directed all the affairs of the city during the next six weeks. Seventeen thousand, out of the less than fifty thousand inhabitants, were estimated to have left. Business was practically suspended. Three out of four daily newspapers stopped issue. Churches were presently closed; if open, few appeared to worship. People left the sidewalk and took to the middle of the street, to avoid contagion from the houses. Handshaking was discontinued; friends greeted each other by a nod and a word.

The committee at the city-hall labored faithfully. A hospital had been established by the city authorities, on the 31st of August, in the old mansion at "Bush Hill," which had been previously left vacant by Vice-President Adams. September 15, Stephen Girard and Peter Helm volunteered to go to the hospital and remain in charge. They well understood that they were taking their lives in their hands; Helm told Charles Biddle afterward he never expected to return. About a thousand persons were treated there, in the next six weeks, and the deaths were more than fifty per cent., many being brought in the last stages of the disease.

The fever was at its height on the 11th of October; on that day the burials reported were 119, and the record was no doubt imperfectly kept. A corresponding number in the Philadelphia of to-day would be not less than 2,600. By the 9th of November the colder weather had overcome the disease, and the burials reported were but six. Altogether, from Thursday, August 1, to Saturday, November 9, inclusive, the interments in the burying-grounds of the City, Northern Liberties and Southwark, were officially reported as 4,044; Mathew Carey thought they were not less than 5,000. If we estimate the total population at 45,000, and accept the statement that 17,000 had left, there were in ten weeks, between 4,000 and 5,000 deaths out of 28,000 people.

To describe in detail the Yellow Fever of 1793, or even to speak of those features which are of real and permanent interest—subjects relating to quarantine, to sanitary inspection, medical treatment, hospital management, and the behavior of men and women in the presence of danger—would demand a volume, instead of a page or

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two. Sombre indeed as the narrative must be, it is worth a new study. Courage even greater than that of the battle-field was demanded, and showed itself; want of it appeared in places that would not have been suspected. Stephen Girard's action was remembered to his credit as long as he lived; there were many others as faithful and heroic, if not so conspicuous.

Not understanding how serious the danger was, the Legislature met, at the state-house, August 27, but adjourned September 7. President Washington remained until August 10, and then went to Mount Vernon. He returned November 2, and took up his residence at Germantown. Hamilton had had the fever, and recovered; he also was at Germantown, with Jefferson, and Randolph the attorney-general. The Bank of the United States had been removed there, while the fever raged in town. Governor Mifflin was among those who had been ill, but had recovered. Many well known people had died, among them ten out of the comparatively small body of physicians, and ten of the ministers of the gospel. Four of the volunteer committee fell at their posts: Andrew Adgate, Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, Joseph Inskeep, and Daniel Offley.

One consequence of this terrible experience was legislation to improve the sanitary system and quarantine. An Act of Assembly, 1794, provided for a physician at the lazaretto, on State—formerly Province—Island, a health officer, and a health board. Later laws, in 1798, reorganized the hospital service, secured the site on Tinicum Island (by purchase of 1799), for the lazaretto, which has since existed, (now, 1895, about to be discontinued), and, 1806, created a Board of Health. These measures accompanied further severe visitations of the fever. It had some victims in the city nearly every summer for ten years, but in 1797, 1798, and 1799 it was especially fatal. In 1797 ships from the West Indies again introduced it, early in August. Vigorous measures were adopted by the authorities. The Board of Health established rules of cleanliness and isolation, the Governor proclaimed a stricter quarantine than ever before, a "wigwam" hospital was built on the Schuylkill, at Race street, and tents were placed in the fields. People left town more promptly than in 1793; September 4, it was estimated that one-sixth of the houses were empty, and one-third of the population away. The offices of the national government were all removed—to Gray's Ferry, Falls of Schuylkill, and Trenton—and many merchants transferred their business offices to Wilmington. The deaths from August to October inclusive were reported as 1,268. But the following year these figures were multiplied by three. Again, a ship from the West Indies—this time the *Deborah*, from Port-au-Prince, which arrived at State Island, July 8—probably

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brought the infection, though there were other early cases which could not be traced to her. She was permitted to come up to the wharves, to discharge, "and laborers who removed the cargo, carpenters who repaired her, and citizens who visited her, were attacked by the fever." Twenty cases, ten of them fatal, occurred among these and her crew. August 7, the Board of Health officially declared the presence of the fever. The exodus from the city, this time, exceeded previous experience. The people were terrified by the recollection of the preceding years. Of the total population of perhaps sixty thousand, forty thousand are said to have left. The fever prevailed

VIEW OF ARCH STREET LOOKING EAST IN 1799. (BIRCH VIEW.)

on the vessels in the river; it even attacked the prisoners in the jail, which in 1793 and 1797 had escaped. The three banks removed to Germantown, and again hundreds of tents were pitched in the fields, along the Schuylkill, between Spruce and Chestnut streets. In these tents the mortality was light; a statement on the 24th of September said that out of two thousand occupants but seventeen had died in twenty-five days. From August to October inclusive, the deaths reported were 3,573, and considering the smaller number of people remaining in the city this was as bad as in 1793. The month of September, indeed, making this allowance, was worse than before, for 2,004 deaths occurred. Among the victims were Hilary Baker, the mayor, who died at his post of duty and Benjamin Franklin Bache,

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(grandson of Dr. Franklin), editor of the *Aurora*, and John Fenno, editor of the *National Gazette*—competitors in business, and bitter opponents in politics. The fever in 1799 was recognized as early as June, spread slowly in July, remained inactive the first half of August, and then increased; on the 22d of the month the Board of Health proclaimed it. Again the city was emptied of its people. One newspaper went to Bristol, the courts to Frankford and Norristown, many merchants to Germantown and Falls of Schuylkill. The places of holding the elections, (in October), were changed to rural localities. The mortality was much less than in 1798; the three sickly months, August, September and October, reported 1,015 deaths.

The influence of these pestilence visitations upon Philadelphia was important. In 1793 the most grotesque exaggerations of the sufficiently shocking truth had been spread over the country, repeated from mouth to mouth, and printed in distant newspapers. Non-intercourse of the most extreme character had been established by other cities and towns—Wilmington, Delaware, an honorable exception. Baltimore stationed troops on the Philadelphia road, to protect herself, and other places took like precautions. The afflictions of the subsequent years deepened the impression on the public mind. The growth of the city was impeded, and the decision of the Legislature, in March, 1799, to remove the State capital to Lancaster, was in part due to the fever. There was, despite the fever, a great growth in this decade. The census of 1790 showed 44,996 people in the City, Northern Liberties, Southwark, Passyunk, and Moyamensing; the census of 1800, in the same, showed 70,287. If we consider the tremendous death-rate of the pestilence years, and regard also the damage which must have been done the city by the ill fame of its unhealthiness, it may be judged that these ten years, without the fever, would have fully doubled the population.

Some of the incidents accompanying the pestilence require our notice. Stephen Girard insisted, in 1793 and later, that it was not contagious, and in 1797 had a sharp controversy with Dr. William Currie, who held the opposite opinion. The Board of Health, that year, adopted rules based on the contagion theory, and Girard, and his two associates, Caleb Lownes and John Connelly, in charge of the fever hospital, tendered their resignations. In the fever of 1798 the question was revived, and the proverbial difficulty when doctors disagree was illustrated in a dispute amongst the medical men, in which the Academy of Medicine, represented by Dr. Philip Syng Physick and Dr. John C. Otto, held the non-contagion theory, and the College of Physicians, with Dr. Currie as champion, took the opposite view. These controversies were eclipsed, however, by that of Dr. Rush and William Cobbett. Cobbett, an Englishman, as famous then as Tom

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Paine, and in many points of character not unlike him, had come to Philadelphia early in 1795, and in his pamphlets, and his newspaper, *Porcupine's Gazette*—begun March, 1797—had taken up the English side of the political dispute. In his *Gazette*, 1797, Cobbett ridiculed Dr. Rush's medical treatment of the fever—large doses of mercury, and frequent bleeding—and the doctor sued him for damages in slander. It could not be denied that Porcupine had been very offensive; he had called the Doctor an empiric and a quack, had sneered at his practice, and dubbed him "Sangrado." In 1799, the case, after dragging along two years, ended with a verdict of $5,000 damages for the Doctor, and the judgment for this and the costs ruined Cobbett, and drove him out of Philadelphia.

The departure of Porcupine was witnessed with satisfaction by the many who took, in opposition to him, the French side in politics. For now, once more, the course of affairs in Europe made and unmade parties here. Beginning sharply in 1793, just before the fever, people began to divide on the line of the French Revolution. The political challenge, but a little time before, had been: "Are you a good enemy of Britain?" Now it became: "Are you an unhesitating partisan of France?" Louis XVI. had been executed January 21, 1793. Eleven days later the French Republic had declared war against Great Britain, Holland and Spain. America was now involved in this European contest, as, half a century before, we found ourselves, in the time of Governor Morris. Just as the fever of 1793 was disappearing, at the beginning of November, and the Bush Hill hospital was about vacated, there came to the city a distressful ship, the *Citoyen Marseillais*, loaded with wretched people, some sick, some wounded, from Cape François, in San Domingo, refugees from the bloody conflicts and slave "risings" in that desolated island. The Bush Hill hospital was given up to them at the request of the French minister, and many were taken there. The French minister was the Citizen Genet, he whose antics came near embroiling the United States in war, and who, in the face of Washington, in defiance of our laws, attempted to carry on war here against England. The story of Genet's ten months—he came in May, 1793, and was superseded March, 1794—belongs to the national history writer, but from the day of his arrival politics here were torn and convulsed over the question of openly taking the French side, or favoring the English, or striving to consider and maintain the interest of America. Washington desired the last, Jefferson was for France, John Adams and Hamilton preferred Burke to Mirabeau. These great men wrote, and spoke, and acted, in Philadelphia. Here, therefore, the caldron of politics boiled furiously. The insolent action of Genet so convulsed the city that John Adams said long afterward—in a letter to Jefferson—

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there were ten thousand men in the streets threatening to drag Washington from his house, and revolutionize the government, or compel a declaration of war in alliance with France, against England, and that many believed the interruption of events, caused by the fever of 1793, with the deaths of Dr. Hutchinson and Jonathan D. Sergeant, two of the most ardent of the Gallic leaders, saved the government from overthrow.[1]

Whether this view of the quick-tempered great man of Braintree was correct or not, it is certain that Philadelphia, from 1793 to the end of the century, was in a ferment over the French question. Genet went in 1794, but Fauchet, only a little more sane, replaced him. Fauchet lasted a year, and Adet took his place. The several important "days" in the progress of the French Revolution were celebrated; the French armies' triumphs in Holland and elsewhere produced wild rejoicings. At Israel Israel's country place, in May, 1794, eight hundred citizens, celebrating St. Tammany's day, shouted applause as Blair McClenachan and Minister Fauchet gave the "fraternal embrace" of the French Republic. At the Centre Square, in June of that year, the Carmagnole was danced, and an obelisk to Liberty reared, and a great crowd marched to Fauchet's house, at Twelfth and Market streets, where young girls strewed flowers, the Marseillaise was sung, impassioned speeches were made, Fauchet publicly took the oath to support "the Republic, one and indivisible," and the Frenchmen of the crowd repeated it, with an additional pledge "to live freemen or die!" These were typical demonstrations; there were many more, year by year, on down to 1798, when the news from Paris of the insulting demand of the Directory for money created some revulsion of feeling, and Pinckney's defiant reply gave, for the time at least, an American tone to public sentiment. "Millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute" came opportunely across the Atlantic.

Robert Walton

In the midst of the heats of the controversy, in which the French partisans donned the tri-color, and the mob-cap, and the other side wore black cockades; when the British flag was burned in the streets,

[1] Letters of John Adams, X., 47.

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and Jay's Treaty in front of the British minister's house; when oblations to Liberty, and toasts to everything Gallic, and rejoicing discharges of cannon were hardly intermitted a day; when first the Democratic Society, then the Tammany Society, then the Société Française des amis de l'Egalité, then the twelve hundred young men who approved (May, 1798) of the President's course, and at other times other bodies, intensely pro- or anti-French, paraded the streets; when Porcupine, on one side, and Bache's *Aurora* on the other, inflamed the public passion to white heat; when the President of the United States, John Adams—according to his own relation—sat in his house, on the evening of May 8, 1798, momentarily expecting attack from a crowd packed in Market street, "as full as men could stand by one another," and Governor Mifflin ordered out horse and foot to preserve the peace;[1] in the midst of all these doings, sandwiched between the yellow fever's visits, some other affairs went on, much less exciting, but in the long run more important to Philadelphia.

Following Hamilton's great plan, the first Bank of the United States was chartered by Congress, February 25, 1791, and the subscription books opened July 4. The bank began business, with Thomas Willing president,[2] in Carpenters' Hall, in December of that year. It removed, in July, 1797, to the building erected for its use, in Third street below Chestnut, now the Girard National Bank. The Bank of Pennsylvania was chartered, March 30, 1793, and began business in the Freemasons' Hall, on Lodge street. In 1792, the United States Mint was established at Philadelphia, with David Rittenhouse, Director, and a building for it erected on Seventh street, near Filbert. Coinage was begun, of copper cents, in October of that year, upon coining-presses brought from England. Two insurance companies, the first upon the stock plan, were chartered in 1794—the Insurance Company of North America, with $600,000 capital, April 14, and the Insurance Company of the State of Pennsylvania, April 18, with $500,000. In a petition to the Assembly, 1790, it was stated that there were fifty marine underwriters in the city, but they would write no more than £200 on a ship, making £10,000 the limit that could be placed. The money slowly changed, during the decade, from "English" to "Federal." The Bank of North America announced at the beginning of 1791 that it would do business hereafter in dollars and cents, instead of pounds, shillings and pence, and November 1, 1800, the brokers gave notice to the like effect. The latter date may be taken as marking the general change, so that the old money went out with the old century.

[1] John Adams's Letters, X., 47.
[2] He quitted the presidency of the Bank of North America to accept this new position.

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The College, in the heats of the Revolution, had been deprived of its charter by the all-powerful Assembly, and the University chartered to take its place. Later the College charter was restored, and the two institutions competed in the narrow field, the University leaving the old College buildings, on Fourth street below Arch, for quarters in the Philosophical Society's building in state-house yard. By an Act of Assembly, September 30, 1791, the two institutions were united, under the name of the University of Pennsylvania, and a secure foundation thus laid for the present great institution. The purchase from the State of the house and ground, on Ninth street,

HIGH STREET FROM MARKET-PLACE, SHOWING PROCESSION IN COMMEMORATION OF THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON, DEC. 26, 1799. (BIRCH VIEW.)

where the post-office now stands, has been mentioned; it took place in July, 1800. Here the University remained until, in 1873, it removed to West Philadelphia.

Communication with the interior began now to be improved. The construction of turnpikes—which preceded canals, which preceded railroads—was begun by the making of the turnpike road from Philadelphia to Lancaster, the first artificial road of such extent and importance in the United States. The length is sixty-two miles. The charter was granted April 10, 1792, with one thousand shares of stock at $300 each. Subscriptions were offered for 2276 shares, and the excess was disposed of by a drawing by lot. In his message to the Legislature, December, 1796, Governor Mifflin announced that the road was completed, and stages, the following year, went through

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from Philadelphia to Lancaster in one day. The turnpike to Germantown and Chestnut Hill was chartered in March, 1798. A charter for the first permanent bridge across the Schuylkill, at Market street, was granted March 16, 1798, creating a company with a capital of $150,000. The first stone was laid October 18, 1800. The bridge was thrown open to travel, January 1, 1805, and was regarded as the most important structure of the kind in the country. It was of wood, and cost nearly $300,000. The length was 750 feet. It remained a "toll" bridge until 1840.

The shipbuilding industry of the city rose to new importance in the building of ships for the national navy. The Act of Congress, March 27, 1794, authorized the construction of six frigates. Following the plan of the veteran Philadelphia builder, Joshua Humphreys, they were made of size and armament superior to similar ships of the English navy, and with speed sufficient to outsail them if beset by more than one. Five were built at other places; the *United States* was built here by Humphreys, and launched May 10, 1797. In 1798 a number of merchants united to build and loan to the government another frigate. She, too, was built in the Humphreys yard. She was launched November 25, 1799, and named the *Philadelphia.* Commanded first by the elder Stephen Decatur, she was burned by his son in the harbor of Tripoli, February 15, 1804—a feat which remains one of the well remembered events of American naval history. It was Decatur, too, who in the *United States,* in October, 1812, captured the *Macedonian,* so that these two Philadelphia frigates, staunch constructions of oak and cedar, took an honorable place in the annals of the sea.

The district of Southwark had been incorporated by Act of April 18, 1794, with powers granted the fifteen commissioners, of whom one-third were elective each year by the people, little inferior to those possessed by the corporation of the City. The Northern Liberties had three commissioners appointed for its lighting, watching, etc., in 1791, and by several acts down to 1801, their powers were enlarged. The wards of the City, by act of March 1, 1800, were increased to fourteen. With the line of division at Fourth street, seven lay east of that, and seven west, the former running to the Delaware, the latter to the Schuylkill. Above all other steps of municipal improvement was the introduction of Schuylkill water, but this we reserve, for its importance demands some fulness of detail, to the next chapter.

One other change, besides those we have noted, occurred in that year of changes, 1789. The Puritan code of the earlier time was definitely overthrown. The old laws, so stiffly maintained, forbidding the establishment of a theatre, were repealed by the Legislature.

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The struggle over them had been most earnest. Petitions with six thousand names attached had been sent up, asking repeal; remonstrances with four thousand names had opposed it. A delegation of ten representative ministers of the gospel, headed by Bishop White, had enforced the arguments of the remonstrants. Repeal prevailed, and in 1790 the Southwark Theatre was opened, and February 17, 1794, the Chestnut street Theatre, on Chestnut street above Sixth, whose erection was begun by a company of subscribers in 1791, was opened also.

Ending the year 1800, then, Philadelphia was no longer the capital of the State, and no longer the capital of the Nation. The Governor and Legislature transferred themselves westward, the President and Congress moved to the South. The state-house was left to local uses, the Congress Hall to its originally-intended use as county court-house. Thomas McKean, elected Governor in 1799, and to be again chosen twice, as Mifflin was, held his head stiffly as ever, as he rode off toward the Susquehanna. John Adams, directing his steps toward the fields on the Potomac where the Federal City was intended to be, and where in a century's time it has arisen, beautiful indeed, crossed the Schuylkill with gloomy brow, for he went, as he knew, to witness the triumph of his old rival. But he left behind in Philadelphia one man whose reflections may well have been more bitter than his own. Robert Morris, the great merchant, the heroic financier, the man of vast wealth, owner of stately houses in town, and splendid home in the country, pillar of city's and nation's credit, trusted friend and well-beloved host of Washington, first of Philadelphians after Franklin in the period of struggle, Senator but yesterday of Pennsylvania in the National Congress, lay immured in the debtor's prison. Great land operations, begun in 1795, and—through the treachery of others—ending disastrously, had brought him ruin. Imprisoned on the 16th of February, 1798, the century ended without granting him freedom. Not until the 26th of August, 1801, was he enlarged. May 7, 1806, he died. No one can dwell with pleasure on his later years. Large-hearted, full of life and power, generous to his adopted country in the hour of need, he deserved a peaceful and prosperous evening for his active and useful day.

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MAYORS OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1789–1800.

1789.—SAMUEL POWEL.

1790.—SAMUEL MILES.

He was born March 22, 1739, and took an active part in the Revolution. In 1776 he became colonel of the 1st regiment of riflemen, was captured at the Battle of Long Island, in August of that year, and was exchanged April 20, 1778. He then served as Deputy Quartermaster-General until 1782. In 1783 he was appointed Judge of the Court of Errors and Appeals. In 1789 he was one of the Aldermen of the City, and next year chosen Mayor. From 1786 to 1791 he was captain of the First City Troop. He died December 29, 1805.

1791.—JOHN BARCLAY.

He was prominent in the business affairs of the city, some time president of the Pennsylvania Bank; in 1779 is described as a shipping merchant. He became an Alderman in 1790, and Mayor 1791. He served in the State Senate, 1810–14, and died August 8, 1816. His house was at 211 South Front street.

1792–5.—MATTHEW CLARKSON.

He was born in New York City, April 15, 1733, but removed to Philadelphia 1743. In 1771 he was a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, in 1776 a Justice of the County Court, and in 1778 marshal in the Court of Admiralty. In 1790 he was an Alderman, and in 1792 chosen Mayor, being re-elected the three following years. His first term included the yellow-fever visitation of 1793, during which he acted with courage, remaining in the city, and serving as chairman of the Citizens' Committee. He died October 5, 1800, and was buried in Christ Church ground, at Fifth and Arch streets. In his will he calls himself "merchant."

1796–7.—HILARY BAKER.

He was a hardware merchant, and is one of the signers of the memorial addressed to the Assembly in 1785, by "manufacturers of bar-iron." In 1779 he was Clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions, in 1787 a member of the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention. He was an Alderman, 1789–96, and chosen Mayor in 1796 and the following year. He died, at his post, during the yellow-fever visitation of 1798, and was buried at Zion Church, on Eighth street above Race.

1798–9.—ROBERT WHARTON.

He was the son of Joseph Wharton, the owner of "Walnut Grove," in Southwark, where, soon after his death (1776), the "Mischianza" was held. Joseph Wharton was twice married, and had eleven children by his first wife, and seven by his second. Thomas, one of the "Exiles to Virginia," was the oldest of the first group; Robert was the second in the second group. He was born January 12, 1757, and died March 7, 1834. He was a member of Common Council from 1792 to 1795, and appointed an Alderman in 1796, and in 1798, on the death of Hilary Baker was elected (October 16) Mayor, being again elected in 1799, 1806, 1807, 1810, 1814, and the four following years, and in 1820, and the three following years.

1800.—JOHN INSKEEP.

He was born in Burlington co., N. J., January 29, 1757, took part in the Revolutionary struggle, and removing afterward to Philadelphia, became a merchant, especially interested in the China trade. His place of business was at 98 South Front street. He served as an Alderman in 1801 and 1802, and was elected Mayor in 1800, and again in 1804 and 1805. He was made president of the Insurance Company of North America in 1806, upon the conclusion of his service as Mayor, and died December 18, 1834.

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CHAPTER IX

1800–1820

THE SECOND WAR WITH ENGLAND

NO longer a government city, its political heats somewhat cooled, Philadelphia entered upon the nineteenth century intent upon its own affairs. Commerce was still the chief interest, manufactures were slowly growing, interior communication received anxious attention, municipal development was an every-day concern.

Philadelphia ships, in 1800, spread their sails on every sea, except the vast and lonely stretches of the Pacific. As early as 1786, Captain Truxtun, afterward the naval commander—sheriff of Philadelphia, 1816–18—had made one of the first voyages from America to China, in the ship *Canton*, returning successfully the next year. In 1800, a considerable fleet traded around the Cape of Good Hope between Philadelphia and the Asiatic coasts—to Calcutta, Madras, Surinam, Sumatra, Batavia, and Canton. An important trade, as always, was done with the West Indies—to Havana, Curaçoa, Martinique, Jamaica, Cape François, Gonaives, St. Kitts, St. Thomas, St. Croix, and elsewhere. A larger fleet sailed to Europe, chiefly to Liverpool, but also to London, to the Irish ports, and to Amsterdam, Hamburg, Lisbon, St. Sebastian, a few ships entering the Mediterranean to Leghorn and Messina. In 1804 the entries of ships from foreign voyages were 579, and from coasting voyages 1,220, making a total of 1,799. In 1806 there were thirteen arrivals from the port of Canton alone. The registered tonnage of Philadelphia, in 1800 was 103,363 tons, but this fluctuated in the years following, under the destructive influence of the measures of England, France, and our own country—the decrees of Napoleon, the English "Orders in Council," and the blighting embargoes, and non-intercourse acts under Jefferson and Madison, preceding the War of 1812. In 1805, there were counted seventy-one ships belonging to Philadelphia, regularly engaged in foreign trade, twenty-five being "first-rate," and fifty-six staunch and seaworthy, but considered "second-rate." Of the former class, eight were in the China trade, four sailed to the East Indies, and thirteen to Europe. They were still small; the largest, sailing to China, was but five hundred tons, while ships of

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two hundred and three hundred tons made voyages to Bordeaux, Amsterdam, Lisbon, Liverpool, and Leghorn.

The shipping merchants were the rich men. Other pursuers of wealth gathered it by degrees, these at a stroke. Tradesmen, professional men, must depend on careful dealings, or shrewd investments, or persistent savings, but in commerce lay the chances of splendid profits, however accompanied always by great risks and often by ruinous losses. At the head of the list of the merchants, no doubt, must be placed Stephen Girard. Born by the seashore—near Bordeaux—his grandfather, father, and all his family bred to the pursuits of the sea, he brought to his business the training for success. He knew the ocean, its winds, its waves, its storms and calms; he knew the foreign ports, the people, their markets, their goods for sale, their wants; he knew what a ship could do, he knew what captains and sailors could do with a ship. Buffeted and beaten about in early life, so that until he was forty he was hardly to be called prosperous, he was now fifty years old, and accounted rich, though his great fortune had only just fairly begun to accumulate. Childless, unexpectant of heirs,[1] dressed in plain clothes, though scrupulously neat, so that in middle life he might be taken for "a stout sailor," and in more advanced years "a plain old farmer," he lived in a mansion adjoining his store, on the Delaware, at 23 North Water street, where he could watch his ships. His house within was elegantly appointed, even by the luxurious standards of our own day—"Italian marble floors," rich carpets from attic to kitchen, furniture from Paris, statuary adorning the rooms. Driving a blooded horse in a "gig," rising early to look for an expected ship, hastening in a boat down the river to meet her, and—if not his own—drive a shrewd bargain; blind of one eye from an accident in childhood, irritable by temperament, and speaking a broken English when he rated his employés, this was the figure, imperfectly sketched, of the great merchant, successor to Samuel Carpenter and Robert Morris in the commercial annals of Philadelphia.

OLIVER EVANS.

[1] His wife, the daughter of a ship-caulker, he married 1777; one child died in infancy. From 1790, until she died, in September, 1815, she was an inmate of the Pennsylvania Hospital.

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Samuel [illegible] Philadelphia

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Stephn Girard

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The wharves of the city extended from Callowhill street to South. Other merchants besides Girard were Willings and Francis, Jesse and Robert Waln, Pratt and Kintzing, Nicklin and Griffith, Robert Ralston, Gurney and Smith, John Welsh, Masseys and Shoemaker—later, Eyre and Massey; Elliston and John Perot, Ross and Simpson, Joseph Sims, Smith and Ridgway, John Warder, Charles Wharton, Joshua Gilpin, Joseph S. Lewis, N. and J. Frazier, Francis and John West, and others.[1] Some of these names have already been made familiar to us in the course of our narrative. Thomas Willing was head of the firm of Willings and Francis. The senior of Gurney and Smith was Colonel Francis Gurney, active in the Revolution, and prominent in the local military organizations. Manuel Eyre, of Eyre and Massey, (1803 and later), was the son of Manuel Eyre, of Kensington, a shipbuilder, also prominent in the Revolution. Striking and picturesque experiences attended the pursuits of the sea. Two of Girard's ships, a brig and a schooner, lay at Cape François, when the revolt of the San Domingo blacks occurred, in 1791. Many planters put their valuables aboard them for safety, and themselves perished in the conflict on shore. Whole families were thus cut off, and Girard, though he endeavored to discover the heirs of the property in his hands, found a large sum—$50,000 or $60,000—unclaimed. On the other side of the account, in April, 1813, one of his ships, the *Montesquieu*, coming home from China, richly laden, was captured by the British fleet, at the Capes of the Delaware, and he paid for her a ransom of $180,000. The risks of war-time were great. John Moss, a Hebrew merchant, gloomily waiting a richly-freighted ship, the *Brilliant*, from London—in 1813, perhaps—and ready to give her up, saw her at last come up the Delaware on the seventy-ninth or eightieth day, having escaped capture. Her cargo, at auction, made him a profit of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars.[2]

The construction of the turnpike to Lancaster was the first important step in the improvement of communication with the interior. The bridge over the Schuylkill at Market street was a second notable work. Both these have been noticed. Other turnpikes were soon built in other directions, north and south, and the extension of the system westward of Lancaster followed. In August, 1804, a regular stage line to Pittsburg was established, once a week, from John Tomlinson's hotel in Market street. The stage left on Friday morning, and the time to Pittsburg was assured not to be over seven days. From Pittsburg, covered boats descended the Ohio and Mis-

[1] This list, necessarily incomplete, is in part derived from the shipping lists, and in part from Abraham Ritter's "Philadelphia and Her Merchants," Philadelphia, 1860. The names given are intended to represent those in business in the year 1800.

[2] Ritter's Philadelphia and Her Merchants, 164.

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sissippi, to New Orleans, in from twenty to twenty-five days, so that a traveler to that city from Philadelphia might count on making the trip in a month.[1] The bridge over the Delaware at Trenton was opened early in 1806, and the travel to New York, which previously had been by boat up the river to Burlington or Trenton, was now largely by stage all the way. But the bridge and turnpike tolls were serious; each stage paid $5.50 on these accounts between city and city, and the fare was raised, in October, 1806. Four lines then ran daily, Sundays excepted;—the *Diligence* left at 8 a. m., the *Industry* at 9, and the *Mail Pilot* at 10; these charged $5.50 per passenger. At noon the mail coach left, carrying but six passengers, and making extra time; it charged $8.50.

THE FRANKLIN PENNY.

The roads southward were bad, and the water routes were utilized as far as possible. Boats left Paul Beck's wharf, on the Delaware below Market street, daily, except Sunday, for Newcastle, whence stages ran across the peninsula to the Chesapeake at Court-house Point, eight miles below Frenchtown, and from there other boats carried the traveler to Baltimore. On the Delaware there were three packet boats in the service, and on the Chesapeake four.

Poor John Fitch had not yet left Philadelphia when there appeared here another inventor scarcely less strenuous and earnest, but with a mind better balanced, and with more practical skill as a mechanic. This was Oliver Evans, of Delaware, born in 1755 and said to be a descendant of Rev. Evan Evans, the Episcopal clergyman whose missionary labors here a century earlier we may recall. Oliver had made suggestions to Fitch, had devised machine cards to card wool and cotton, had invented important improvements in mill machinery, the elevator, the conveyor, the hopper-boy, the drill, the kiln-drier, etc. These were valuable in their way, but after desperate struggles with fortune—"I was reduced," he says, "to such abject poverty that my wife sold the tow cloth which she had spun with her own hands for clothing for her children, to get bread for them"—

[1] A traveler whose notes appear in Penna. Magazine, XVI., 458, left Philadelphia on the morning of Wednesday, Sept. 14, 1808, reached Lancaster at 5 p. m., and stopped for the night ten miles beyond. Next day, proceeding by Elizabethtown, Middletown, and Harrisburg, he crossed the Susquehanna "in twenty minutes," and after a ride "over excellent roads" through Carlisle and Shippensburg, reached Chambersburg by nightfall. "Before breakfast, on Friday, the 16th, we started on our passage over the first mountain range. For the next fifteen miles our stage-coach was drawn by six horses over rough and steep roads; it was dark when we reached our quarters for the night." Reaching Bedford early next morning (he started at 3 a. m.), by 5 in the afternoon he was at Somerset, where he rested until Monday. That day's ride brought him to Greensburg. The next day, Tuesday, at 5 p. m., the stage drove into Pittsburg.

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he began about 1801 to build steam-engines. He had been living then for a time at Ninth and Market streets; later he had shops at Ninth and Vine. In 1803 he exhibited a small engine, driving saws to cut stone, and in 1804 he constructed a machine, driven by steam, to clean docks. The great thought in his mind was to employ steam to propel carriages and wagons on land. He freely conceded to Fitch the accomplishment of steam propulsion on water. As early as 1787 he had petitioned the Pennsylvania legislature to assist him in the development of steam carriages, and was, of course, thought crazy. In September, 1804, he urged his plans for carrying merchandise upon the management of the Lancaster Turnpike Company. He calculated that his engine and carriage, with necessary equipment, would cost twenty-five hundred dollars, that it could carry one hundred barrels of flour three miles an hour on the level, and one mile per hour on the hills, making the trip from Philadelphia to Columbia in two days. It required then five wagons, with five horses each, to take a hundred barrels of flour the same distance in three days. It is needless to add that his plans were not then adopted, but the evidence is sufficient in the facts already stated, and in his other announcements at this time, to prove that he had very fairly worked out the problem of steam transportation on land. "The time will come," he said in a letter in 1814, "when people will travel in stages moved by steam engines at fifteen to twenty miles an hour. A carriage will leave Washington in the morning, breakfast at Baltimore, dine at Philadelphia and sup at New York on the same day. *Railways* will be laid of wood or iron, or on smooth paths of broken stone or gravel, to travel as well by night as by day. A steam engine will drive a carriage one hundred and eighty miles in twelve hours, or engines will drive boats ten or twelve miles an hour." "Hundreds of boats," he added, "will so run on the Mississippi and other waters, as was prophesied thirty years ago by Fitch."

Evans exhibited in 1804, at Centre Square, upon the circular road which surrounded the water-works, the operation of his steam wagon, and the engine he showed later propelling a scow on the water. His steam-engines he had so far improved that in a few years he is said to have constructed not less than twenty-five, in use in Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Louisville, Frankfort, Lexington, Natchez, and elsewhere in the west, and in New England. But contention over his patent rights, in the courts, in the newspapers, and otherwise, wore him out. Thomas Jefferson disapproved his patent claims, and Evans replied to him—conclusively it was thought—in an article, "A Trip made by a Small Man, in a Wrestle with a Very Great Man." Finally his foundry and factory, at Ridge road and Vine street, were set on fire April 11, 1819, and four days later, at New York, the inventor died.

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Long before this, Fulton's labors had developed (1807) the successful *Clermont*, on the Hudson, and in June, 1809, the *Phœnix* steamboat came around from New York, to run on the Delaware. Remembering all the experimental work of Fitch, and Evans, and perhaps others, the *Phœnix* was the first steamboat here which can be considered a commercial success. She was built at Hoboken by John C. Stevens and, being sent down the New Jersey coast to the Delaware, was the first vessel in the world, propelled by steam, to venture on the open sea. She encountered a storm, put into Barnegat till it subsided, and then ran to the Capes in safety. She was put

VIEW OF THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA FROM THE SITE OF THE TREATY TREE, KENSINGTON, IN 1800. (BIRCH VIEW.)

into service between Philadelphia and Burlington, July 4. The following year she ran to Bordentown. In that year, (1810), a steam ferry-boat, the *Camden*, began to cross the river, from Market street to Camden, and other steamboats soon appeared on the river.

The water system of the city, down to the end of the last century, had been simply wells and pumps—except that, as in the case of poor Makin, the teacher, who was drowned in the act, some might dip a pailful from the river. There had been sundry schemes for a better supply, including that of a canal from the Schuylkill to the Delaware, and an aqueduct system from the great spring at Spring Mill, up the Schuylkill. At last, in February, 1799, Councils authorized a

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water loan of $150,000, and appointed Edward Tilghman, Jared Ingersoll, Stephen Girard, and nine others commissioners to receive subscriptions. The plans of Benjamin H. Latrobe were adopted.[1] Water was taken from the Schuylkill, at the upper side of Chestnut street, in a basin or inlet, eighty-four feet wide and two hundred long, its bottom three feet below low-water mark. From this inlet an open canal extended one hundred and sixty feet to the rise of the hill; then a tunnel, six feet in diameter, was cut through the rock three hundred and sixty feet farther to a shaft or well, ten feet in diameter, fifty-four feet deep. Here was placed a steam-engine, which pumped the water from the well, forced it into a brick tunnel, six feet in diameter and one thousand and forty-eight yards long, to another well and engine-house at Centre Square. Here a second steam-engine lifted it into a reservoir, thirty-six feet above ground, with a capacity of sixteen thousand gallons. From this reservoir the water was distributed through wooden "trunks," or pipes, throughout the city. Such was the Centre Square water-works system. The cost was not light. The amount expended up to October 1, 1801, was stated to be $220,310. Work was begun March 12, 1799, on the construction of the canals and tunnels. Rafts of logs were bought during the spring, and having been bored, the first pipe was laid June 18. Others were laid later, on Chestnut street, and Arch street. Nicholas I. Roosevelt, an engine-builder, who subsequently, in 1810–11, built at Pittsburg the *Enterprise*, the first steamboat on the rivers of the West,[2] was engaged to furnish the two steam engines and pumps. January 27, 1801, the construction was completed, the engines were put in motion, and water distributed through the wooden pipes. A report that year stated that sixty-three private houses, four breweries, and one sugar-refinery took the water.[3] In 1810 about thirty-five miles

[1] Mr. Latrobe's original drawings and plans of these water-works are now in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, deposited by his son, Hon. John H. B. Latrobe. He (B. H.) was the architect of the building for the first Bank of the United States, now the Girard Bank, and of the old Bank of Pennsylvania.

[2] Roosevelt's wife was a Latrobe, of Baltimore; she and her husband were the only passengers on the *Enterprise* when in the autumn, 1811, she made her historic trip down the Ohio and Mississippi. She left Pittsburg, October 11, and reached New Orleans the day before Christmas. The capital for her construction was furnished by Chancellor Livingston and Robert Fulton.

[3] The engine at the Schuylkill was a double engine, with 40-inch cylinder, and 6-feet stroke. It consumed fifty bushels of coal and half a cord of wood in twelve

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of pipe had been laid, extending "through all the improved parts of the city." The whole expense to November 1, 1810, had been about $500,000. The number of private families, breweries, manufactories, etc., taking the water at that time was 1,922, and the water rents received were $10,931. As the annual expense was $29,431, there was a charge of $18,500 upon the city, representing the value of the use of the water for extinguishing fires, and other uses. The quantity annually pumped into the Centre Square reservoir was stated as two hundred and fifty millions of gallons, or an average of about seven hundred thousand gallons a day.

The Centre Square works had continued in use not more than ten years, when it was seen that they would not afford a permanent supply of water. In 1811 the question how to do better was agitated, and in 1812, the Councils, adopting the plans of Frederick Graff, fixed upon Morris Hill, Fairmount, as the place for the reservoir, and the river-side at that point as the place of in-take. August 1, 1812, the erection of steam pumping-works, etc., at that place was begun, under Graff's direction, and a powerful steam-engine, 44-inch cylinder and 6-feet stroke, was built at the Eagle Works, at Twenty-third and Callowhill streets. The reservoirs on Fairmount were to be, by the plans, one hundred and ten feet above the Schuylkill level; the capacity of the steam pump was 1,733,632 gallons a day. Iron pipes, eighteen inches in diameter, carried the water from the reservoirs to the distributing basin at Centre Square. These works, the beginning of the Fairmount System, were completed and put in operation, September 7, 1815.

Gideon Olmsted, the Connecticut fisherman, who captured the sloop *Active,* in 1778, and did not get his prize money, survived the century. The proceeds realized from the sale of the sloop, by the marshal of Judge Ross's court, Matthew Clarkson, nearly fifty thousand pounds in Continental money, were paid by the marshal to the judge, and by him, upon order of the Pennsylvania Assembly, to the State treasurer, David Rittenhouse, the latter giving the judge a bond of indemnity. These events occurred while Olmsted was appealing from Judge Ross's court, and getting its decision reversed. Under the law of the Continental Congress, an appeal in such cases lay to one of its committees, which was made a "Court of Appeals," and this court, after a full hearing, reversed the court below, and awarded Olmsted the whole of the prize money. But how was he to get it? The State court and officials stood on their dignity, and denied the superior power of Congress. The money was held by them, and they kept it. Congress was feeble, and could not enforce its authority

hours. The other engine was similar, but smaller. Roosevelt undertook to supply a million gallons of water per day, at the rate of $3,000 a year for each engine, and any larger quantity up to three million gallons per day, at half the rate of the first million. The wooden pipes were mostly 3-inch and 4¼-inch bore.

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against Pennsylvania. The situation was thus dead-locked. Time passed. Olmsted still claimed the money. His counsel was William Lewis, the odd but very able lawyer, a Welshman, who in many ways reminds us of David Lloyd. In 1788, the Federal Constitution was adopted, and by the second section of the third article jurisdiction in maritime cases was expressly granted to the courts of the United States, confirming thus the authority of the Committee of Congress, as exercised ten years before. In 1790 Judge Ross died. Olmsted then sued his executors for the money, and got a judgment by default. Then Ross's executors sued David Rittenhouse, to the use of Olmsted, on the old indemnity bond. This suit got up to the Supreme Court of the State, in 1792, and the bench, Judges McKean, Shippen and Yeates, declined to sustain it. So Olmsted was again balked, but still waited. In 1795 the Supreme Court of the United States decided, in Penhallow against Doane, that United States District Courts had power and authority to carry into effect the decisions of the old Congressional Court of Appeals. Olmsted, perhaps, did not hear of this decision at once, but in 1803 he appeared before U. S. Judge Peters, at Philadelphia, and obtained a decree for the payment of his money. But against whom? David Rittenhouse, astronomer, philosopher, democrat, director of the mint, state treasurer, had died seven years before—June 26, 1796. His daughters, Mrs. Sergeant, and Mrs. Waters, two elderly women, widows, lived at the northwest corner of Seventh and Arch streets. They had been his executrices, and settled his estate. The decree ordered them to pay over to Olmsted the certificates of Federal debt in which their father had invested the prize money. At this juncture the State of Pennsylvania stepped in again. Chief-justice McKean was now governor, and he was too stiff a man to let his old ruling of 1792 be overset without a fight. He procured the Legislature to pass an Act, April 2, 1803, directing the ladies at Seventh and Arch streets to pay the disputed money to the State treasurer once more, and also instructing the Governor to protect their persons and property against any process issuing out of any Federal court. "Here was a gauge of battle flung down by the State,

RECEIVING FOUNTAIN OF PHILADELPHIA WATER-WORKS.[1]

[1] This edifice of marble stood in Centre Square, on site of present City Hall. It was an ornamental structure but bore the disparaging name of "the pepper box" in allusion to its circular form and appearance. It was built about 1800 and removed in 1854.

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accompanied by a note of defiance. The nominal parties to the controversy were an old man of eighty-two, and two women who had inherited the lawsuit, but the real contestants were the State of Pennsylvania and the United States."[1]

For five years the case rested. The United States was a young nation. The State's power was probably the greater, even yet. Judge Peters, as he candidly admitted, withheld process against the two women, to avoid embroiling the national and state governments. But in 1808 Olmsted went to a tribunal which did not shrink from asserting practically the power and authority laid down in the national constitution. He applied to the United States Supreme Court for a mandamus, and John Marshall, chief-justice, gave it to him, in a judgment in which the national authority was livingly declared. "If," it said, "the legislatures of the several States may at will annul the judgments of the courts of the United States, and destroy the rights acquired under those judgments, the Constitution becomes a solemn mockery. . . . The State of Pennsylvania can possess no constitutional right to resist the legal process which may be directed in this case. . . . The order which this Court is enjoined to make by the high obligations of duty and of law is not made without extreme regret at the necessity which has induced the application. But it is a solemn duty, and therefore must be performed. A peremptory mandamus must be awarded."

This set things in motion once more. Judge Peters issued his writ, in February, 1809, but the marshal, John Smith, repairing to Seventh and Arch streets with it, on the 24th of March, found the Rittenhouse mansion with the ladies inside, and a body of the State militia on guard outside. The militia, commanded by General Michael Bright, were in high feather. They had been called out by the Governor—now Simon Snyder, the first German governor of Pennsylvania, son of a "Palatine" immigrant of 1758—under authority of the Legislature, by resolution, March 2d. The marshal read his commission, read his warrant, and made a fine speech, but all in vain; the bayonets of the militia prevented entrance to the house. He withdrew, therefore, appointed that day three weeks to serve the warrant, and began ostentatious preparations for the proof that the United States was greater than the State of Pennsylvania. Issuing his summons for a *posse-comitatus* of two thousand men, it began to look as though the first war of the States and the Nation might occur beneath the gentle shades of Mulberry street. There was general alarm. Governor Snyder, who was not at all a desperate man, and did not feel extreme anxiety to wage war to sustain Judge McKean's

[1] Carson, Case of the Sloop *Active*, Pa. Mag., XVI., 394.

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rulings, began to consider ways of retreat. He wrote to President Madison on the subject; the latter pointed out to him that the President was not only not authorized to annul a decree of the Supreme Court, but was specially required by the law, when such a decree was resisted, to aid in its enforcement. The Legislature began to reconsider its ground. Still insisting on the "rights" of the State, it appropriated $18,000, to be used in the case, "as to the Governor might seem advisable and proper." The amount in dispute was about fifteen thousand dollars. Marshal Smith now executed a flank movement; a day or two before the time appointed for the pitched

OLD LUTHERAN CHURCH ON FIFTH STREET IN 1800. (BIRCH VIEW.)

battle of his posse and the militia, he obtained access to the rear of "Fort Rittenhouse," took one of the ladies, Mrs. Sergeant, prisoner, and held her in custody. Then a writ of habeas-corpus was demanded for her in the State Supreme Court. The lawyers now fought, instead of the troops. Walter Franklin, Attorney-General of the State, assisted by Jared Ingersoll, upheld the Commonwealth's rights, and by inference at least, refuted John Marshall, while Alexander J. Dallas, the U. S. district-attorney, and William Lewis contended for the sovereignty of the nation, and the sanctity of its constitution. The chief-justice, who was now Edward Tilghman, and who preferred to administer the law rather than foment rebellion, decided naturally that it was not a case for his interference, and

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remanded Mrs. Sergeant to the custody of the marshal. The case was therefore about at an end, so far as courts were concerned. If Governor Snyder had thought best to fight, and the militia, when the pinch came, would have followed orders to attack the marshal, there was still that procedure open. Instead of doing anything of the sort, the governor drew the money which the Legislature had appropriated, and paid over the sum in dispute to Marshal Smith. The prisoner was released, the rebellion collapsed. The old fisherman had won the case, and got his prize-money. It had now been thirty-one years since the *Active* was taken, and few men who were then the age of Olmsted were now alive. He died a little later. Interesting above all else in the long litigation was the calm judgment of Marshall, enforcing itself by its own simple and lucid statement, and upheld because no man who could reason, and who respected the system which the constitution was intended to establish, could resist its plain conclusions. Many times Providence has aided the American republic; hardly any time more plainly than on the day John Adams appointed John Marshall chief-justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

John Barker

As the aftermath of the case, General Bright and his militiamen were tried in the U. S. Circuit Court, for resisting the Marshal. Justice Bushrod Washington, nephew of the first President, held the court, and ruled strongly against the accused, whose defense was that they "obeyed orders." The jury had a suffering time; they stayed out three days and three nights, without reaching a conclusion. The Judge refused to discharge them. Two fell ill, and he sent them a doctor, but insisted that the twelve must find a verdict. Finally they rendered a special verdict, that the defendants had resisted the marshal, knowingly and wilfully, but that they did it under the authority of Pennsylvania. On these facts they left it to the judge to direct the form of the verdict, which he promptly did—Guilty—and with a suitable admonition sentenced the General and his men to fines and imprisonment, both of which President Madison soon remitted.

If we review now, before advancing to the events of the war which lies before us, the material and social development of the city,

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we may mention first the growth of domestic production. One of the most notable enterprises was that of the Globe Mills, successor, about 1760, to the "Governor's Mill," established by William Penn's orders, probably before 1693, in the Northern Liberties—now the intersection of Germantown Road and Girard Avenue. This old mill, with its water-power drawn from Cohocksink creek, had been set up to grind grain, and James Logan's troubles with it will be found described in his letters to the Founder, in 1702 and later.[1] The property was sold December 25, 1714, to Thomas Masters, him who was chosen mayor in 1707, and it is worth note that to him was granted, November 25, 1715, the first English patent (No. 401) issued to any person in the American colonies—a patent right securing to him the sole use and benefit of "A New Invencon found out by Sybilla his wife for Cleaning and Curing the Indian Corn." The drawings and specifications furnished by Sybilla are preserved, and from them and allusions in Watson,[2] it is apparent that the "cleaning and curing" which she intended, and which were to produce what she called "Tuscarora rice," was a process simply for making hominy, and that the mill on the Cohocksink was designed to be used in its manufacture. How far the scheme succeeded is unknown, but her husband, Thomas Masters, died in 1723,[3] and left the property to his son Thomas Masters, Jr., who died without issue, 1740, leaving nearly all his real-estate to his brother William. He died 1760, and his property went to his daughters, Mary—wife of Governor Richard Penn—and Sarah; and the latter, who in 1795 married Turner Camac, an Irish gentleman, got the mill-property. It had been used as a corn mill as late as 1750, and amongst its other ill fortune had been burned, "from the wadding of guns fired at wild pidgeons,"[4] in March, 1740, but in 1760 Benjamin Jackson, "Mustard and Chocolate Maker, late of London, now of Lætitia Court, near the lower end of the Jersey Market," informed the public that he was grinding his chocolate and mustard on machines, "at the mill in the Northern Liberties of this City, formerly known by the name of the Governor's, alias Globe Mill, where they all go by water." Seven years later the same work was going on, for the widow Crathorne, relict of Jackson's partner, advertised 1767, that she would continue to make the articles named "at those incomparable mustard and chocolate works at the Globe Mill, on Germantown Road." Later, 1790, other parties ground mustard there, but in 1796 James Davenport, an ingenious mechanic, who deserved better results from his skill and pluck, put into the Globe Mills machinery

[1] Fifth Mo. 11, 1707: "Our mill proves the unhappiest thing of the kind that ever man, I think, was engaged in. If ill luck can attend any place more than another, it may claim a charter for it. I wish it were sold." (Penn-Logan Corresp., II, 254.)

[2] Annals, II., 88.

[3] The brief biographical sketch on p. 185 of this work says 1724. His will is dated December 4, 1723, and was proved January 16, 1723-24.

[4] Penna. Gazette, March 20, 1740.

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for the manufacture of cotton and wool. Davenport had received, February 14, 1794, the first patent issued in the United States for any kind of textile machine,[1] and his equipment in this mill included several carding-machines, eight spinning-frames on Arkwright's principle, several "mules" of 120 spindles each, "machinery for spinning by water," and "ten good English stocking-frames"—these last being imported, though others were subsequently made here by English workmen brought over for the purpose. How long Davenport's operations continued is uncertain, but not long. At New Year, 1797, President Washington "and several members of Congress" paid a visit to the factory, and inspected its operations. He was then "spinning and weaving flax, hemp, and tow," the power furnished "by a water-wheel," and the labor mostly performed by boys. One boy could spin, "in a day of ten hours," 292,000 feet of flax or hemp thread, or could weave in that time "fifteen to twenty yards of sail-cloth." Davenport died; his machinery, April, 1798, was sold and scattered. But soon after, probably before 1803, John Hewson, or Huston—the same person perhaps whom we saw with his wife and "four daughters," on the float in the great procession of 1788—occupied the Globe Mills as a print-works, and in April, 1809, the property was purchased of the "Camac Estate" by several parties, who formed the firm of Craige, Marquedant and Huston,[2] and established here an

EAST SIDE THIRD STREET ABOVE CHESTNUT STREET, AFTER PAINTING MADE IN 1818.

[1] Bagnall's Textile Industries U. S., I., 222.

[2] Thomas Huston, Mr. Samuel H. Needles suggests, ("The Governor's Mill and the Globe Mills," 1884), may have been the son of John Hewson, or Huston.

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important cotton manufactory, which continued in operation, under various changes of firm name, but mostly in the hands of the Craiges, down to 1852. Buildings were erected in 1809, 1813, 1816, and later, and in 1824 the mill was reported as employing about 300 hands, with 3200 spindles, and consuming 5400 pounds of cotton a week. Its product was ginghams, drillings, checks, shirtings, and sheetings.

In 1803 there were reported three print-works in the city, Hewson's at Kensington, Stewart's at Germantown, and Thorburn's at Darby; these together employed seventy hands, and produced 200,000 yards of prints per annum. It was just the beginning of the cotton industry in the United States; in 1809 sixty-two cotton factories were reported in the country, with twenty-five more in course of erection. The war with England and the cessation of imports from there gave a tremendous impetus to the industry here. Prices of cotton goods rose greatly. In 1813 upland cotton brought fourteen and a half cents per pound, while the commonest calicoes sold for twenty-eight cents per yard, fancy for fifty to sixty cents, and "super" as high as sixty-eight cents. The following year calicoes sold still higher, and "six-fourths" muslin at $1.17½ per yard. In 1808, two shot-factories, those of Bishop and Sparks, in Southwark, and Paul Beck, in the city between Arch and Race streets, near the Schuylkill, were erected. Paul Beck advertised his as "upon as large a scale as any in Europe." The *Aurora* newspaper, urging the advantage of domestic production, said that these two factories would keep at home $200,000 a year, the sum heretofore sent abroad for shot, "for shooting birds."

Outside the city, but directly connected with its business interests, the iron manufacture showed some growth. It had been greatly depressed in the period after the Revolution, and in November, 1785, thirty-two makers of bar-iron, representing all or nearly all the works in the State, had petitioned the Assembly for an increase of the duties on foreign bar-iron, "because," they stated, "iron cannot be manufactured at so low a price here as in countries where the laborers are but little removed above the condition of slaves." The Assembly took no action on the petition, and the duties levied on iron—pig and bar—under the national constitution, down to 1812, were too low to be protective. In 1790, a rolling-mill was built on Tacony creek, in Cheltenham, near the present limits of the city, probably by James and Maxwell Rowland. In 1790 Benjamin Longstreth built a rolling- and slitting-mill at Phœnixville, the beginning of the present great works of the Phœnix Iron Company. In 1805 there were seven forges and one slitting-mill in Delaware county. Isaac Pennock built, in 1795, near Coatesville, Chester county, a slitting-mill, and in 1810 at Coatesville a rolling-mill,

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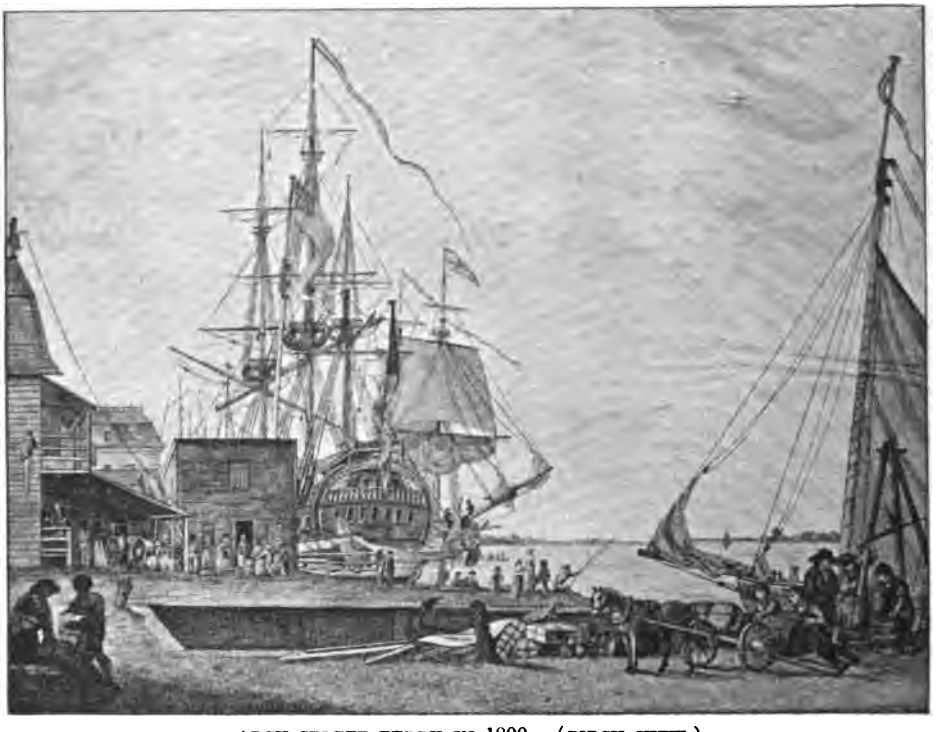
where, after 1816, it is said the first boiler-plates made in the United States were rolled by his successor, Dr. Lukens.[1]

Charters for many new companies were granted by the Legislature, and the simple mention of some of them will indicate the directions in which enterprise developed. The Germantown and Perkiomen Turnpike Company was incorporated February, 1801, and in the same month the Delaware and Chesapeake Canal Company. In 1801, also, the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce was organized, with Thomas Fitzsimons president. In 1803, the Cheltenham and Willow Grove Turnpike Company was chartered, and a company to



ARCH STREET FERRY IN 1800. (BIRCH VIEW.)

build a turnpike through Frankford and Bustleton to Morrisville. In 1804, after much opposition, the Philadelphia Bank received a charter, and in 1809 the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank. The Ridge Turnpike Company, to build a stoned road to Norristown and Reading, was chartered in 1811, and a company to bridge the Schuylkill at the Upper Ferry. In 1812 the Pennsylvania Company for Insurances on Lives and Granting Annuities received incorporation. The procuring of charters, now that the State capital had been removed to Lancaster—later to Harrisburg—was attended with more inconvenience than if the Assembly had continued to sit at the state-house.

[1] Cf. Swank's Coal and Iron in All Ages.

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When Christopher Ludwick, the German baker—he who made bread for the army in the Revolution—died, in 1801, leaving his residuary estate to that association which should first be incorporated to provide free instruction for the poor children of the city, two competitors appeared for the fund, a society previously organized to promote free schools, but not incorporated, and the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania. After securing approval here of the attorney-general, the judges, and governor, it was necessary to file the papers in the Rolls Office of the State, at Lancaster. In this case Governor McKean delivered the papers, approved, at the same moment, to the two persons who were to go to Lancaster, and both set off in hot haste, the University man on horseback, and Mr. Eves, representing the society, in a sulky. Relays of horses had been provided for the rider, but Eves, his horse failing under the heat of the day, hired one of a plowman in a field, and pushed on. At a near town he procured a third horse, and reached Lancaster, sixty-six miles, in seven hours, being far ahead of his competitor.[1]

If we say that the heats of politics had somewhat abated by 1800, it must be understood to be when contrasted with the violent feeling and supposed danger of actual bloodshed, in the period from 1793 to 1798. Personal quarrels, factional feuds, and newspaper virulence marked the first decade of the new century. In this time two new men made their appearance in the city as journalists. When Benjamin Franklin Bache died, in the yellow fever of 1798, his widow for a time continued to publish the *Aurora*, but in 1801 she married the editor, William Duane.[2] This able, but extremely partisan writer was then a man of forty; after sundry hardening experiences of life he had come, in 1785, to Philadelphia. From the death of Bache, he became one of the most conspicuous figures in the city, and through his newspaper not only exerted a great influence upon local politics, but affected in an important degree the course of public affairs in the country. There came to the city, however, in 1807, another editor, in many respects resembling Duane, professing the same political faith, but with abilities in practical politics which soon made him a successful rival of the other. This was John Binns, who began the issue, March 27, 1807, of a new paper, the *Democratic Press*—thus using for the first time in the country this adjective in a newspaper name.[3]

[1] Narrative cited by Westcott.

[2] Duane was born in northern New York, of Irish parentage, in 1760. He went to Europe to seek his fortune, then went to India, and was arrested and deported thence by the Governor, Sir John Shore, upon a charge of encouraging sedition among the British troops. He came to Philadelphia 1785. He continued to conduct the *Aurora* until 1822, and died 1835

[3] Binns was born in Ireland, had been "repeatedly in trouble with the English authorities," and had come in 1801, and settled at Northumberland, Pa. This was the home of Simon Snyder, to whose political fortunes he attached himself. "He was," Mr. Meigs (Pa. Mag. XVII., 476.) estimates, "a bold and determined man, of very strong will, and he wielded a severe pen," but he was "less scurrilous and abusive than Duane, and he had moreover a strong power of drawing men to him."

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The election of Chief-justice McKean to the governorship, 1799, followed by Jefferson's election to the presidency, in 1800, were strokes which practically destroyed the Federalist party, as a political organization, even in Philadelphia. There were still many Federalists, but the leadership in affairs was seized by other men. McKean, however, had almost from the beginning factional opposition amongst his own following. Duane, from being his ardent supporter, became in a few years his bitter enemy, and in 1805 supported the candidate of the opposition wing of the party, Simon Snyder, who was then defeated, the Federalists mostly supporting McKean, in order to prevent a revision of the Constitution of 1790. But in 1808, when McKean, having served three terms, was no longer eligible, Snyder easily became governor, and Binns and his newspaper, standing closer to him than Duane, soon took the lead in Democratic journalism in Philadelphia. A figure during these years equally prominent with Duane was that of Dr. Michael Leib, a politician certainly not without abilities, but including amongst them that of arousing the most extreme antagonism. Leib was at different times a member of the Assembly, a member of Congress, and a United States Senator. He and Duane acted together for many years. In 1814, Granger, postmaster-general under Madison, appointed him postmaster at Philadelphia, causing such a storm that Granger shortly after was removed by the President, while Leib in a few months suffered the like misfortune.[1]

MEDAL COMMEMORATING PEACE, AFTER WAR OF 1812.

The Irish antipathy to England played a considerable part in this chapter of politics. It might be said to be that influence out of Europe which took the place of the French *furore* in the last decade of the old century. About 1798, quite a number of "United Irishmen," fugitives from the unsuccessful revolt in Ireland, made their appearance here, and the passage of the alien and sedition acts, in 1798, was bitterly resented, not only by them but by the large element kindred to them in descent. A conspicuous incident in Duane's early career here had been connected with the Irish opposition to these laws. In February, 1799, during service in the Catholic church of St. Mary's, copies of a placard were posted upon the walls asking the Irishmen of the congregation to remain in the yard after the ser-

[1] Cf. "Pennsylvania Politics Early in this Century," by William M. Meigs, Penna. Mag., XVII., 462, et seq.

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vice, for the purpose of signing a petition for the repeal of the laws. These placards some of the trustees and others tore down, but they were again put up. Outside, Duane and three companions had the petitions spread out upon the tombstone of Father Burns, a former priest. Here a scuffle ensued, pistols were drawn, and a riot was narrowly avoided. Duane and his companions were subsequently arrested, and taken before the mayor, but Chief-justice McKean, then on the bench, came to the mayor's office and commanded their discharge. They were afterward tried for seditious rioting, and acquitted of this, one being convicted, however, of assault.

This arrest and trial, however, Duane might regard lightly. In May following, a party of the militia officers, chiefly of the City Troop, who had been out in April suppressing the "Fries Rebellion,"[1] and who had been violently assailed in the *Aurora*, upon sundry offensive charges of misconduct, fell upon him one afternoon, at the newspaper office, and demanding an apology, which he refused, dragged him down-stairs into the yard, and there beat him severely. One of the attacking party was James B. McKean, son of the Chief-justice, and Duane prosecuted him and the others for the assault. But such language was so commonly used in the political and general discussions of the time that collisions like this might be expected. Chief-justice McKean, after his election as governor, in 1799, said in replying to an address of his supporters that "traitors, refugees, tories, French aristocrats, British agents, and British subjects, and their corrupt dependents" had combined in vain to oppose him. In 1805, Commodore Truxtun, who considered that he had been unfairly dropped from the naval service, wrote to the Secretary of the Navy that "he had acted like a base hypocrite, that he was a coward and a scoundrel."[2] In 1805, Tom Paine, who had long been one of the most appreciated writers on the democratic side, and who, as late as 1803, had been entertained at a public dinner by many Philadelphia admirers,[3] turned his guns on McKean, in behalf of Snyder, and was denounced by the friends of the former as "a polluted monster, infamous and degraded." Out of this sort of thing some duels and several fights arose, but prosecutions for libel and suits for damages in slander abounded. Cobbett's ruin through Dr. Rush's suit has been mentioned. Dennie, editor of the *Portfolio*, was prosecuted, in 1802, on an indictment found by the grand jury in July, charging him with publishing an article—a long diatribe on democracy in general, specifying its evils in Greece and Rome, etc.—designed to bring the United States into contempt! Chief-justice

[1] Resistance to the collection of the window tax, etc., in the adjoining parts of Bucks and Northampton counties, led by John Fries, a German auctioneer.

[2] Charles Biddle's Autobiography, 312.

[3] At the Franklin Hotel, the old mansion-house of Dr Franklin.

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Shippen, who presided at the trial, instructed the jury that if the publication had been made with the intent charged the indictment would lie. But the jury, wiser than the judge, found Dennie not guilty. Duane was prosecuted in 1800 for a libel on the State Senate; an indictment was found against him the same year under the Sedition Act. In the summer of 1806, in the heat of the political contest for governor, he announced in the *Aurora* that the suits for libel pending against him numbered sixty or seventy. In July, in a proceeding for slander, upon the complaint of the Marquis D'Yrugo, the Spanish ambassador—whose wife was Governor McKean's daughter—Duane was brought before the mayor, John Inskeep, who not only held him in bail to appear for trial on the charge, but demanded also security for his future "good behavior,"—*i. e.*, silence in his newspaper. This plan of "muzzling the press" had been adopted with Cobbett, on a ruling by McKean, but Duane now avoided the pit by refusing the bail *in futuro*, and being then held, procured a writ of habeas corpus, and was taken before Chief-justice Tilghman, who discharged him, ignoring the old ruling of McKean.

Reform in legal procedure, and admonition to courts and lawyers that they were a part simply of the machinery of society, and responsible to the public judgment, were plainly needed. The movement for judicial reform included the impeachment and trial, in 1803, in the Legislature, of the justices of the supreme court, Shippen, Yeates, and Smith, a proceeding which failed, and was neither prudently advised nor skillfully conducted, but which had its admonitory influence upon bench and bar. A number of laws simplifying procedure, reducing costs, protecting the interest of the unfortunates who enter the court-room, and curbing the disposition of judges to be also legislators, were passed in this period.[1]

The mention of Dennie's *Portfolio* gives the opportunity to speak of that publication. Joseph Dennie, born in Boston in 1768, a graduate of Harvard, devoted to letters, and editor for a time of a weekly journal at Walpole, New Hampshire, which attracted notice, came to Philadelphia in 1799, as private secretary to Timothy Pickering, then secretary of state. He was soon writing, however, for the newspapers, and on January 3, 1801, he began, with Asbury Dickins as publisher, the issue of the *Portfolio*, at first a weekly, afterward a monthly journal. Its merits have been disputed, but unquestionably it was for a time the leading literary periodical of the country. For the first four or five years of the century it "contained almost everything that was produced in the United States under the form of light literature," and its volumes for that period "had the merit of

[1] Cf. Meigs, Pa. Mag., XVII., 469.

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representing the literary effort of the times."[1] The contributors included John Quincy Adams—who published in it his Letters from Silesia—Gouverneur Morris, Horace Binney, Joseph Hopkinson, Robert Walsh, Charles Brockden Brown and others. Brown, however, published himself several periodicals—the *American Magazine*, 1799–1800, the *Literary Magazine*, 1803–8, and the semi-annual *American Reporter*. A native of Philadelphia, nephew of Charles Brockden, mentioned earlier in this narrative, he was the first American novelist. Until Cooper's work appeared, there was nothing to compare with his fiction. He died in 1810, not quite forty years old,

VIEW IN SECOND STREET, NORTH FROM MARKET STREET, IN 1800. (BIRCH VIEW.)

poor enough to satisfy the most pessimistic theory of the literary rewards of his day.

The location of Dennie here, with his *Portfolio*, signified the leadership of Philadelphia, for the time, in the literature of the country. New England soon disputed this, but as it proved, Boston, which could do nothing better than Dennie's magazine in 1801, could not equal *Graham's*, forty years later, and her rising young writers then sent their work here to be put before the world. "In the society of Mr. Dennie and his friends at Philadelphia," wrote Tom Moore, in 1804, "I passed the few agreeable moments which my tour through the States afforded me." Dennie himself thought the country gen-

[1] Henry Adams, History U. S., IX., 190.

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erally sterile of literary genius, as indeed it was, but he recognized Philadelphia as more tolerable than any other city. Brockden Brown's novels were republished in England, and attracted notice there. Charles J. Ingersoll wrote tragedies that were put on the stage. The contemporary literature of Europe was beginning to be studied here, and while the *Portfolio* worshipped Dr. Johnson and Burke, it also delighted in Burns, and warmly praised Coleridge and Wordsworth. Such a school of literature could not be called narrow, or wanting in perception of the growth of the literary art, and the evolution of the human mind.

The great event of the period was the second war with England. Almost as much as in 1740, or in 1755, was the country, and therefore the city we describe, drawn into the whirlpool of conflict by the national duels of Europe. The war between France and England, begun in 1793, paused for a time upon the Peace of Amiens, between 1802 and 1805, and then broke out again, to be continued for ten years. The measures which the two nations employed against each other involved the commercial interests of the United States, and from 1806, when England issued the first of her several "Orders in Council," (this one declaring the coast of Europe from the Elbe to Brest to be in a partial state of blockade), down to June, 1812, when war was declared against England by the United States, the distresses of every American city whose ships engaged in foreign trade were extreme. The nation, however, drifted into war, or, it may be said, fell into it, for there was no hearty unanimity of the people on the subject, and no steady and statesmanlike leadership by the government. Mr. Jefferson would neither employ the natural and reasonable means of peace, nor take vigorous and appropriate steps of preparation for war. He rejected, in 1807, without even submitting it to the Senate (though then in session), the treaty negotiated at London by Monroe and Pinckney—which secured, as Jay's treaty had done in 1794—not all, but a large part of what the Americans claimed,[1] and yet he had no better means of defense in view than embargo and non-intercourse acts, the self-hurtful measures of the struggling colonies in the outbreak of the Revolution. Mr. Madison succeeded to the Jeffersonian policy, in 1809, and bore upon his shoulders the growing weight of difficulty and perplexity, until at last war seemed a lighter evil than endurance.

The hardships of Philadelphia commerce accompanied the several

[1] The rejection of this treaty, says Hildreth, "was followed—as if to demonstrate, by melancholy facts, the superior political wisdom of Washington and Hamilton, and to fulfill to the letter the prophecies made at the time of Jay's treaty, and reiterated on the present occasion—by four years of vexatious and ruinous commercial restrictions, to which succeeded two years and a half of most disastrous and aimless war, ending in a near approach to bankruptcy, and seriously threatening, had it not been unexpectedly brought to a close, the dismemberment of the Union." (History U. S., V. 665.)

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steps which preceded the declaration of war. In 1802, the merchants had represented the injury done them by the French spoliations—a phrase painfully remembered down to our own day. At a meeting at the City Tavern, January 4, a committee which included Fitzsimons, Girard, and five others, drew up a memorial to Congress, in which they estimated the losses of American merchants, due to the French—mainly the seizure of cargoes and detention of ships in the West Indies—at over two millions of dollars, an important part of which had fallen on Philadelphia. Forty firms signed the memorial. In 1806, another meeting of merchants and ship-owners, at the coffee-house, Fitzsimons again in the chair, begged Congress for protection for vessels and merchandise under the national flag against being taken by French and Spanish cruisers, many of them substantially pirates, "who seized without authority, and robbed without even the form of a trial."

Spain was now, as to its government, under the thumb of Napoleon, and substantially did his bidding. The English Orders in Council were answered by him, November 21, 1806, in his Berlin decree. Then came, in 1807, more Orders in Council; on Napoleon's part appeared, in December, his Milan decree, and finally, in 1808, crowning all in insolence and harshness, his Bayonne decree, directing the seizure of all American vessels then in the ports of France. The purposes of England and France, in thus striking at the commerce of neutral nations, were of a varied nature, but in substance to prevent, each the other, from securing any advantage from the neutrals. The United States replied to these measures with an effort to deprive the two duelists of the benefits of our trade. But this was as costly to us as to them. To quit trading with them meant practically no foreign trade at all, for nearly all Europe was in the war on one side or the other. By a law passed in February, 1806, to take effect November following, the import of a considerable list of articles from England had been forbidden. December 22, 1807, an embargo was laid by Act of Congress, prohibiting the departure of merchant ships from an American for a foreign port, except with such cargo as they might have on board when notified of the law. Other laws, supplementary to this, were passed in January, March, and April, 1808, and in January, 1809. In March of the latter year, the em-

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bargo was repealed, except as to France and Great Britain, and non-intercourse with them enacted, to take effect May 20.

The firing upon the *Chesapeake*, by the *Leopard*, June 23, 1807, became known in Philadelphia, five days later, and an excited public meeting was held in the state-house yard, July 1. All parties joined; the chairman was ex-mayor Matthew Lawler, the secretary, Joseph Hopkinson. Dr. Leib offered the resolutions, which declared that until the Government should adopt adequate measures of redress, the citizens of Philadelphia would furnish no supplies to, and have no intercourse with, British armed ships. A committee, Lawler chairman, was appointed to give the resolution effect. By January, 1808, the effect of the embargo began to be severely felt, and meetings of the idle sailors threatened the public peace. The owners of merchant ships addressed the President, representing the injury done them; Mr. Jefferson in reply assured them they were suffering for the public good. In January, 1809, the advocates and opponents of the embargo each held meetings—January 23 and 31—in the state-house yard, one presided over by Captain William Jones, the other by Commodore Truxtun. The Truxtun meeting could hardly be held; great numbers of the embargo partisans marched to the place to break it up, but were beaten back by bodies of sailors from the ships—reversing the circumstances of 1742—and, defeated thus in the main object, they remained on the ground, beating drums, and otherwise disturbing the meeting. When it adjourned they took possession of the stand, the Mayor, John Barker, made a violent address, denouncing the Federalists, especially Timothy Pickering, and they formed in procession to march through the streets. The *Aurora* said there were seventeen thousand in line; Poulson's *Advertiser* declared there were less than four thousand; probably even that was an over-estimate.

Looking forward to possible war expenditure, a national loan of eleven millions was invited by the Government in 1812, and of the six millions subscribed, Philadelphia had offered $1,645,800, the four banks—Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Farmers' and Mechanics' and North America—subscribing a million amongst them. The Bank of the United States was not now in existence; its charter of twenty years, granted in 1791, had expired March 4, 1811, and by the casting vote of Vice-President Clinton, in the United States Senate, February 20, 1811, a renewal had been defeated. Its business was wound up and dividends on the principal made to the stockholders; ultimately they received about 107½ per cent. of their holdings. But great injury was done the country by the bank's closing, injury never repaired even by the recharter of the bank in 1816. Of the ten millions of stock in it, seven millions was foreign capital, and this, in hard money, released from use by the winding-up,

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went back to Europe just before the war.[1] There had been $5,800,000 specie in the vaults of the bank on January 1, 1811, two months before it closed, and this formed the major part of the sum expelled from the country.

So far as Philadelphia was concerned, no real war preparations had been made when war was declared by President Madison, June 19, 1812, upon the vote of Congress the previous day. There had been militia companies recruited, street parades, sham battles, etc., but the deeply earnest work done in the Revolution was notably absent. Fortunately the city, though utterly without defenses of forts or

BANK OF THE UNITED STATES, ON THIRD STREET, IN 1800.[2] (BIRCH VIEW.)

ships, at the beginning of the war, did not suffer from the enemy's attacks. The services of militia regiments were promptly offered to the Government. Colonel Winfield Scott came to the city to raise a regiment for the regular United States service, the Second Artillery, and established his camp on the west side of the Schuylkill, near the upper ferry. But, above all, the interest of the fighting seamen turned once more to privateering. By July 4, three privateers were ready, and presently sailed, while others followed soon. Several, before the end of the year, captured and sent in to Philadelphia or

[1] Adams's Gallatin, 474.

[2] This building was erected in 1794 and first occupied by the Bank of the United States. It was sold in 1812 to Stephen Girard, who used it as his banking house until his death in 1831. It is now occupied by the Girard National Bank.

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other ports, valuable prizes; though some had no luck. August 11 the *Matilda*, Captain Allen, sent in the British privateer brig *Ranger*, with her commander, Captain Heard, mortally wounded. He died a few days later at the Pennsylvania Hospital, and was buried "with the honors of war," the Philadelphia Blues, Captain Rush, firing over his grave. The *Rattlesnake*, a new ship, built at the yard of Andrew Seguin, in the Northern Liberties, nearly repeated the experience of the *Tartar* in 1744; going down the Delaware, a sudden gale capsized her at Reedy Island, and the pilot and twenty of the crew were drowned. She was raised, refitted and again sent out. In September, Captain David Porter, with the U. S. sloop *Essex* came in. He had taken the British sloop *Alert*, with nine other prizes. He now sailed, October 28, for the West Indies, and ultimately to the south Pacific, and his career there, until he was taken at Valparaiso, in March, 1814, is a well-known chapter of history.

Word of the progress of the war, as it came to Philadelphia, caused alternate elation and depression—always excitement. September 3, 1812, news was received of the capture of the *Guerriere* by the *Constitution*, and a meeting, September 2, resolved to present pieces of plate to Captain Hull, and Lieutenant Charles Morris—the latter of Philadelphia.[1] December 10 Captain Jacob Jones, who had commanded the United States sloop *Wasp* in her capture of the British sloop *Frolic*, arrived in the city, and was warmly welcomed. To Lieutenant James Biddle, of Philadelphia, one of his officers, the city presented a silver urn and the State a sword. Later, when the frigate *United States*, built here, captured the *Macedonian*, her commander, Captain Decatur, was honored with a sword.

Public feeling in the city, however, was far from unanimous in support of the war—in support of it, at least, as conducted by Mr. Madison's administration. The "Friends of Peace, Union and Commerce" held meetings and formed organizations, in opposition to the war party, and in the city vote, in October, 1813, the Federalist candidate, representing that sentiment, received 2815 votes against 2984 on the other side. The military conditions were indeed open to sharp criticism. Governor Snyder's message to the Legislature, in December, showed that the neglect to care for the State's military equipment had been scandalous. The arms had been scattered; those to be found were old, rusty, and out of order. There surely

[1] General John Barker, previously mayor, and elected again a few days after the reception of the news of the naval victory, "called at the Rubicam House, in South Sixth street, to 'sink the *Guerriere*,' as he termed it . . . 'Mrs. Rubicam, let me have a glass of brandy and water to sink the *Guerriere* in,' which was given him; and after a while he returned a second, and then a third time, with the same demand; after taking the third glass, he was accosted by the landlady, she knowing his habits, thus: 'Take care, General! take care! that in sinking the *Guerriere* you do not destroy the *Constitution!*'" (Simpson's Eminent Philadelphians.)—The Rubicam House, Westcott says, became famous under the management of Mrs. Rubicam, after her husband's death, as the first place in Philadelphia where terrapin were skillfully cooked.

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had been few instances where, with war in view as a probable outcome of many years' quarrel with a strong foreign nation, and so much show of zeal for the encounter, the preparation had been so meagre.

Suddenly, in March, 1813, a British squadron blockaded the mouth of the Delaware—Sir John P. Beresford, with a seventy-four, a frigate and two schooners. The city was thenceforth to the end of the war able to get ships in and out of the bay only at times when the blockaders were not vigilant, or were cruising at a distance, on the coast. Sir John Beresford demanded supplies from the town of Lewes, at the mouth of the Bay, and these being refused, in April he bombarded the town—after notice—but did it little damage. Other commanders and other ships subsequently relieved him in the blockade, and there were one or two sharp engagements in the bay, between the British ships and an armed flotilla sent down from the city. Bodies of Pennsylvania troops, including Philadelphia companies, were posted during 1813 at Fort Mifflin; at Stanton, Delaware, south of Wilmington; and at Shellpot and Oak Hill, north of that city.

The shocking news of the disasters at Washington—the defeat at Bladensburg, the flight of the President and other officers of the national government, the capture of the city, and the burning of the public buildings—reached Philadelphia, August 25, 1814. It caused dismay and alarm. It was expected that Ross and his invading army would move immediately on Baltimore, and then would threaten Philadelphia. A town meeting was called at the state-house on the 26th, at 10 o'clock. At that hour a large and anxious crowd gathered. McKean, the ex-governor, veteran of so many contests, now eighty years old, presided, and said, "This is not a time for speaking, but for action." A Committee of Defence was appointed, thirty-five persons, headed by Charles Biddle, and including in its membership men of all parties—on the one hand Federalists, such as Jared Ingersoll, Condy Raguet, Thomas Cadwalader, and George Latimer, and on the other Democrats like General Barker, Thomas Leiper, and Michael Leib. This committee organized next day, with Charles

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Biddle chairman. Its operations continued throughout the year, and until the war ended, in 1815. The city councils promptly appropriated money to its use. The corporations of Northern Liberties and Southwark also contributed. General Bloomfield, military commander at Philadelphia, accepted the service of different bodies of volunteers, and the militia were called out. Thirty of the City Troop, under Captain Charles Ross, marched immediately to form a chain of videttes as far as the head of Chesapeake Bay. An encamp-

BACK OF THE STATE HOUSE IN 1800. (BIRCH VIEW.)

ment of troops was formed by Bloomfield at Kennett Square, in southern Chester county, near the Delaware and Maryland line. General Jonathan Williams, a grand-nephew of Franklin, who had been in the regular service of the United States, and commandant of the West Point Military Academy, but who now lived in Philadelphia, and was one of the committee, was assigned to direct the erection of defensive works. Energetic efforts were made to improve the defenses on the Delaware. The curious island, the "Pea-Patch," which had arisen in the Bay, below Newcastle, growing from a little bunch of mud and reeds to a considerable island, had been ceded by the State of Delaware to the United States for a fort, but nothing had yet been done to erect the works. The secretary of war, John Armstrong, with his fugitive department located at Montgomery

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court-house, in Maryland, wrote, August 25, to the city authorities, committing "the business of fortifying the Delaware" to them, and they transferred it to the Committee of Defence.

The defensive works west of the city, planned by General Williams, were laid out by Colonel Fonciu, a French officer, who had long lived in Philadelphia. They included fortifications near Gray's Ferry, a redoubt near "Woodlands," on the west bank of the Schuylkill, called Fort Hamilton; another at the junction of the Gray's Ferry and Darby roads, one on the Lancaster road, and one on the south side of the hill at Fairmount. To construct these the people of the city volunteered their labor, and work was done on them daily by hundreds, during the month of September. Companies, associations, tradespeople, mechanics, many of them little used to handling pick and shovel, marched every morning to the fortifications, until, about October 1, they were considered complete.[1]

Word of the expected attack of the enemy upon Baltimore reached the city September 14, and the excitement was intense until the reports later announced the repulse at North Point, the fall of Ross, and the unavailing bombardment of Fort McHenry. The troops, however, continued in the field—at encampments in Delaware, after leaving Camp Bloomfield, at Kennett Square, September 17—until the end of November. December 2, they returned to the city from their "tour of duty," three thousand strong, and received appropriate welcome. The Committee of Defence had been busy with its restoration of the works at Fort Mifflin, its plans for the Pea-Patch, the provision of old vessels to sink in the channels, etc. —all hasty work done at the eleventh hour, but which would perhaps have proved of some avail, if the Delaware had again been visited by the enemy. Philadelphia's distance from the sea once more secured her safety. Robert Fulton wrote from New York, offering a torpedo of his own invention, and one was procured at a cost of $130. Up to February 17, 1815, the Committee of Defence reported that they had received $200,000, of which the City had given $175,000, and that they had expended $170,359. Their fortifications west of the city had cost them $3,669, their repairs to Fort Mifflin, the equipment of Fort Hamilton, etc., $37,190; the hulks for obstruct-

[1] The house-carpenters, victualers, painters, hatters, brickmakers, Tammany Society, printers, teachers, Freemasons, Sons of Erin, German societies, colored people, Scotchmen, etc., were among those who volunteered. "Rev. Mr. Staughton and sixty members of his church" are in the list for a day's work. Those who could not labor gave money instead; the Committee collected about $6000 on this account. Four hundred watchmakers, silversmiths and jewelers worked on Sunday, September 11. "Upon arriving at the fortifications, the citizens, having been previously divided into companies, were put to work. At ten o'clock the drum beat for grog, when liquor sufficient for each corps was dealt out to its captain. At twelve o'clock the drum beat for dinner, when more grog was furnished. This was also the case at three and five o'clock. At six o'clock P. M., the drums beat a retreat, when it was suggested, in General Orders: 'For the honor of the cause we are engaged—freemen to live or to die—it is hoped that every man will return sober.'" (Westcott.)

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ing the river, $21,659. It was a notable incident of the campaign that the services of "a legion of people of color, to be called the Black Legion," commanded by white officers, were tendered the Committee of Defence. A battalion of colored troops was actually raised and ready for service when the war closed.[1]

The repulse of the attack on Baltimore had relieved the anxiety, and with the cessation of active operations at the beginning of winter, the common thought turned toward peace. It was seen that the breaking of Napoleon's power in Europe, and the disorganized condition of the national administration in the United States, made an early composition with England practically necessary. The peace commissioners of the two countries had been sitting at Ghent since the 7th of August, and a favorable result from their labors was hoped for. They reached a conclusion, and signed their treaty of peace on the 24th of December, but the news of this did not reach this country until February 11, when the British sloop-of-war *Favorite* arrived at New York, under a flag of truce, bringing messengers with dispatches. It was late on Saturday night, but the word *Peace!* spread through the city. Philadelphia had learned, on the 5th of the month, of the victory at New Orleans, and the news of the end of the war came from New York late on the 12th, so that the two joyful announcements fell within a week. The mayor, Robert Wharton, proposed a general illumination of the city, and on the evening of the 15th it took place, exceeding everything of the kind before attempted. Paul Beck's shot-tower, one of the city's show structures by daylight, "rose up like a pillar of fire, the top crowned with a hundred and sixty lamps." The two Schuylkill bridges—for the second one had been built, in 1812[2]—were brilliantly lighted. Arches were placed on the principal streets. Sundry proceedings later expressed the public satisfaction. General Jacob Brown, a hero

MATHEW CAREY.

[1] Colored men, Mr. Henry F. Rodney, of Sussex county, Del., informed the writer, in 1868, were prominent in the defense at Lewestown, in 1813, when it was bombarded by the British ships, under Sir John Beresford.

[2] This was a covered wooden bridge, at the Upper Ferry, designed by Lewis Wernwag, of Frankford, a millwright by trade, but who became one of the most successful of the early American bridge-builders. His bridge was "on a novel plan." It had a single arch of 340 feet span—"the longest arch by 96 feet in the world." The corner-stone of the abutments was laid April 28, 1812, and the construction pushed forward so rapidly that it was ready for use early in 1813. This bridge stood until September 1, 1838, when it was burned. A wire suspension bridge, built upon the plans of Charles Ellet, then replaced it, and long remained one of the city's objects of interest—"the wire bridge at Fairmount." It finally gave way, 1875, to the present iron double-decked bridge, the work of the Keystone Bridge Company.

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of the war on the Canadian border, was given a public dinner in February; so also, was Henry Clay, in September. A sword costing $700 was presented to Commodore Perry, in honor of his victory on Lake Erie. The flotilla for the defense of the river, eighteen gunboats, and other small craft, were sold by auction at the navy-yard. The privateers at sea got word that the war was over, and returned to the wharves once more. They had done some damage, as usual, to the enemy's commerce, and in some instances had made large returns to their owners, but on the whole their business was a lottery, and the losses, as in all lotteries, were greater than the gains.

The news of the battle of New Orleans, the reader may have noted, reached the city on the 5th of February. Jackson's victory was won on the 8th of January. Almost a month was required, at the beginning of the year 1815, to communicate from New Orleans to Philadelphia intelligence of such importance.

Following the close of the war, down to 1820, the after effects of the arbitrary disturbance of ordinary conditions were keenly felt. The national government had been seriously disorganized, and largely discredited. It had been obliged more than once to leave the military defense of the coast to the people of each locality, an example of which was seen at Philadelphia. Its finances were in disorder. Without the support of the Bank of the United States, on whose operations for twenty years the Treasury Department had heavily leaned, it could only turn to private capitalists and local banks, and these proved a poor substitute. In 1814, at the end of August, in the midst of the excitement over the news from Washington, the banks of Philadelphia suspended specie payment, and those at New York and elsewhere had promptly followed the example. With exterior commerce substantially destroyed by the British blockade, and that coastwise equally broken up,[1] there was no healthy movement of trade, and prices of many articles enormously rose, while other prices fell. Rice which sold (1813) at Charleston and Savannah for $3.00 a hundred-weight, brought $12.00 at Philadelphia. Sugar, sold at $9.00 a hundred-weight in New Orleans, rose here to $21.00, in August, and $40.00, in December. Meetings of citizens, in the winter of 1813–14, to protest against "high prices," revive our recollection of similar action in the Revolution. January 1, 1814, the citizens of Oxford and Lower Dublin townships, at a meeting, resolved not to buy brown sugar over twenty cents a pound, or coffee

[1] Trade between Baltimore and Philadelphia had been maintained for a time, after the war opened, by way of the upper Chesapeake, and Frenchtown and Havre-de-Grace had quite an importance as Bay ports But in April, 1813, the British commander in Hampton Roads, Admiral Warren, sent Sir George Cockburn, with six ships of war up to the mouth of the Susquehanna, and they effectually broke up this trade, burning property at Frenchtown and Havre-de-Grace, and destroying a cannon-factory on the river above the latter place.

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over twenty-five cents, or molasses over a dollar a gallon. Citizens of the Northern Liberties resolved to similar effect, the same day. But their resolutions had little effect on the English squadron blockading the Delaware. The destruction of commerce was shown in the custom-house receipts. In 1810 these had been $300,000 a month; in 1813 they averaged about $25,000.

One consequence of the cessation of imports had been, of course, the stimulation of domestic manufactures. From the beginning of Jefferson's severe restraints on trade, in 1807, down to the close of the war, there was a period of eight years in which imports were more or less checked. But unfortunately exports were checked, as well, and the products which Philadelphia had for sale could not go to market. And not only was the movement outward to the ocean thus repressed, but the domestic trade coastwise, as we have suggested above, was practically destroyed. Had we then had the interior canals which now exist, along much of the Atlantic coast —even without the railroads—the aggregate injury done, counting on the credit side the up-building of home manufacture, would not have been so serious.[1]

To come down from the high prices, when trade was resumed, proved hard as usual, and to expose the newly-established industries to competition with those abroad had the natural consequence of prostrating them. In 1814, too, the State had chartered forty-one new banks in an omnibus bill, and these, relieved at once by the suspension of specie payments from the obligation of redeeming their notes, added by their free issues to the inflation of prices. There was no coin in circulation, not even small silver. Paper notes issued by private parties, for values as low even as two cents, made their appearance for "change," and the "shinplaster" became as familiar as any other currency.[2] Counterfeits were common, also; it was a matter of difficulty to distinguish them from the genuine, though in the thirty years since the close of the Revolution bank-note engraving and printing in the United States had made great advances.

The old Bank of the United States, as we have seen, closed in 1811, upon the expiration of its charter. One of its largest stockholders was Stephen Girard. In June 1812, he bought the bank building of the Government and established himself as a private banker. During the war, in 1813, when the Government was mak-

[1] The Dismal Swamp Canal, running south from Norfolk to the waters of eastern North Carolina, (constructed in part by Washington's influence), was in existence during the War of 1812, and proved to be of value as an interior line of communication.

[2] A law passed by the Legislature, 1817, finally forbid their issue, and fractional silver "fips" or five-penny bits, and "levies," or eleven-penny bits, the half-reals and reals of the old Spanish coinage, once more appeared.

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ing desperate exertions to place a loan of sixteen million of dollars, and the national treasury was almost literally empty, the Government was forced to submit to the terms of three great money-lenders. These were John Jacob Astor, of New York, and David Parish and Stephen Girard, of Philadelphia. Astor subscribed for something over two millions; the two Philadelphians for half of the whole loan. It bore six per cent. interest, but was placed at a discount of 13.63 per cent. Out of experiences like this, Albert Gallatin, the secretary of the treasury (until February 9, 1814), and Alexander J. Dallas, who almost immediately succeeded him in office—both Pennsylvanians, Dallas a Philadelphian—urged once more the necessity of a national bank, and Congress and the President yielded, in April, 1816, to a bill chartering a new one. The second bank had a capital of thirty-five millions of dollars, instead of the old ten millions. It was located, as before, in Philadelphia. It began business January 7, 1817, and in April, 1819, the corner-stone of a new building for its use was laid on Chestnut street above Fourth, the present custom-house. The first building, on Third street, had been modeled after the Royal Exchange in Dublin; the second follows the Parthenon at Athens, and has been considered "one of the finest specimens of Doric architecture in the world."

The Bank of the United States was put under heavy penalties by its charter to redeem its notes. Its operations, therefore, tended at once to compel a resumption by the other banks. Nominally, resumption took place February 21, 1817. As usual, the process of contraction was distressing to all borrowers of capital—by whom banks live—and generally to the enterprise of the city. "Hard times" had set in earlier, with the check of industry and the decline of prices; but the banks, by reducing circulation, calling in loans, and diminishing their lines of discount, added to the business troubles. Many people were unemployed; the demands from the poor exceeded previous experience. A meeting for their relief at the city hall, February 17, at which Chief-justice Tilghman presided, appointed committees to collect a relief fund, and about $9000 was thus raised in the next two months.

In the decade from 1810 to 1820 the steamboats on the Delaware multiplied. It was evident their use was no longer experimental. Regular "lines" ran up the river, making connection at Burlington and Trenton with stage lines to Elizabethport and New Brunswick, whence other steamboats ran to New York; and lines ran down the river to Wilmington and Newcastle, from which places passengers and goods were transferred to the Chesapeake, and thus by boats to Baltimore. Work on the canals had been begun. The connection of the Susquehanna with the Schuylkill, discussed long before the Revolu-

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tion, and even suggested by Penn himself, had come to the point of chartering a company, in 1791, and a re-charter twenty years later. The route adopted was by the waters of the Swatara and Tulpehocken creeks, whose heads are only about five miles apart.[1] The enterprise, however, encountered unforeseen difficulties, and languished until 1821, when work was resumed, and the canal completed in 1827. Its construction was important to Philadelphia, in connecting the trade of the Susquehanna region with the Schuylkill, and thus with the city.

The improvement of the Schuylkill was projected at least as early as 1768. An intelligent writer that year showed in the *Chron-*

BANK OF PHILADELPHIA ON SOUTH SECOND STREET IN 1800.[2] (BIRCH VIEW.)

icle the advantages to be gained by it. He proposed sixteen dams on the river, each six feet high, to make slack-water navigation. The charge for freight from Reading to Philadelphia was then 50 shillings per ton, and this, he thought, could be reduced to 15 shillings in boats over such slack-water pools. Not until 1812, however, was there any energetic movement. In that year Josiah White, one of the most intelligent and persistent of Philadelphia's men of enterprise, addressed a memorial to the Legislature on behalf of himself and others, asking an incorporation for the Schuylkill Navigation Company. The following year the scheme was earnestly discussed, and the Legislature, March 8, 1815, chartered the company. The system

[1] Surveys of this route had been made in 1771, by John Sellers and Benjamin Lightfoot, under authority of the Provincial Assembly.

[2] The building on the left was the City Tavern.

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extended from Fairmount at Philadelphia, to Port Carbon, in Schuylkill county, 110 miles, and by the terms of the charter construction was required to be begun at both ends at once. It resulted from this requirement that the whole line was not made navigable until 1825. In that year the Schuylkill coal trade may be said to have been established. The tolls taken by the Navigation Company began in 1818 with $233, and amounted, in 1824, to $935; in 1825 they sprang to $15,775, of which $9,700 was from coal.

MAYORS OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1801-20.

1801–3.—MATTHEW LAWLER.

He was active in the Revolution, in command of privateering vessels, at one time commanding the *Holker*, and later the *Ariel*. The City Directory gives him as "gentleman," at 34 Walnut street. He was chosen Mayor in 1801, and rechosen the three following years. In 1819 he was chairman of meetings of citizens "friendly to American manufacture," coöperating with Condy Raguet, Mathew Carey, and others.

1804–5.—JOHN INSKEEP.

1806–7.—ROBERT WHARTON.

1808–9.—JOHN BARKER.

He served in the Revolution, in the Pennsylvania militia, and rose subsequently to the rank of brigadier-general. He was sheriff 1794–7. Gov. McKean appointed him an alderman in October, 1800, and he was again sheriff from 1803 to 1807. He was elected Mayor in 1808, 1809 and 1812. He died in Philadelphia, April 3, 1818, aged 72 years. He was an active politician, a warm partisan, and a popular humorous speaker.

1810.—ROBERT WHARTON.

1811.—MICHAEL KEPPELE.

He was a lawyer by profession, admitted to the bar September 18, 1792. He died February 2, 1829, aged 49 years.

1812.—JOHN BARKER.

1813.—JOHN GEYER.

He was a native of Philadelphia, a printer by occupation, and carried on business for many years in Third street above Race, where he published a German newspaper. He was a member—being then Mayor—of the Committee of Defence, appointed in August, 1814.

1814–18.—ROBERT WHARTON.

1819.—JAMES N. BARKER.

He was born in Philadelphia, June 17, 1784, the son of John Barker, Mayor (as above) in 1808–9, and 1812. He served during the War of 1812, on the Canada frontier, was quite a literary man, producing numerous works, appreciated in their day, and died March 9, 1855. He was appointed Collector of the Port by President Jackson, 1829, and in 1830, Controller of the U. S. Treasury, at Washington.

1820.—ROBERT WHARTON.

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CHAPTER X

1820–1850

CANALS AND RAILROADS

THE reaction, after the war, as has been in part explained, left the trade and industry of the city almost prostrate. Immediately peace was declared, foreign goods poured in, the total import of the country, 1815, being 119 millions of dollars, an unprecedented amount. The overloaded markets rejected the supply, in 1816, so that the imports fell nearly one-half, to 60½ millions. An address of the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of National Industry, in 1819, prepared by Mathew Carey, dwelling on these figures, says: "We have bought and consumed more than we have sold. Our imports for five years have been above one hundred millions of dollars more than our exports. This solves the mystery. . . . Bankruptcy and ruin tread on the heels of individuals whose expenses exceed their income. No law, human or divine, exempts nations from the same fate."

A meeting of citizens "friendly to American manufactures" was held at the county court-house—the old Congress Hall—October 2, 1819. Matthew Lawler, formerly mayor, was chairman, and Condy Raguet secretary. A committee appointed at a previous meeting presented a report on the industries of the city, which showed their prostration since the war. Thirty branches of manufacture were reported on, including iron, woolens, cotton, paper, thread and "smithery." In 1814 these thirty had employed 9,188 hands, and in 1816, 9672, while in 1819 they employed but 2137. The average of the weekly wages, in 1814 and 1816, had been $58,340; in 1819 it was $12,822. In the paper manufacture alone the annual output had fallen from $760,000 to $136,000. Real estate had suffered with other interests. "Of eighty-five houses in six continuous squares, in Market street," said the committee's report, "which were in 1818 rented for $88,260, there were, one month since, only forty-nine occupied, which rent for $35,205."

The deposits of hard coal in the Schuylkill and Lehigh regions were familiar to many persons in Philadelphia long before 1820. But besides being almost inaccessible, until the navigation of the rivers was improved, the burning of anthracite was not understood.

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About 1806 an ark-load from the Mauch Chunk quarry—the "Summit-Hill" mine of later day—reached the city, and was tried for fuel for the steam-engine at the Centre Square water-works. The conclusion was that it "would not burn," and the lumps, it is said, were broken up and used to macadamize the drives. But during the war Virginia bituminous coal became scarce and high, and White and Hazard, proprietors of the wire-mill at Falls of Schuylkill—an establishment made prosperous by the war, and destroyed by the resumption of iron imports at the peace—were told by Joshua Malin that he had succeeded very well with the Lehigh coal in his rolling-mill. They procured a cartload for trial, at a dollar a bushel—$28 a "long" ton. This was wasted, without making a good fire. They got another cartload, and spent "a whole night" in attempts to make it burn, finally shutting the furnace-door, and quitting in despair. "Fortunately, one of them left his jacket in the mill, and returning for it in about half an hour, noticed that the door was red hot, and opening it was surprised at finding the whole furnace at a glowing white heat. The other hands were summoned, and four separate parcels of iron were heated and rolled by the same fire, before it required renewing. . . . From that time they continued the use of anthracite coal."[1] In 1813 five more ark-loads were sent down from the mine, and two arrived, the others being wrecked. In 1814 other shipments were made in the same way.[2]

A. J. Dallas

These experiences settled the question of anthracite-burning. Josiah White devised new forms of grates, by which the necessary draft could be had, and in 1817, selling their water-rights at Falls of Schuylkill to the city, White and Hazard turned their attention to the development of the Mauch Chunk coal, and the construction of canal and slack-water navigation on the Lehigh. In March, 1818, the Legislature granted them permission to undertake this latter work, and in 1822, the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company was chartered. Preceding the shipments upon the Schuylkill Canal, whose line was not ready for through business until 1825, Lehigh

[1] Statement of Erskine Hazard, Hazard's Register, III., 802.

[2] Westcott says it was a part of this shipment of 1814 that White and Hazard, by accident, found would burn.

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coal began to come freely to Philadelphia in 1820. In that year it sold here, delivered, at $8.50 per ton, and the quantity brought was stated at 16,000 bushels.[1] This quickly increased; in 1821, it was 32,000 bushels, and in 1825, 516,000 bushels. Some coal had come down the Schuylkill in arks as early as 1822, but in 1825 the Schuylkill Canal began operation; its shipment to Philadelphia, that year, was 5,000 tons, in 1826, 16,767 tons. By 1828 the two anthracite regions sent to Philadelphia 77,395 tons of coal, and the great industry of mining and shipping it, largely directed from Philadelphia, had fairly entered upon its marvelous career.

The city now began in earnest to improve its connections with the interior and west. The turnpikes had been the first work. Canals, beginning with that on the Schuylkill in 1815, followed. The Union Canal, connecting the Susquehanna and Schuylkill—referred to in the last chapter—was ready for business in 1827, and began at once to interchange freight with the Schuylkill, at Reading. In 1828, the Schuylkill Navigation's report showed that the trade over its line from Philadelphia northward had increased 51 per cent. over the previous year, and was now 21,329 tons, of which 6007 tons were classed as merchandise. The Chesapeake and Delaware canal, after many struggles, was relocated in 1822, and its construction, begun in 1824, was completed in 1829. Its report for the year ending June 1, 1853, showed the great traffic which had immediately sprung up. There had passed through the canal in that time 1,232 packets, with passengers and merchandise; 600 vessels, loaded with wood; 272 vessels, rafts, and arks, loaded with lumber; 292 vessels, with flour; 246, with wheat and corn; and 2,638 loaded with cotton, iron, oysters, fish, and whiskey.

Traffic from the upper Susquehanna came by water freely to Philadelphia, by 1830. A canal-boat, the *Miltonian*, which left Milton, on the West Branch, in May, that year, reported its return six weeks later. Its commander had taken 1000 bushels of wheat to Philadelphia, delivered it there "in prime order," had loaded with oats for Pottsville, and delivered that; had returned to Philadelphia with a cargo of coal, and then taken on twenty tons of Nova Scotia plaster for the home market. "She has had a prosperous trip," said the local newspaper.

Lumber was rafted down the Delaware, on the spring freshets, from the upper waters of the river. "It is computed," said Poulson's *Advertiser*, in June, 1829, "that one thousand rafts have descended the Delaware this spring, containing boards, plank, and scantling.

[1] Twenty-eight bushels to a ton of 2240 pounds. By an Act of Assembly 1822, it was required to be sold by the bushel, in Philadelphia.—Dr. Thomas C. James, of Philadelphia, in a paper read before the Historical Society, in 1826, stated that he had begun to burn the Lehigh coal in 1804, and had continued its use from that time.

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. . . This season, as the waters have been unusually high, the average amount has been 50,000 feet per raft," making fifty millions of feet "which has come to our market from the Delaware alone."

To New York, water communication was developed by the building of the Delaware and Raritan canal. Its evolution was slow. Subscriptions to the stock of a company for its construction had been opened in Philadelphia, in April, 1820, but the enterprise remained in the stage of discussion for years afterward. A charter was granted it, about 1828, by the Legislature of New Jersey, and the work completed in the following six years. In September, 1834, the

THE LAFAYETTE MEDAL.

Trenton *Gazette* noticed the arrival at New York, in forty-eight hours from Philadelphia, of the schooner *Sarah Ann*, with a load of dry-goods, and remarked upon the "novel spectacle of masted vessels gliding through the corn-fields and woods," on the way from Bordentown to New Brunswick.

The coasting trade of Philadelphia, in 1827, with ports east of New York, was estimated at 7¾ millions of dollars. Nearly half of this was with Boston, and nearly one-fifth with Providence, the remainder chiefly with Hartford, Nantucket, New Bedford, Portsmouth, Portland, Salem, Newburyport, Hingham, and Stonington. The arrivals of ships in 1822 were, foreign 494, coastwise 1212, total 1706. The foreign arrivals, in the next six years, showed little increase, and in 1828 numbered but 450, but the coastwise had increased fifty per cent., and numbered that year 1847, making a total of 2297. Ship-building, under such conditions, continued to be a prosperous industry; in 1828, thirty-seven vessels were launched at Philadelphia—11 ships, 5 brigs, 5 schooners, 15 sloops, and 1 steamboat. The ships averaged little over 400 tons each. At the close of that year, there were "nearly ready for launching," twelve other vessels, two of which were steamboats.

The extension of the canal system into the central, northern, and

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western sections of the State followed quickly upon the construction of the eastern canals. The details of these works belong to the history of Pennsylvania, but with the exception of the Delaware and Hudson canal, trade over them tended to and from Philadelphia, and their construction was therefore a matter of the highest importance to the city. In the decade from 1820 to 1830 the liveliest interest was shown in the subject. "Internal Improvements" were continually under discussion. The great advantage gained by New York in the construction of the Erie Canal, (completed in 1825), was promptly seen, and keenly appreciated, while the engineering difficulties of forming a like system in Pennsylvania were perceived also. In January, 1825, a "town meeting" at the court-house, to advocate a canal uniting the Susquehanna and Allegheny, was organized with Chief-justice Tilghman chairman, and Nicholas Biddle secretary. Mathew Carey advocated also a canal between the Allegheny and Lake Erie. Among the speakers were John Sergeant, William J. Duane, Charles J. Ingersoll, and Josiah Randall. Another meeting in May approved the holding of a State convention on the subject of internal improvements, and the convention met in August, at Harrisburg, with 113 members representing forty-six counties. Joseph Lawrence was appointed chairman, and Nathaniel P. Hobart, and Francis R. Shunk—the latter governor of the State, in 1845–8—secretaries. It earnestly advocated a comprehensive internal system. The same year the Legislature authorized the creation of a Board of Canal Commissioners, and Governor Shulze appointed Dr. Robert M. Patterson and John Sergeant, of Philadelphia, with three others. By 1830, the Legislature had granted charters to more than forty canal companies, many of which were seriously-meant projects.

By 1834 the State system of canals, on the Susquehanna, and up the Juniata to the mountains, and west of them, on the branches of the Ohio to Pittsburg, was in working order. The cost of transportation had then been greatly reduced. The New York newspapers, in 1833, had announced that goods were then sent from that city to Cincinnati "for the trifling sum" of $2.40 per hundred pounds, but the next year a Philadelphia paper triumphantly answered that freight rates on goods from this city to Cincinnati had been reduced to $1.30 per hundred pounds! "Cotton," it added, "has been brought from Alabama, via the Pennsylvania Canal, and delivered in Pennsylvania, at a less cost than it could be sent via New Orleans." The report of the Canal Commissioners, 1831, stated that flour "is now carried by the canals to Philadelphia from Lewistown, 211 miles, for 62½ cents, and from Harrisburg, 150 miles, for 40 cents a barrel; and gypsum is taken back for $3.00 a ton to Harrisburg, and $5.00 a ton to Lewistown."

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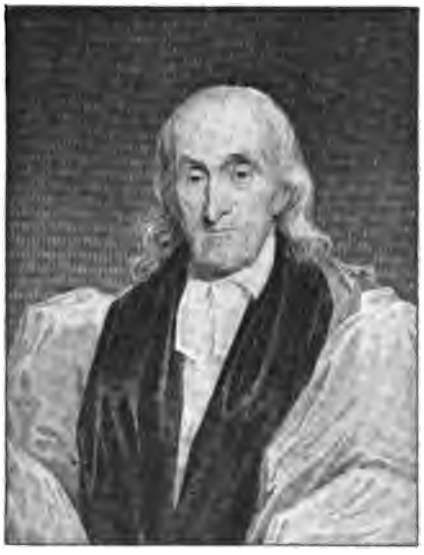
The connection of the interior waters with those of the seaboard had been an aspiration and a plan long entertained. It was among the notable events in Philadelphia, in 1795, when, at noon of the 10th of November, a little undecked schooner, the *White Fish*, eighteen feet long and six feet beam, reached Market street wharf, having come from Presqu'isle (now Erie), mostly by water, in part by portage overland. Two men were in her, John Thomson and David Lummis, the former the father of John Edgar Thomson, afterward president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. They were surveyors in the national domain, in the Northwestern Territory. Completing their work, they had built their boat at Presqu'isle, in the summer of 1795, with few and imperfect tools, taking their timber from the woods, and had launched her on the lake on September 22, had passed Buffalo creek, where Buffalo now stands, and entered Niagara river, made a portage around the Falls, entered Lake Ontario, sailed eastward to the Oswego river, and then with several portages reached the Mohawk. Thence they passed down to the Hudson to the sea, down the New Jersey coast, and up the Delaware. They had come about a thousand miles, with five portages of twenty-nine miles altogether.



William White

This trip, it is true, was less illustrative of Philadelphia's interior routes than of the canals which could be made to feed New York. But it contributed to the public understanding that the waters of the Lakes and the Ohio system are not so far distant from those which flow directly into the sea. Washington's mind had dwelt much on this subject. The Revolutionary war was just over when he expressed (October 12, 1783), in a letter to Chastellux the urgent need of binding the interior region to the seaboard. "The flank and rear of the United States," he said, "are possessed by other powers, and formidable ones, too; and how necessary it is to apply the cement of interest to bind all parts of the Union together, especially that part of it which lies immediately west of us, with the Middle States. The Western States (I speak now from my own observation), hang upon a pivot. *The touch of a feather would turn them any way!* . . . But smooth the road and make the way easy for them, and then see what an influx of articles will be poured upon us, how amazingly our

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exports will increase." It was his earnestness in this which led him to urge forward the improvement of the navigation of the Potomac, in which he was for some time, in 1785 and later, before his election as President, actively engaged. "The great object," he wrote to Edmund Randolph, "for . . . which I wish to see the inland navigation of the rivers Potomack and James improved and extended, is to connect the western territories with the Atlantic States."

Less striking than the voyage of the *White Fish* was that of Jesse Chrisman, who in 1834 was the pioneer of the portage over the Alleghenies, pointing the way for a great company to come after. Leaving his home on the Lackawanna, a tributary of the Susquehanna's north branch, with a boat called the *Hit or Miss*—suggestive name for an emigrant of that day!—on which he had loaded his wife and children, household goods, poultry, "and other live-stock," he set off for Illinois. Proceeding down the Susquehanna and up the Juniata, he reached Hollidaysburg in October. There he intended to sell his boat, but a portage was suggested. It was drawn from the water, placed on wheels, run upon a railroad car, drawn up and let down the planes, and so taken over the mountains, all "without disturbing the family arrangements." At Johnstown Chrisman reëmbarked on the Conemaugh, "and sailed for St. Louis."

The canal on the west side of the Alleghenies, from Johnstown to Pittsburg, was finished in 1830. The sections on the east side, from the Susquehanna (at Duncannon), to Huntingdon, and from there to Hollidaysburg, were not completed until three or four years later. Travel and traffic then took this route, and Pittsburg, with all its outreach westward, was brought into a greatly quickened connection with Philadelphia. Many travelers of distinction passed over the line in the next ten years, and described its features. Charles Dickens was a passenger in 1842. His description, in "American Notes," is somewhat caustic, but on the whole not ill-humored. He went aboard the canal-boat, at Harrisburg, on a wet, unpleasant evening, and found the cabin crowded and damp. At six o'clock supper was served, "tea, coffee, bread, butter, salmon, shad, liver, steak, potatoes, pickles, ham, chops, black puddings[1] and sau-

[1] This "black pudding," probably, was the Pennsylvania German "pan hash" or "scrapple," a dish prepared from pork scraps.

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sages." This certainly not meagre bill of fare, he assures us, was repeated for breakfast, and dinner was the same except the tea and coffee. Going on deck, as the boat passed up the Susquehanna, after the rain had ceased, he found enough room to walk, though very little to spare, the baggage being "heaped together in the middle under a tarpaulin." It was necessary "to duck nimbly every five minutes, whenever the man at the helm cried 'Bridge!' and sometimes when the cry was 'Low Bridge!' to lie down nearly flat." The scenery he found "more bold and striking" as he neared the Juniata, and on that river "wild and grand." The sleeping arrangements, "three long tiers of hanging book-shelves, designed apparently for volumes of the small octavo size," which were put in place in the evening, and taken down next morning, struck him as very droll, and not extremely comfortable. For washing, water was dipped out of the canal with a tin ladle, by those who indulged, and "there was also a jack-towel." "There are," he said, "two canal lines of passage-boats . . . the Express, and (a cheaper one) the Pioneer. The Pioneer gets first to the mountain, and waits for the Express people to come up; both sets of passengers being conveyed across it at the same time." He found odd characters in the company, whom he describes at length. "And yet . . . there was much in this mode of traveling which I heartily enjoyed at the time, and look back on with great pleasure." He liked the morning wash in the icy water, the brisk walk on the tow-path before breakfast, "the lazy motion of the boat, when one lay idly on the deck . . . the gliding on at night, so noiselessly," and the scenes and scenery through which he passed. "Sometimes at night the way wound through some lonely gorge, like a mountain pass in Scotland." He left Harrisburg Friday evening, reached the foot of the plane on Sunday morning, and Monday evening arrived at Pittsburg.[1]

The captain of a passenger "packet," *i. e.*, canal-boat, who commanded for twenty years—1834 to 1854—west of the mountains, describes the packet *Pittsburg*, first run on the 18th of March, 1836. It was 72 feet long, 11 wide, and 8 in height. "The interior of the

[1] In August, 1837, Joseph John Gurney, the distinguished English Quaker, went by the canal and portage from Harrisburg to Pittsburg. He says in a letter: "The canal boat was much crowded, and at night we were bundled together, strangely enough to an Englishman. However, every one found some kind of a berth to lie in. The canal passes through a delightful country, along side part of the Susquehanna, then of the Juniata. Both these rivers are highly picturesque, lofty and well-wooded hills rising from them, and the trees on the banks rich and varied. The scenery is amongst the finest I have anywhere seen. . . . We have a fine company of Americans, crowded together, and eating heartily at a long table, three times a day. The four judges of the supreme court of Pennsylvania are of the number . . . these are decidedly agreeable, especially chief justice Gibson and judge Dallas; cultivated and intellectual men. Gibson seems . . . in information and mental force . . . on a level with our Judge Alderson . . . but is paid only about £600 per annum, instead of £5000, as in England. . . . Yesterday we passed over the Allegheny range of mountains, by a wondrous railroad, consisting of a series of levels and inclined planes, rising in all about 1400 feet from the first level. Along the levels we were drawn by horses; up the inclined planes by ropes and pulleys and steam-power; and were let down by similar ropes in the descent. It is a vast triumph of human art and enterprise."

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boat was divided into three apartments, the cook-room, ladies' cabin and gentlemen's cabin. Along the side were fastened "swinging berths," shut off by curtains. It had a crew of nine, with a driver and three mules, and could accommodate one hundred and fifty passengers. Leaving Pittsburg at nine in the evening, it could reach Johnstown, 103 miles, in twenty-eight hours, changing horses thirteen times. "A passenger packet left Pittsburg every evening, and generally would be crowded." Over the mountains the passengers would be taken in coaches, until the portage railway was built, and then "section-boats" were used on the canals, and were taken over on the railway without transfer of passengers.

The establishment at Fairmount of the steam pumps for the water-works had been a decided improvement, but it was perceived by 1818 that a cheaper way of pumping would be to utilize the water-power of the river. By the purchase of White and Hazard's water-power at Falls of Schuylkill, and an agreement with the Schuylkill Navigation Company, the city acquired the right to build a dam across the river, a short canal, with locks, being constructed on the west side for the Navigation Company's boats. Work was begun on the dam in April, 1819, and it was completed in the autumn of 1822; the water-wheels were put in operation in October of that year, and the steam-engine stopped. By 1830 the works had four water-wheels in operation, with an elevating capacity of six million gallons in twenty-four hours. The four reservoirs would hold twenty million gallons, which was considered ten days' supply in summer. By that time wooden pipes had been abandoned, though as late as 1822 there had been thirty-two miles of them still in use.[1]

In 1819 a building erected for a custom-house—the first in the city especially built for the purpose—was opened for business on the 12th of July. It stood on the west of Second street, below Dock. In 1821 the Legislature appointed eleven commissioners to procure a site and erect a State penitentiary. They purchased what was known as the

[1] The cost of the city's water-works up to 1830 had been nearly one and a half millions of dollars: the first works, the Penn-Square system, $690,402; the second, steam-works, at Fairmount, $320,669; and the dam, water-wheels, reservoir, etc., of the third system, with the purchase of the water-rights at Falls of Schuylkill, $432,512. The income from water-rents, about 1830, was stated at $70,000 a year.

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Cherry Hill farm, on the north side of Francis lane (afterward Coates street, now Fairmount avenue), and accepting the plans of John Haviland, architect, laid the corner-stone May 23, 1823. The erection was completed in 1829. It was thought then the most imposing and best-arranged structure for its purpose in the country, but more than any details of its architecture, its "solitary" system of confining prisoners drew attention and awakened controversy.

Prominent above all other events in the experience of the city at this time was the visit of Lafayette. He was here twice, first in September, 1824, on his way southward, after landing at New York August 16, and again in July of the following year, as he was about to sail for France, in the *Brandywine*, from Washington. Both visits were made the occasions for the liveliest demonstrations of regard. The French Revolution had intervened since the last visit of Lafayette to America, and in Europe his abilities, though not his principles, had been called in question, but to the Americans he typified, at the distance of half a century, the most glorious memories of the achievement of their national independence. No man then living had been so close a companion of Washington, and few among all those who served with that honored chief had so scrupulously and so faithfully kept bright the chain of his friendship.

Preparations to receive him had been making for weeks before his first arrival. A citizens' meeting, August 19, at the state-house —three days after the death of Charles Thomson, secretary of the Continental Congress—appointed a committee of twenty-one, to devise plans of manifesting welcome, and the Councils appointed official committees to receive him as the city's guest. Meetings of various trades, societies, and organizations were held to promote the demonstration. On the 27th of August, the City Troop and other military met Lafayette at Morrisville, and escorted him, with Governor Shulze, to Frankford. There they remained for the night, Lafayette at the United States arsenal. The next day they proceeded to Rush's field, on the road from Frankford to the city, where a vast procession, one division civic, the other military, making when in motion a line three miles long, awaited him. Moving then into the city, they found it decorated for the occasion, with arches of honor erected in many places. The line proceeded down Fourth street to Arch, to Eleventh, to Chestnut, to Eighth, to Spruce, to Second, to Chestnut, to Independence Hall. Lafayette rode in an open barouche, drawn by six cream-colored horses; with him sat the venerable Judge Peters. In another barouche behind him rode Governor Shulze. As they passed the house, on Eleventh street, in which the widow of Robert Morris lived, she was at the window,[1] and Lafayette rose in his car-

[1] She was the sister of Bishop White. She survived this event but a short time.

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riage and bowed to her; in front of the United States Bank, on Chestnut street, a party of Revolutionary survivors were placed. Some of them had served under him, and their greetings recalled the days of the War. At the state-house, the room in which the Congress sat and the Declaration was signed—Independence Hall—had been prepared for the occasion. Its patriotic sacredness was perhaps for the first time distinctly realized. Here the mayor, Joseph Watson, delivered an address of welcome, to which Lafayette replied. He spoke of "this fair and great city," and his entrance into it "amidst the most solemn and affecting recollections;" he alluded to the declaration of independence as the forerunner, he hoped, of "the republican independence of the whole American hemisphere," and as beginning "for the civilized world the era of a new, and of the only true, social order, founded on the inalienable rights of man." Its practicability and its advantages, he declared, "are every day demonstrated by the happiness and prosperity of your populous city." Then, referring to the memories of the Revolution, and of Philadelphia as connected with it, he begged the mayor, the members of Councils, "and all the citizens of Philadelphia" to accept the tribute of his "affectionate respect, and gratitude." The formal ceremonies thus ended, many were introduced to him, and then he passed out through the grounds at the rear, and was driven to his hotel, the Franklin House, at the southwest corner of Seventh and Walnut streets, then newly opened by Joseph Head.

STATUE OF STEPHEN GIRARD, GIRARD COLLEGE.

In the evening the city was illuminated. The next day there were further demonstrations, and these continued several days. Lafayette remained in the city until October 5, going then by steamboat to Chester. The secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, arrived in the city October 1, and remained here until Lafayette's departure. In the meantime there had been a dinner with the City corporation, at the Mansion House—the former handsome private residence of William Bingham, on Third street above Spruce[1]—on the 29th of September; a review and reception of the children of the public schools, in the state-house yard, on the 30th, and of the pupils in the

[1] It was kept by William Renshaw, who, after Mr. Bingham's death, (at Bath, England, 1804), had leased it, and kept it for a time as the "Exchange Coffee-House," but in 1807 made it a hotel. An "English gentleman," traveling here, in 1822-3, calls it "the only good one in the city." The charge was $10 a week. "The table," he said, "is always piled with the greatest profusion and variety, even at breakfast, tea, and supper, all of which meals, indeed, were it not for the absence of wine and soup, might be called so many dinners."

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private schools—said to be four thousand in number—on October 5; attendance at Christ Church, where Bishop White performed the service, October 3; a grand ball, at the Chestnut street Theatre, on the evening of the 4th, at which "from fifteen hundred to seventeen hundred ladies were present"; and visits to various places of interest —the navy-yard, the Pennsylvania hospital, the Fairmount waterworks, the new penitentiary building, the Orphans' and Widows' building, the Academy of the Fine Arts, etc. "The General was everywhere cordially welcomed and enthusiastically greeted."[1]

On his return to Philadelphia, in 1825, Lafayette arrived again from the north, (having gone on an extensive tour through the south and the interior, and so to New York), on July 16, by the steamboat *Delaware*, from Bordentown. He was again welcomed and entertained, but this time with less of public demonstrativeness, so that he had opportunity to pay many visits, and to enjoy many personal attentions, less formal and fatiguing than those of his first visit. At Washington Hall, July 20, a public dinner was given in honor of Richard Rush,[2] who had just returned from eight years' service as American minister to England, and at this dinner Lafayette spoke, eulogizing the Monroe Doctrine, which he said had "checked the plots of several European powers against the independence and freedom of the states of South America and Mexico," and he offered the toast: "The memories of Penn and Franklin—the one never greater than when arraigned before an English jury, or the other than before a British Parliament." He left the city July 25, one of his next purposes being a visit to the battle-field of Brandywine, where forty-eight years before he had been wounded in behalf of American independence.

The water-gate of Philadelphia, it was said at the outset of this narrative, lies at the Delaware Capes. The commerce of Philadelphia had learned to appreciate the fact by many serious experiences in time of war, but also by the visitations of the ocean storms. Efforts were made to secure the construction of an artificial harbor at or near the mouth of the Bay, and in 1823 commissioners appointed by the secretary of war had made a survey, and recommended the erection of a breakwater for the shelter of ships. Statistics subsequently prepared by the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce showed that between January, 1807, and August, 1826, 193 vessels had been driven on shore in the neighborhood of the Capes, or blown out to sea, wrecked, sunk, or damaged.[3] In eighteen days in the winter of 1826-7, (between December 28 and January 15), sixty-two vessels,

[1] John Quincy Adams's Diary, VI., 423.

[2] The son of Dr. Benjamin Rush. He was now on his way to Washington to assume his place as secretary of the treasury in the Cabinet of John Quincy Adams.

[3] Twenty ships, 57 brigs, 48 schooners, 43 sloops, 25 other craft.

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with cargoes valued at more than two millions of dollars, had been driven to sea, injured by storms, or ice, or compelled to anchor unsafely in the Bay. A meeting of citizens at the supreme-court room, December 28, 1825, with Horace Binney chairman, adopted resolutions offered by Joseph Hopkinson, earnestly urging the erection of the breakwater. The registered tonnage of the port of Philadelphia, it was stated, was 60,000 tons, and the enrolled and licensed coastwise tonnage 25,000 tons, making a total of 85,000 tons, belonging to the port, exclusive of river craft.

DWELLING AND COUNTING HOUSE OF STEPHEN GIRARD, IN 1830.

It resulted from these and other efforts that Congress in May, 1828, passed an Act directing the President to have erected, near the mouth of Delaware Bay, a breakwater, and appropriated for it $250,000. Work was begun in 1829, under the direction of William Strickland. In 1876, Colonel Barnard, U. S. A., reported that since 1833 no less than 246,011 vessels had taken refuge under its protection. A threatening sky, he said, would in a few hours bring in a fleet of vessels, and if "a northeasterly storm continue for a day or two with severity . . . the harbor becomes crowded entirely beyond its capacity. . . . There is no single fact more capable of impressing on the mind the magnitude of our coasting trade than the great number of vessels which in a few hours' time will . . . congregate at this point."

For the development of the city's industrial and mechanical skill, the Franklin Institute was organized in 1824. It grew out of a meeting at the county court-house, February 5, which had been promoted by a number of young men, among them Frederick Fraley, Samuel V. Merrick, and Peter A. Browne. An association was formed, with James Ronaldson president, and a charter was granted, March 30, stating its objects to be "the encouragement and promotion of manufactures and the mechanic and useful arts," by lectures, the collection of models, minerals, and library, the offer of premiums, examination of new inventions, etc.—objects and methods which this valuable institution has pursued with remarkable zeal and abil-

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ity for seventy years.[1] Its early courses of lectures were given in the College building, on Fourth street below Arch, and a highly successful exhibition of domestic manufactures was held in the new Masonic Hall,[2] on Chestnut street above Seventh. The library and collections of the Institute were at first placed on the lower floor of Carpenters' Hall.

Amongst the managers of the Franklin Institute, at its organization, was David H. Mason, and one of the original members of the association was Matthias W. Baldwin. These two men, in 1825, became partners, and conducted a small machine-shop, in a narrow street south of Walnut between Fourth and Fifth. Mason had been a machinist, later a wood-engraver, while Baldwin, now (1825) a man of thirty, a native of New Jersey, had come to the city as a lad, learned the trade of the jeweler, and in 1817 had become a journeyman in the extensive jewelry manufacturing establishment of Fletcher and Gardener, 130 Chestnut street—where the Western National Bank now stands. The partnership of Mason and Baldwin continued for four or five years. They made book-binders' tools, rolls for printing calico—in the manufacture of which Baldwin effected great improvements—stationary steam-engines, etc., and about 1827 removed to Minor street. Here, Mason retired. Baldwin had been conducting his machine-shop alone a year or two, when in the autumn of 1830, Franklin Peale, of Peale's Museum,[3] desired him to make for him a working model of a "locomotive engine," to be exhibited in the museum. This, it was thought, would be a mechanical curiosity and draw public attention. For, in the last five years, though the construction of canals had steadily continued, the question had been earnestly debated whether railroads would not be better, and steam-engines for use on them had come under discussion. In 1825, William Strickland, the architect and engineer, had been sent to Europe by the Pennsylvania Society for Internal Improvements, and in a

[1] The first officers included James Ronaldson, type-founder; Mathew Carey, late printer; Isaiah Lukens, clock maker; Robert Patterson, of the U. S. Mint; Paul Beck, Jr., shot-manufacturer; William Strickland, architect; Peter A. Browne, lawyer; John Harrison, operative chemist; Thomas Gilpin, paper-maker; Thomas Leiper, tobacconist; David H. Mason, manufacturer of book-binders' tools, and machinist; Samuel V. Merrick, brass founder; John Price Wetherill, paint and color manufacturer; James J. Rush, steam-engine-maker and iron-founder; Samuel R. Wood, tailor; Henry Horn, silver-plater; William H. Keating, professor of chemistry; J. Katez, book-binder; John Haviland, architect; William Abbott, brewer; John D. Eisenhut, coppersmith; Clement C. Biddle, notary-public; John C. Browne, blacksmith; James Clarke, carpenter; Abraham Miller, potter; N. T. Wickham, gunsmith; James Harper, brickmaker; Joseph Cloud, refiner U. S. Mint.

[2] New then, having been rebuilt, 1819, after a fire in March of that year which destroyed the building erected in 1802. On the same site the Masonic Temple was afterward built, 1853-5, now occupied by the Union Trust Company, Chestnut Street National Bank, etc.

[3] Peale's Museum, established in the hall of the Philosophical Society in 1794, was removed to the state-house, in 1802, and there remained until after the death of Charles Wilson Peale in 1826

The state-house itself, with the ground, was conveyed by the State, June 29, 1818, to the City of Philadelphia. In this conveyance the restriction was laid upon the City "that no part of said ground lying to the southward of the state-house, within the wall as it is now built, be made use of for erecting any sort of buildings thereon; but the same shall be and remain a public green and walk forever."

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letter, dated at Edinburgh, June 5, and in reports the next year, he took strong ground in favor of the construction of railways. Other writers, then and later, took up the subject, and down to 1830 it may be said to have been "in the air." The predictions and experimental work of Oliver Evans were probably little recalled, but John Stevens, of Hoboken, N. J., had been agitating in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, for years, the building of artificial roads, with rails laid upon them, and the use, as well, of steam traction. Beginning his efforts as early as 1818, he secured in 1823 a charter from the Legislature of Pennsylvania for the construction of a railroad from Philadelphia to Columbia—"The President, Directors and Company of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company."[1] Nothing came of this, however, nor of a new charter granted in 1826, which repealed the one to Stevens. But there was no wide-awake merchant, or mechanic, or public-spirited citizen, in Philadelphia, whose mind did not then dwell on the railway problem.

The model made by Baldwin for Peale was finished in 1831, and on the 25th of April was put into operation, on a track laid in the rooms of the Museum, in the Arcade Building on Chestnut street. It drew two small passenger cars, in which visitors were permitted to ride. This was the beginning of Baldwin's locomotives. The following year he received an order from the Philadelphia, Germantown, and Norristown Railroad Company for a locomotive to run on their road. This, the *Ironsides*, was given an experimental trial November 23, 1832, and then put in use. It was probably the second locomotive engine built in the United States.

The railroad to Germantown was the first line out of Philadelphia. It was chartered February 17, 1831, and opened June 6 the following year. Horses were at first employed to draw the cars, but Baldwin's engine, as we have just seen, was put in use less than six months later, and another locomotive, built at the West Point foundry, was added soon after. Meantime, the State had been pushing forward the construction of a railroad as part of its general system of improvements. This ran to Columbia on the Susquehanna, and there connected with the canals. The canal commissioners had been authorized by the Legislature, in 1827, to examine the route through Chester and Lancaster counties, and in 1828 were directed to build the road. In 1832 portions of it were completed, and cars began to run; in April, 1834, it was opened through to Columbia, and a locomotive, the *Black Hawk*, placed on it.

These movements, then, developed the railroad era in Philadel-

[1] Besides Colonel Stevens, the corporators were John Connelly, Michael Baker, Horace Binney, Stephen Girard, and Samuel Humphrey, of Philadelphia; Emmor Bradley, of Chester county; Amos Ellmaker, of Lancaster city; John Barber and William Wright, of Columbia.

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phia. If we regard the earlier work as preliminary, we may date its serious beginning from 1835, being thus just ten years later than the opening of the Schuylkill Canal in 1825.

On the 26th of December, 1831, Girard died. His departure from the stage of action was an event of picturesque interest. Some idea of the man has been given on an earlier page. He was now eighty-one years old, and had been more than sixty years a Philadelphian. Without wife or child, though not without kindred, he was the possessor of a vast fortune. No other American, in 1831, had died so rich. He had qualities which seemed not admirable, yet his courage in the fever years, his independence of mind and action, and now his great gifts for the public use, compel us to render him our respect. He died at his house on Water street, the day after Christmas, and was buried on the next to the last day of the year, from the Roman Catholic church of the Holy Trinity. His estate was estimated, when he died, at $8,000,000, or more. Bequests to friends and relatives took $140,000, and there were annuities of $65,000. The remainder he bestowed for public uses: to various institutions in Philadelphia, $116,000; to the State, for internal improvements, $300,000; to the City, for improvement of the Delaware frontage, $500,000; to the City, in trust, to erect a college for the education of orphans, $2,000,000; to the City of New Orleans, a large gift; and his residuary estate for the support of the college, and for city uses. The orphans whom he desired to educate were poor, white boys, "between the ages of six and ten years when admitted," giving preference first to those born within the limits of the old city, secondly to those born in Pennsylvania, thirdly to those born in New York, and lastly to those born in New Orleans. He gave minute instructions in the will upon many points in connection with the college. "No ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister, of any sect whatsoever," he said, "shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatever in the said college, nor shall any such person ever be admitted for any purpose, or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated to the purposes of the said college." But he added in explanation that in this restriction he did not "mean to cast any reflection upon any sect or person whatsoever but . . . to keep the tender minds of the orphans . . . free from the excitement which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy are so apt to produce." "My desire is," he went on, "that all the instructors

Thos. P. Cope

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and teachers in the college shall take pains to instill into the minds of the scholars the purest principles of morality, so that on their entrance into active life they may from inclination and habit evince benevolence toward their fellow-creatures, and a love of truth, sobriety, and industry, adopting at the same time such religious tenets as their matured reason may enable them to prefer." [1]

The corner-stone of Girard College was laid on the Fourth of July, 1833, Nicholas Biddle, chairman of the board of trustees, delivering the oration. The architect was Thomas U. Walter, a Philadelphian, a pupil of Strickland, and it was he who subsequently, as architect of the Capitol at Washington, directed the extension of that noble structure, with its splendid and impressive dome. The erection of the College, the main building and adjoining structures, progressed slowly; the institution was opened January 1, 1848. The ground on which they stand, and where, since 1848, important additions have been made, belonged to Girard at his death, and was designated in a codicil to his will as the site which he desired.[2]

The mention of the name of Nicholas Biddle, as the speaker at the laying of the corner-stone of the College, may recall us now to a review of events connected with the second United States Bank. Opened in 1817, in Carpenters' Hall, transferred, 1819, to the new building on Chestnut street, it had had for its presidents Captain William Jones, previously secretary of the navy, and Langdon Cheves, a distinguished South Carolinian, when, in 1823, Nicholas Biddle became its head. He was now thirty-seven years of age, and had been a director in the bank, by appointment of President Monroe, since 1819. Of all the men born in the city of Philadelphia, few if any had shown earlier or more brilliant talents. He completed the course at the University when he was thirteen, graduated at Princeton College at fifteen, studied law for three years, and went at eighteen as secretary of legation to Paris with General Armstrong, the American minister, and showed remarkable ability in that place. Traveling through Europe, and acquiring a mastery of the Continental languages, he was then secretary for a time to Monroe,

[1] See will in full at close of this chapter.—The will of Girard was contested in numerous suits, in the interest of the heirs by blood, but in the main unsuccessfully. In one of these, which reached the Supreme Court of the United States in 1844, Daniel Webster was one of the adverse counsel, and sought to break the will on the ground that the clause referred to in the text made the College non-Christian, and that the gift to it was therefore not a charitable devise, since—as he argued—there is no charity but Christian charity. Judge Story wrote to Chancellor Kent that it appeared to him "altogether an address to the prejudices of the clergy." The Court sustained the will. The case was Vidal *vs.* the City of Philadelphia, and Horace Binney and John Sergeant appeared for the City.

[2] The place was known, before the Revolution, as Peel Hall, being the residence of Oswald Peel. After his death, 1768, it had several owners until, in 1775, it was bought by Richard Penn, the Governor. While in his ownership, 1777, the mansion-house was among those burned by General Howe's order. In 1779, the ground, with the ruins of the house, was bought by Owen Biddle, and sold by his assignees in 1784-5. In June, 1831, only six months before his death, Girard bought the property of its then owners, the heirs of Richard Parker. It included 45 acres of ground, and was bought for $35,000.

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our minister at London. He came home in 1807, practiced law, wrote for Dennie's *Portfolio*, prepared for the press the Narrative of the Lewis and Clark expedition, was chosen to the Legislature, advocated the recharter of the Bank, and was twice a candidate for Congress (1818–20) on the Democratic ticket. When, in 1823, he entered upon the charge of the Bank, few men were better known, and to very few indeed would the public judgment have allowed so great abilities for the place.

But the Bank's charter would expire by limitation in 1836. Anticipating this, the directors, in January, 1832, sent their memorial to Congress asking a recharter. The President, Andrew Jackson, had signified his hostility, more than once, to the Bank. A contest over the question thereupon followed, and hotly waged, resulted in the passage of the bill for recharter through both Houses of Congress,[1] and its veto by the President, July 10, 1832. The veto caused intense feeling throughout the country, and naturally extreme heat in Philadelphia. It went at once into the Presidential contest, and became, in fact, the chief issue.

N Biddle

The rule of the Bank was to have a triennial meeting of its stockholders. This had taken place in September, 1831, in Philadelphia, and Stephen Girard—it was but three months before his death—presided. The stock of the Bank, 350,000 shares of $100 each, was then held, 70,000 shares by the United States, 79,000 shares by parties abroad, the remainder in this country, chiefly in Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Maryland, New York, and Massachusetts. Hardly a share was owned west of the Alleghenies. About a quarter of the stock was in small holdings, and more than that much was held by women, by trustees, and by religious or charitable organizations. The total liabilities were 119 millions, the circulation nearly 23 millions, the deposits, of which not quite half were the Government's, 16¼ millions. The dividends had averaged, from 1817 to 1831, a fraction over 5 per cent. per annum, but for three years past they had been 7½ per cent. In the winter following this meeting, the House of Representatives appointed a committee to investigate its affairs, and seven members, four of them opposed to

[1] In the Senate by 28 to 20; in the House, 107 to 85.

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recharter, came to Philadelphia, and made an extended examination. The four made a hostile report, as they had intended, two members recommended recharter, the seventh man was John Quincy Adams, who since his visit here with Lafayette had been elected President, had served his four years, been defeated by Jackson, and was now returned to Congress from his old district in Massachusetts—there to remain to his death within the walls of the Capitol. His report sustained the Bank at all points.

But in the election Jackson won. The veto was sustained. The credit of the Bank, its great use to the Governmcnt, its enormous importance to the business of the country, the tremendous seriousness of striking at its credit, and perhaps disrupting the national financial system, did not avail against the popularity of Jackson, the prejudice against an institution so powerful, and—with its twenty-five branches —so far-reaching, and the hostility excited against Nicholas Biddle as its autocratic head. It had been but a few years since he was twice defeated as a Democrat, in his candidacy for Congress; he found himself, now, crushed by the democratic intolerance of such veiled but necessarily enormous power as the president of the Bank of the United States held night and day in his hands. In Pennsylvania itself Jackson rode down all opposition by a majority of 34,000 votes—a tremendous majority in 1832—and the fate of the Bank was sealed. Jackson's new term would expire March 4, 1837; the Bank's charter would end March 3, 1836.

A flood of troubles followed, in the next ten years. It is not our duty to inquire if any were avoidable, nor can we trace minutely each one to its source.[1] Philadelphia was downcast on other accounts, in 1832. The summer had been unhealthy. It was "the Cholera year." Cholera had been reported in the Canadian cities early in June, and at New York on the 24th of that month. Preparations were made here to deal with it. Eighteen special hospitals were secured, and fitted up. July 8, the first death was reported; by the end of the month the cases were many; on the 23d, Common Council proposed to cut off communication with New York; in the course of the month, the disease broke out amongst the wretched debtors and untried persons, confined in the Arch-street prison, and fifty or more died within a few days, under circumstances of extreme horror; by the 4th of October the last case was reported. Altogether there had been 2,314 cases, and 935 deaths. It was far from being

[1] Of course there was a multitude of predictions of the evil consequences of the refusal to charter the Bank. In the Senate, July 11, discussing the veto, John M. Clayton, of Delaware, said: "In less than four years, the pecuniary distress, the commercial embarrassment, consequent upon the destruction of the United States Bank, must exceed anything which has ever been known in our history . . . bankruptcies and ruin, at the anticipation of which the heart sickens, must foHow in the train of evils which are assuredly before us."

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such a visitation as the yellow fever of 1793, but still distressing enough.

Following upon the cholera came the election, with the result already stated. Following upon it, though not immediately, came the President's announced purpose to "remove the deposits" of the Government from the Bank of the United States. General Jackson had visited Philadelphia, in the course of an extended tour through the North, arriving June 8, and leaving the next day for New York. His reception here was respectful, but, except by his own partisans, not enthusiastic. He had, however, honored the city, just before leaving Washington, by appointing as his secretary of the treasury —in place of Louis McLane, appointed secretary of state—one of its citizens, William J. Duane, son of William Duane, many years editor of the *Aurora*, of whom we had occasion to speak in the preceding chapter. Returned from his tour the President set about the work of removing the deposits—*i. e.*, ceasing to make new deposits of the Government funds in the Bank and its branches, and drawing out, in process of business, the sums already there. By September (1833) a financial storm was clearly in sight. The Bank, under the menace of losing the Government funds, necessarily began to prepare itself for the trial. In the President's Cabinet his unfaltering supporter was Roger B. Taney, the attorney-general, who supplied his chief with arguments in favor of the intended measure. But Duane, at the head of the Treasury, was the official in whose department the business fell. He hesitated, and ultimately declined to take the step which Jackson demanded. September 23, the President dismissed him from office, and appointed Taney in his place. Three days later, Taney issued the order to cease using the Bank as the national depositary. Duane was secretary a few days less than four months.[1]

PENNSYLVANIA HALL, BURNED IN 1838.

And now troubles began to breed. The Government money in the Bank, on the first day of October, was a little under ten millions of dollars; of private money it had a little more than eight millions. To withdraw the former, even as gently as possible, meant a vast curtailment of the Bank's loans, and a consequent sharp payment by

[1] May 29 to September 23, 1833.

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borrowers, while no one could tell how much of the private deposits, alarmed by the Government's course, would also be withdrawn. "Hard times" were soon spoken of. By 1834, employment was slack, wages tended to fall, and the usual consequences of sharp liquidation of debts began to be felt. The storm took, however, three more years to fully develop. The Bank pulled through for the time. It bore the loss of the Government funds, and remained apparently sound to the end of its national charter, in March, 1836. It then continued in business under a charter from the State of Pennsylvania, Nicholas Biddle remaining its president. By 1835, great numbers of other State banks had been chartered all over the country. Their issues of paper were unprecedented. Business revived for a time, and there was a period of feverish activity. In the midst of it, and while none but the most prudent were thinking of shortening sail, the President, striking at the State banks with which he had supplanted the National Bank, issued an order, July 11, 1836, through his secretary of the treasury, Levi Woodbury, directing that only gold and silver should be received in payment for public lands. There had been and were great sales of lands in the new States, and as payments for them were made at the land-offices where they were located, a demand for specie was made on the banks of the East. Money became "scarce," interest might be paid as high as two per cent. a month, to carry speculative enterprises. Congress, in February (1837), passed a bill rescinding the specie circular, but the President, with the bill in his hands at the adjournment, left it unsigned. This was in March; on May 10, all the banks of the city of New York suspended specie payment; the next day those of Philadelphia did the same. The Panic of 1837 was now on. Business houses failed, new enterprises stopped, working-people were discharged. Merchandise fell in value, and real-estate was unsalable. The banks of Philadelphia, like all others in the State, held their charters under pain of forfeiture for suspension of specie payment. But under the existing circumstances it would have been folly to think of enforcing the penalty. May 9, 1838, the city banks attempted a partial resumption, agreeing to pay in coin fractional parts of dollars, in checks drawn on them, and also to redeem in coin notes issued by the City and County of Philadelphia, or any of the incorporated districts. August 13, full resumption was attempted, but on October 9, the Bank of the United States gave way, and a general suspension again followed. The banks now struggled for two years to improve their condition; an Act of the Legislature, 1840, relieved them of penalties, so far, but required them to resume January 15, 1841. This they attempted. The Bank of the United States confessed to the others its weakness, and was loaned by them,

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in October, 1840, five millions of dollars. At the time appointed the resumption effort was once more made, but on the 4th of February the Bank of the United States closed its doors, hopelessly involved. Its holdings, available for quick conversion, had been consumed. Its ruin, finally, was complete, the entire capital being sunk. The relief loan of five millions, advanced by the other banks and specially secured, was ultimately repaid them, but not till long after.

Nicholas Biddle had resigned the presidency of the bank in March, 1839. What its actual condition then was became upon its failure a matter of violent dispute. The stock was then quoted at $116 per share—par $100. In January, 1841, at the attempted resumption, it had fallen to $63; on the 4th of February, when it failed, to $45.75. How the bank's assets shrank, in the evil time of panic, may be illustrated by the example of one of them, the "Lemon Hill" property, formerly part of the "Hills" estate of Robert Morris. This had been bought by the bank in 1838, upon the settlement of the estate of Henry Pratt, and at the failure of the bank the trustees took it over at $225,000, considering it worth $250,000. There was no market. The trustees lowered their price to $130,000. Finally, in 1844, they induced the city—by influence of various sorts—to buy it for $75,000. It lay practically undisposed of until 1856, when it was dedicated to the public use, and thus became the beginning of Fairmount Park.

Prosecutions were begun in 1842 against Nicholas Biddle and four others, upon charges of malversation in the management of the Bank. They all failed, under rulings of the courts. It may here be said, simply, as to the Bank's ruin, that no man of Nicholas Biddle's unquestionably great abilities, or with these thrice multiplied, could have carried such an institution in safety through the storms which had beaten upon it. The course of the Government, in preventing the renewal of the charter, and then in removing the deposits, was but a part of the case, for efforts, official and semi-official, had been persistently made to entirely destroy its credit. That it survived the strain from 1832 to 1836 was remarkable, but when the panic of 1837 supervened its destruction became inevitable.[1]

Certain serious experiences prior to 1844 had shown the weakness of the police system, and the liability of the city, at any moment, to be tyrannized by mobs. Most of these were negro riots, collisions of whites and blacks, begun by the former. The feeling concerning negroes, as late as 1819, when men of all parties took part in a meeting to oppose the extension of slavery,[2] had been of the mild

[1] Nicholas Biddle did not long survive the Bank. He died February 27, 1844, of an affection of the heart, at his home, "Andalusia," on the Delaware, an estate inherited by his wife, who was a daughter of John Craig, one of the old merchants of the city.

[2] At the state-house, in November of that year.

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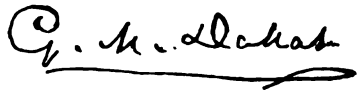
character which was seen in the several anti-slavery movements from 1750 to 1810, but by 1830 there was a marked change, and the popular prejudice on the line of complexion became more and more strong. The "Abolition" movement awakened bitter feeling, and from 1830 to the firing on Fort Sumter continued to be one of the distracting elements, politically and socially. In November, 1829, a serious riot of whites and blacks attracted notice. In August, 1833, during several nights, there were riotous attacks upon the houses of the colored people, and one of their meeting-houses—a frail, frame building—was destroyed. In July, 1835, a negro boy, Juan, a native African, a servant of Robert R. Stewart,[1] murdered his master while the latter lay asleep, and the savage act stirred up fresh fury against the colored people. Attacks were made on their houses in Southwark, and a row of houses on Eighth street below Shippen was burned, the occupants being driven to seek refuge where they could. Some of them fled to the fields and encamped there. The riotous demonstrations, with other circumstances of violence than are here described, continued three days.



The opposition to slavery had now become thoroughly unpopular. The old Abolition Society, though connected with the fame of Franklin and Rush, was itself entirely tabooed. Such a meeting as that of 1819 was impossible. August 24, 1835, a town meeting at Musical Fund Hall adopted resolutions presented by Robert T. Conrad, afterward Mayor, declaring the friendship and sympathy of the citizens of Philadelphia for the people of the South in respect to the slavery question, and condemning the organization of anti-slavery societies as a menace to the peace of the Union. Whether, now, the right of any but white persons to be free could be publicly considered in Philadelphia soon came to an issue. In May, 1838, a building on Sixth street, between Cherry and Race, Pennsylvania Hall, built by an

Jared Ingersoll presided, Robert Ralston was secretary, and Horace Binney delivered an address. The meeting, compared with action taken a few years afterward, affords a striking proof of the declension of public sentiment on the slavery question, after 1820. The subject will be referred to, later.

[1] A resident of south Sixth street, between Prune and Walnut, and known as having been the U. S. Consul to Trinidad. The boy was said to be an Eboe, a tribe having a revengeful character. Mr. Stewart had brought him from the West Indies.

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association organized for the purpose, was completed and ready for use. It was, for that time, a large building, sixty-two feet front by a hundred feet deep, with an audience-room capable of holding three thousand people. The Hall Association, composed of persons strongly opposed to slavery,[1] desired, first of all, to provide a place where anti-slavery meetings might be held, but they proposed also to offer their hall for "free discussion" of other questions, and to rent it for the ordinary purposes of such a building. For the opening they had arranged a series of meetings, beginning on Monday, May 14, the program of that day including a dedicatory address in the morning, "exercises of a literary and scientific character" in the afternoon, and in the evening addresses on temperance. The morning oration was delivered by David Paul Brown, an advocate famous in his day for his platform and court-room eloquence, and affectionately regarded by the friends of the colored people for his frequent unrecompensed service in behalf of alleged fugitive slaves.[2] In his address he moderately condemned slavery, and suggested a plan of gradual emancipation.[3]

The program of the first day, thus mild, passed over without disturbance. But next morning there were found, posted in different places in the city, written placards, denouncing the meetings at Pennsylvania Hall, and proposing that "all persons so disposed" should meet at the hall the following morning, the 17th, at eleven o'clock, to "demand the immediate dispersion of said convention." Some of these had the signature "Many Citizens," others were unsigned. The proceedings, the second day, included the reading of letters from invited guests. Some had been read the day before. They were from John Quincy Adams, Judge William Jay, Thaddeus Stevens, Walter Forward, Senator Thomas Morris, of Ohio, and others. The venerable ex-President, now fighting the battle of the right of petition in Congress, as one form of the anti-slavery contest, wrote at length, explaining his absence from the meeting, and closing with his "fervent wishes" that the hall might "fulfill its destination by demonstrative proof that freedom of speech in the city of Penn

[1] Daniel Neall was president—a man, in Whittier's verse,

"Formed on the good old plan,
A true, and brave, and downright honest man."

The secretary was William Dorsey. The Managers included Henry Grew, William H. Scott, Joseph Wood, Thomas Hansell, Caleb Clothier, Jacob Haars, Joseph M. Truman, Peter Wright, Samuel Webb, William McKee, and John H. Cavender. "A majority of the stockholders," William Dorsey stated, "are mechanics or workingmen." A number were women.

[2] In reply to the request, December, 1837, that he would deliver the opening address, he wrote that he had for some time invariably declined addresses that would take him from his professional work. "But," he added, "I have always said, and now say again, that I will fight the battle of liberty as long as I have a shot in the locker."—David Paul Brown was born in Philadelphia, Sept. 28, 1795, and died there July 11, 1872. His father, Paul Brown, a Friend, was descended from one of the early settlers of New Jersey. Besides his labors at the bar, where he won early fame, and pleaded in many prominent cases, he was the author of a number of works, including several tragedies, but especially "The Forum, or Forty Years' Full Practice at the Philadelphia Bar," published 1856.

[3] William Lloyd Garrison, in an address the evening before the hall was burned, severely criticised the address of Brown, and insisted on the complete right of the negroes to their freedom, and that emancipation should be immediate and unconditional.

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shall no longer be an abstraction." Besides these letters there was also read a "poetical address," by a young man now resident in Philadelphia, but who had arrived only a few weeks before from Massachusetts, to edit the weekly anti-slavery newspaper conducted previously by the veteran Benjamin Lundy. This new editor of the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, then known to but few persons in the city, was John Greenleaf Whittier, known now wherever the English tongue is spoken. He had fixed his editorial office on the first floor of the Hall building on Sixth street, and besides contributing his poetical address he took a modest part in the convention's proceedings.[1]

William Lloyd Garrison

The placards of Thursday morning had evidently some response. On Wednesday, about the hour suggested, eleven o'clock, sundry suspicious persons, "twenty to fifty" in number, appeared at the hall, "prowling about the doors, examining the gas-pipes, and talking in an 'incendiary' manner" to groups in the street.[2] The proceedings, however, continued undisturbed throughout the day. They were chiefly on the subject of slavery, and included two sessions of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. By evening the threatenings of those outside grew more serious. There were then addresses by William Lloyd Garrison, and Angelina Grimké Weld, formerly of Charleston, S. C.[3] Mrs. Weld proceeded with her remarks under serious difficulties. The crowds outside shouted, and threw stones and brick-bats at the windows; while inside there were groups of disturbers posted in the hall, who made frequent noisy and offensive interruptions. The antipathy to her subject was intensified in her case by the still prevailing prejudice against women speaking in public.[4] She concluded, however, and the audience got away safely, though not without many threatening and offensive salutations.

Alarmed by the breaking of the windows, and the increased men-

[1] The Address is included in the poet's published works, under the title "Pennsylvania Hall." It recalls the plans of Penn, the labors of Benjamin Lay, Anthony Benezet, and John Woolman, and the protest of Pastorius and the Germantown Friends, and rejoices that in the new Hall—

> "One door is open, and one temple free,
> A resting place for hunted liberty!"

[2] Statement of the Managers of the Hall.

[3] She and her sister Sarah, members of a prominent family in Charleston, had come north some years earlier, and made their home in Philadelphia; they presently joined in the anti-slavery movement, ultimately becoming speakers in its behalf. Angelina, at this time, had just been married, (May 14), to Theodore D. Weld.

[4] Lucretia Mott, after Mrs. Weld had spoken, explained that this was not a meeting of the "Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women," and said that its sessions were "confined to females," because "many of the members of that convention considered it improper for women to address promiscuous assemblies."

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aces of the crowds about the building, the managers, on the 17th, notified the mayor, Col. John Swift, and the sheriff, John G. Watmough, of their demand to be protected in their right of assembly. The sheriff represented his want of force; he had, he said, "himself and three men, and what could four men do?" Besides, the relations between himself and the mayor were such that he desired not to interfere with the latter's affairs. At the morning and afternoon sessions, further discussions on slavery were held. But by evening the threatening crowds in the street made it imprudent to proceed farther. On consultation with Mayor Swift, he declared his ability to disperse them, if he could have possession of the building. It was thereupon decided to abandon the evening meeting. The keys of the hall were given up. The mayor essayed the influence of soft words. Mounting the steps, "about sunset," he addressed the crowd in the street, deprecating disorder, appealing to those present to disperse, and assuring them that no meeting would be held that evening. By a singularly happy thought, he added: "We never call out the military here . . . I look upon you as my police, and trust you will . . . keep order. I now bid you farewell for the night."

To this felicitous appeal the mob responded with cheers, and the mayor departing, the hall was at their mercy. With the sympathy or indifference of the rest, a part of them attacked the building. Bursting open the doors, some ran inside, piled paper and other materials in heaps, cut the gas-pipes, and set the place on fire. In a few minutes it was wrapped in flames, and by midnight was destroyed. The spectacle drew new crowds from all quarters. Fifteen thousand, it was said, had gathered. The fire companies arrived, and played on the adjoining property, but let the hall burn. Whittier, disguised in a long coat lent him by Dr. Parrish, mingled with the crowd, to save the books and papers in his office, but could effect little.[1]

The following evening an attempt was made to burn a new building, on Thirteenth street near Callowhill, intended for use by the "Shelter for Colored Orphans," one of the charities of the Friends. Here the firemen rallied, and under the direction of Morton McMichael, a magistrate, drove off the mob. Threats were made to destroy the *Public Ledger* office, at Second and Dock streets, that newspaper having severely condemned the mob's proceedings. The proprietors, Swain, Abell and Simmons, demanded the protection of the authorities, but also prepared to defend themselves. They were not attacked.

[1] "Mr. Whittier went out to visit his office, found an excited multitude in the street, and knowing that his life was imperilled if he was recognized, went to the house of his friend, Dr. Parrish, put on a wig and a long white overcoat, and again ventured into the midst of the mob. It added to his security, that having resided in Philadelphia only a few months, he was not much known outside the circle of his friends. When his office was being sacked, he went in with the crowd and secured some things he wished to save from destruction." (Pickard's Life and Letters of Whittier, I., 234.)

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The sensitiveness of the average citizen as to destruction of property by mobs had been quickened by the riots of 1835, but more particularly by an Act of the Legislature in 1836, making the county in which such destruction occurred liable to the owner for the damage. But the feebleness of the police, and the almost complete impotency of the sheriff's authority, left the mobs supreme until more effective provision was made. Evidence of the law's weakness was afforded later by what were called the weavers' riots, in Kensington, early in 1843, when the sheriff, William A. Porter, was beaten and driven away, and the military called out, and again, with increased and

VIEW IN CHESTNUT STREET ABOUT 1835.

terrible emphasis, in the "Native American riots" of May and July, 1844.

To explain the disturbances in 1844 it is necessary to speak first of the establishment of the public schools. Down to 1818 there had been practically no such thing in the city. Some provision had been made by law in 1809, for "charity schools," and by religious bodies, the old Academy on Fourth street, and some societies organized for the education of children of poor people, but altogether these schools were few and comparatively unimportant. By the Act of 1818, the work of establishing public schools was begun, but it was offensively limited to "indigent orphan children, or children of indigent persons." The idea of public education, however, grew, and the law of 1836 provided for the admission of children to the schools, without distinguishing them as to their poverty. It resulted that by 1844 the public schools had become numerous, and an object of lively

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interest. In 1819 there were in the city 10 schools under the State law, with 10 teachers, and 2,845 pupils; in 1843 there were 214 such schools, 499 teachers, and 33,130 pupils.

The question of reading the Bible in the public schools had arisen in other cities, and especially in New York, where Bishop—afterward the distinguished archbishop—John Hughes, raised the objection, on behalf of his church, that the Bible used was the Protestant version, which was offensive to Catholics. In Philadelphia, in 1842, Bishop Kenrick made the same objection, and an arrangement was made, or proposed, by which Catholic children should not be required to be present during the scripture reading, or might use their own version. The subject, however, was a delicate one, and about this time the "Native American" movement, expressing alarm at the great immigration of foreigners, especially those from Ireland, of the Roman faith, began to make it additionally serious. The "Native" organizations showed signs of existence here as early as 1837, and again in 1843, and early in 1844 began to be active. Out of the friction between them and the elements which represented the immigrant movement and the Catholic church sprang the disturbances we now describe.

Kensington, organized as a separate district, had a large population of Irish birth and Catholic faith. There was practically no police force. The weavers' riots had shown how easy it was for disorder to spring up. The Native American organization began, in 1844, to hold meetings there, and the first one, on an open lot, adjoining a school-house, at Second and Master streets, on the afternoon of May 3, was broken up, those present driven away, and the speakers' platform demolished. Another meeting was attempted, at the same place, on the afternoon of May 6. Nothing very serious occurred, until, a rain-shower coming on, those present adjourned to a market-house near by, popularly known as "the nanny-goat market."[1] Here disturbances soon arose, clubs and stones were used, and a pistol was fired. The meeting was broken up. Near by was the house of the Hibernia Hose Company, and from this, after the pistol-shot, guns were fired. A desultory battle now began. Some of those who had been at the meeting returned with arms, and others joined them. Firing continued for some time; a lad, George Shiffler, who it was said was carrying, or trying to protect, an American flag which had been raised over the platform at the meeting, was mortally wounded, and died soon, becoming thus one of the heroes of the Native American movement for many years afterward, and having his name perpetuated, down to 1871, when the volunteer fire depart-

[1] In Washington (now American) street, above Master.

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ment was disbanded, in the Shiffler Hose Company. As news of the battle in Kensington spread, crowds gathered from other parts of the city. The sheriff, Morton McMichael, arrived on the ground about seven in the evening, but was unable to suppress the riot. Attacks were made upon the houses of Catholics, and an effort was made to burn a school-house, taught by sisters of charity, commonly called "the Nunnery." In the course of the rioting, which continued late in the evening, fourteen of the "Native" party were said to have been shot, Shiffler and two others fatally.

The next afternoon, at half past three, a large meeting gathered, in response to handbills and "extra" issues of the *Sun* and *Native American* newspapers, in the state-house yard. After speeches, resolutions, etc., it was unfortunately suggested by some one that the meeting adjourn to Second and Master streets, where the original meeting had been broken up. A long and straggling procession thereupon marched to Kensington, carrying a tattered flag at the head, and arriving there about five o'clock, the fighting was soon renewed. The Irish party had not unnaturally made preparations for another battle, and it now raged again through the evening. As before, the Native party, in the streets, probably suffered most, six of them being instantly killed or mortally wounded, by shots from the houses. On the other side one was known to be killed, but there may have been more. The street party, however, succeeded in dislodging those firing from the Hibernia Hose house, and after destroying the apparatus, set the building on fire. The flames spread to other buildings, and about thirty dwellings, and "the nanny-goat market" were burned. The military had now made their appearance. Sheriff McMichael had endeavored to call them out the previous evening, but without success. The arriving party, commanded by brigadier-general George Cadwalader, protected the firemen, who prevented the further spread of the fire, and order was in some measure restored. The next day, however, the mob spirit again appeared. The Native leaders declared that they had entirely withdrawn from any further action, and had counselled their followers to stay away from the disturbed district. However this may be, or whoever might be responsible, the anti-Catholic feeling flamed up

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worse than before. On this day, May 9, two more rows of houses were burned in the neighborhood of the other fires; the Catholic church of St. Michael, at Second and Jefferson streets, a large brick building, and the adjoining school-house—"the Nunnery" mentioned above—were set on fire in broad daylight, and totally destroyed. About five o'clock in the afternoon, the First Brigade of militia, under General Cadwalader, accompanied by major-general Robert Patterson, and sheriff McMichael, arrived, and the rioting in Kensington apparently subsided. But about the same time it broke out in the city. A great crowd had gathered in front of St. Augustine's Catholic church, on Fourth street, below Vine, facing New street. The mayor, John M. Scott, was present, and the City Troop was posted near by. Before the danger was fully perceived, incendiaries had got inside the church and set it on fire. In a few moments the flames were past control, and the building was entirely destroyed, as also was an adjoining school-house, in which the fathers of the Augustinian order had an extensive library of rare books. Part of the militia were hurried into the city, and further violence was prevented. The other Catholic churches were guarded during the night. The members of City Councils held an informal session, and agreed to appropriate $20,000 to the police committee, to increase the police force.

The next day, May 9, a public meeting, called by the mayor in the state-house yard, at which John M. Read presided, and Horace Binney and John K. Kane spoke briefly, resolved that peace and order must be restored. Ward police organizations were formed by the aldermen. General Patterson called out his whole division of militia, and established headquarters at the Girard Bank. Governor Porter arrived, and issued a proclamation. The mayor and sheriff joined in another proclamation. Altogether the show of force, and the evidently settled purpose of the authorities, overawed the riotous elements, and order was once more restored for the time. The militia remained on duty several days, and on the following Sunday, Bishop Kenrick, to diminish the danger of trouble, closed the Catholic churches for the day.

The effect of these disturbances was to greatly increase the Native American movement. The shooting from the houses, the death of

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Shiffler, the alleged insults to the American flag, awakened extreme heat. The trouble was not yet over. On the Fourth of July a great procession of the Native organization took place. Four thousand five hundred persons marched through the streets, with banners, music, boats on wheels, etc., and proceeding to grounds on the Schuylkill, near Fairmount, had addresses, and—in the evening—fire-works. The day and its demonstration passed by quietly. But rumors were now circulated that the Catholic churches had been made armories; that guns and ammunition had been placed in them, in preparation for further war. On the next day, July 5, these stories related particularly to the church of St. Philip de Neri, on Queen street, Southwark, in the midst of a population as strongly Native as Kensington was Irish. Unfortunately there was a measure of truth in the rumor. A brother of the pastor of the church, a young lawyer, had organized a military company for its defense, had secured a captain's commission for himself, and upon Governor Porter's order, arms for his men. While the Native procession was marching on the 4th, he was drilling his company in the church, and that evening had a garrison of one hundred and fifty inside. Some of the muskets, not in good repair, had been sent out to a gunsmith, and on the afternoon of the 5th were seen as they were carried into the church.

These circumstances furnished the spark to fire a new mine. By evening of the 5th a great crowd gathered around the church. The Southwark police were as few and feeble as those of Kensington. Word was sent to the sheriff, who once more applied to the military. It was proposed however by the mob that the church be searched for arms, and the sheriff and two aldermen entering, found those that had been repaired, and brought them out—twelve unloaded guns, with bayonets. The crowd, unsatisfied, sent in another search party, and looking more carefully found more muskets, heavily loaded, a keg of powder, axes, pistols, some rudely-made "pikes," and other war material. They formed the arsenal of the imprudent Irish captain, whose company had held the church the night before.

The night of the 5th passed without disturbance, but the next day the news of the finding of the arms spread over the city. The gathering mobs in Southwark plainly increased as the day passed. By evening there were masses of people in the neighborhood of St. Philip's. One company of militia had been on guard, but about dusk General Cadwalader sent five more companies of infantry, and an artillery company with three cannon. Efforts were made to clear the streets. On Second street near Queen, the mob defied and taunted the troops. General Cadwalader gave the order to fire. At this instant, Charles Naylor, a lawyer, serving as one of the sheriff's posse, sprang in front of the gun, and throwing up his hands, cried

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out, "Don't fire! don't fire!" The gunner hesitated, and the critical moment passed. The piece was not discharged. The streets presently were cleared, but General Cadwalader, incensed at Naylor's interference, arrested him, and sent him under guard to the basement of St. Philip's church.[1]

The events last described were those of Saturday, July 6. Next day the riot culminated. Attacks were made with cannon—two shabby old pieces, lashed on wheels—and pieces of timber, upon St. Philip's church, and about noon, the release of Naylor, and the removal of the military within the church, appeared prudent measures.

MARKET STREET, FROM FRONT STREET, AS IT APPEARED IN 1840.

Late in the afternoon, the military were again sent to the place, and two companies were ordered to clear Queen street down to Second. The crowd resisted, and ultimately the soldiers fired. By the first discharge four men were killed, and a number of persons, some of them women, wounded. This deepened the excitement, and a battle now began with the military. Several pieces of cannon were secured by the mob, but at first they did little execution; by a later discharge, two soldiers were killed and several wounded. Late in the night the streets were cleared and the riots ceased. The killed numbered fourteen, two soldiers and twelve citizens.

[1] Charles Naylor, born in Philadelphia, October 6, 1806, a lawyer by profession. He served in Congress, from Philadelphia, 1837 to 1841, and in the Mexican War, being Governor of the National Palace, at the City of Mexico, after its capture by the Americans under General Scott. He died Dec. 24, 1872.

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Such, briefly described, were the Riots of 1844.[1] They were by far the most serious the city had ever known, considered absolutely or relatively. The destruction of property and loss of life were both impressive, but the extent to which the defiance of the law and its officials proceeded, and the evidence that they were hardly equal to the task of maintaining themselves, were a still more serious feature. They pointed clearly to the great need of uniting the city and districts under one government, and of increasing and improving the police force. The former of these steps was delayed ten years; the latter was taken, in part at least, very soon. By a law, 1845, the city and districts were required to maintain a police force of not less than one able-bodied man for each one hundred and fifty taxable inhabitants, and in the city, by ordinance, the mayor was made the superintendent of the force. In 1848, the city police were required to be uniformed, when on duty, though it was some time before this rule was fully enforced.

The magistrate who saved the Colored Orphan building in 1838, and the sheriff upon whom fell heavy responsibilities and serious dangers in 1844, Morton McMichael, was not only an officer of the peace, but one of the company who for a considerable period preceding 1850 sustained Philadelphia's literary importance. In 1836, a volume called the "Philadelphia Book" was published by Key and Biddle, the contents of which were furnished by seventy-nine writers, all of them Philadelphians. The list included some then deceased, but there was besides, an extended and impressive list of living persons whose literary art commanded attention and respect. Among them was McMichael, who, after his term of office as sheriff expired, purchased the *North American* newspaper, the successor to Poulson's *Advertiser*, which, as we have seen, was the successor to Dunlap's *Pennsylvania Packet*, the first American daily newspaper. Others in the Book of 1836 were Rev. William H. Furness,[2] Joseph R. Chandler, editor of the *United States Gazette*, (which in 1847 was united with the *North American*), Dr. Robert M. Bird, Robert T. Conrad, Eliza Leslie—the "Miss Leslie" of that day—Robert M. Walsh and David Paul Brown.

A little later than 1836, however, there was a more decided and commanding literary activity in Philadelphia. In 1839 George R. Graham purchased of Samuel C. Atkinson his literary monthly, *The*

[1] A review of these riots will be found in issues of the *New Englander*, 1844: its feeling is evidently not friendly to the Catholics, but the statement of facts is tolerably complete. Some of the documentary matter, and a review of the steps leading to the organization of the "Native" party, and its course after the riots, will be found in "History of the American Party," by John Hancock Lee, Philadelphia, 1855.

[2] William Henry Furness, D.D., born in Boston, April 20, 1802, was ordained minister of the First Unitarian Church, Philadelphia, in January, 1825. At the preparation of this volume, (1895), he survives, and is the only one left of the writers of 1836, referred to above.

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Casket, and the next year issued it as *Graham's Magazine*. Immediately it took the lead of the magazines of the country. It set up new ways, enterprising and costly. Contributors of the first rank were secured. By January, 1842, it had a circulation of over thirty thousand copies, figures then without an example for such a periodical. John Sartain and other engravers furnished plates on steel in the highest style of their art. The editor of the magazine from November, 1840, to about April, 1842, was Edgar A. Poe, who for most of five years—1837 to 1842—had his home in Philadelphia.[1] Some of Poe's best prose work was done during his residence here. He was succeeded in his editorship of *Graham's* by Rufus W. Griswold.

Mr. Graham drew contributions from the best known writers of the country: from Bryant, Paulding, Dr. Holmes, N. P. Willis, Miss Sedgwick, Mrs. Osgood, Mrs. Stephens, Park Benjamin, Charles Fenno Hoffman, James Fenimore Cooper, Hawthorne, Lowell, Longfellow, E. P. Whipple, Mrs. Sigourney, W. Gilmore Simms, Motley, Saxe, Mayne Reid and others.[2] Around the magazine gathered the Philadelphia writers. Willis Gaylord Clark, who died in 1841, in the editorial chair of the *Philadelphia Gazette;* Joseph C. Neal, author of "Charcoal Sketches," editor of the *Pennsylvanian*, who died in 1847; Alice Bradley, who came to this city a year or two earlier than 1847, and became the wife for a short time of Joseph C. Neal, her literary repute being won over the name of Alice B. Neal; Bayard Taylor, who returning from his "Views Afoot," in 1846, and having his home at Kennett Square, was for a time much in Philadelphia, and in 1849 was announced as one of the editors of *Graham's;* Thomas Buchanan Read, who was living here from 1846 to 1850; Dr. J. K. Mitchell, who in 1841 had been appointed a professor in Jefferson Medical College; Dr. Robert M. Bird, whose productive genius ran mostly toward the sensational drama; Judge Robert T. Conrad,

[1] He was editor of William E. Burton's *Gentleman's Magazine* for a year or so, and when that magazine was absorbed by *Graham's*, in 1840, he became editor of the latter.

[2] Mr. Graham died in 1894. He was born in Philadelphia in January, 1813. In a letter to the writer, in June, 1879, referring to his magazine, he says:

"Bryant and Longfellow received $50 for each poem. For Longfellow's "Spanish Student" I paid him $150. Cooper's price was $100 an article, which I paid him for his naval biographies. For his novel, ["Islets of the Gulf"] afterward published by Stringer and Townsend, I paid him $1800. G. P. R. James I paid $1200 for a novel which ran through twelve numbers. N. P. Willis, for short sketches of three pages, received $50 per article. I can recall no contributor who was not remunerated."

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whose tastes led him toward the historical and tragic in dramatic art, and who had produced "Aylmere" or "Jack Cade," for Edwin Forrest's acting; Richard Penn Smith, grandson of the old Provost of the College, Dr. William Smith, and author of another play, "Caius Marius," accepted and acted, in 1831, by Forrest; Robert Morris, editor of the *Pennsylvania Inquirer*, a scholarly and able writer; George H. Boker, then a young man, the friend and confidant of Bayard Taylor, but already known by his literary work—these were among the writers who made up the literary circle of the city from 1840 to 1850. John W. Forney came from Lancaster in 1845, and the next year became the editor of the *Pennsylvanian*. From that time, for thirty years, he held a prominent place as a journalist, and political leader.

Graham's Magazine, through the financial difficulties of its proprietor, fell into a decline about 1850, and in the hands of others stopped issue a few years later. In 1849 *Sartain's Magazine* was established by John Sartain, and continued until 1852, edited during most of the time by Mrs. C. M. Kirkland, and Prof. John S. Hart. In this first appeared—in the number for November, 1849—Poe's poem of "The Bells." Harriet Martineau and Fredrika Bremer, the latter translated by Mary Howitt, were among the contributors. More continuously prosperous was *Godey's Lady's Book*, established in 1830 by Louis A. Godey, the pioneer of its class, and for nearly fifty years[1] one of the most prominent of the fashion-plate and light-literature monthlies. Mr. Godey showed great enterprise, also, and many of the leading writers of the country were contributors to his magazine. Its circulation early reached one hundred and fifty thousand copies a month, figures considered enormous then, and possessed by comparatively few publications even now.

The constitution of Pennsylvania, as formed in 1790, was again revised in 1837–38. The convention met at Harrisburg in May, 1837, and continued its session there, with brief adjournments, until November of that year, when it adjourned to Philadelphia, and occupied the Musical Fund Hall, on Locust street. It concluded its work here, and adjourned finally, February 22, 1838. The convention had been authorized by an Act passed March 29, 1836. It contained 133 members, the same number as the Legislature. The two parties, by that time commonly known as Whig and Democratic, were very equally divided, and upon the vote for permanent president, John Sergeant received 66 votes and James M. Porter received 64. This substantially showed the party division; it appears to have been 67 Whigs and 65 Democrats, with one vacant seat.

[1] Mr. Godey sold it in 1877.

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More immediately important to the municipal system than any changes made in the State constitution was the Act of the Legislature, June 10, 1839, by which the Mayor, instead of being chosen by the Councils, was made elective by the people, while the important list of officers whose places had been in his gift was given to the Councils, with power either to make them elective or provide for filling them by appointment. The importance of the mayoralty was signified by its growing salary; by an ordinance in 1797 it was fixed at $1000; in 1805, at $2000; in 1835, at $3000.

In kindling the fires in Pennsylvania Hall, in 1838, the incendiaries had effectively used the broken gas-pipes. The city had then had a public gas service for two years. It was the outcome of a very long and earnestly-fought contest, when in March, 1835, the councils passed an ordinance for the erection and management of the Philadelphia Gas Works. As early as 1796 Michael Ambroise and Company had manufactured illuminating gas, and used it in a public amphitheatre, or circus, on Arch street between Eighth and Ninth. In 1816 Dr. Charles Kugler had shown it in successful use at Peale's Museum; and the Chestnut street Theatre, under the management of Warren and Wood, was lighted by it, commencing in November of that year. William Henry, who had constructed the apparatus for the museum and the theatre, used it in his house, on Lombard street, near Seventh, the same year, and invited the city councils to inspect it. This is said to have been the first private house thus lighted in the country. The Masonic Hall—the old building, burned in 1819, and its successor, completed in 1822—was lighted by gas, and by 1835 a few other parties used it. Application had been made to councils, from 1803 down, at various times, and with increasing earnestness, for authority to establish a city system, but the protests against it continued strong. A remonstrance in 1833 declared gas to be "an article as ignitable as gunpowder, and nearly as fatal in its effects." In 1834 Samuel V. Merrick was requested by councils to present a report on the gas manufacture of Europe. This he did in December of that year, strongly recommending this method of lighting. The ordinance of March, 1835, followed, the

Joel Jones.

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erection of works was begun on ground on the Schuylkill, between Market and Filbert streets, and they were completed in February, 1836. The cost of their erection was provided for by a subscription in the hand of trustees, and in 1841 the city, exercising an option which it had reserved, purchased the works.

One more event in the period we describe shook the city. The political heats of the earlier years of the century abated greatly by 1820, and though they increased in the time of Jackson, and during the disturbance at Harrisburg, in the winter of 1838–9—the "Buckshot War"[1]—they had declined to a reasonable level by 1845, when, in their exultation over the election of Polk, the Democrats could afford to be generous, and the Whigs, in the depression following the defeat of Clay, were disinclined to fierce contention. But the act annexing Texas to the United States, signed by President Tyler on the last day of his term, March 3, 1845, and the movement of General Taylor and his army into the disputed region, brought on the Mexican War, and this, declared by the United States, May 13, 1846, awakened military enthusiasm in Philadelphia. The State was first called upon by the secretary of war to furnish six regiments of volunteers, and by the end of July thirty companies were offered him from Philadelphia alone. Finally, seven companies were accepted.[2] Six of these were placed in the First Pennsylvania regiment, the other in the Second. Subsequently three companies of regular troops were recruited here.[3] The volunteers left Philadelphia in December, (1846) went by rail to Chambersburg, and then marched to Pittsburg. After their service in Mexico, they returned to Philadelphia in July, 1848, and were duly welcomed. The six companies of the First regiment had gone away with 559 men, and now returned with but 254.

Two events had occurred before the Mexican War, not in their beginnings connected with Philadelphia, but destined greatly to influence its commercial and business interests. These were the establishment, in 1838, of ocean steamship lines, and the successful operation, in 1844, of the electric telegraph. Two steamships, the

[1] At the State election, 1838, Governor Ritner, on the face of the returns, was defeated for re-election by David R. Porter, by 5,500 majority. The Whigs charged fraud. The control of the Legislature was also in dispute, two delegations claiming seats in the House from Philadelphia, the admission of either being sufficient to change the political majority in that chamber. The consequence was the election of two Speakers, Thomas S. Cunningham by the Whigs, and William Hopkins by the Democrats. Governor Ritner's term was about expiring. Great excitement was caused by the dispute, and ultimately the militia were called out. Major-General Patterson, in command of about twelve hundred men, left Philadelphia, December 8, 1838, for Harrisburg. They had been furnished cartridges from the arsenal at Frankford, made of a bullet and buckshot—"buck and ball," as they were called as late as the War of the Rebellion. No serious trouble occurred, however, at the capital. By a vote of the Senate, the Hopkins organization of the House was finally recognized, and Ritner gave way to Porter, who was inaugurated in January, 1839. The troops remained at Harrisburg about three weeks.

[2] The City Guards, Captain Joseph Hill; the Monroe Guards, Captain William F. Small; the Philadelphia Light Guards, Captain John Bennett; the Cadwalader Grays, Captain Robert K. Scott; the Jefferson Guards, Captain Turner G. Morehead; the Washington Light Infantry, Captain F. W. Binder; and the Philadelphia Rangers, Captain Charles Naylor.

[3] One of voltigeurs, Captain Chas. J. Biddle, one of dragoons, Captain John Butler, and one of infantry, Captain Arnold Syberg.

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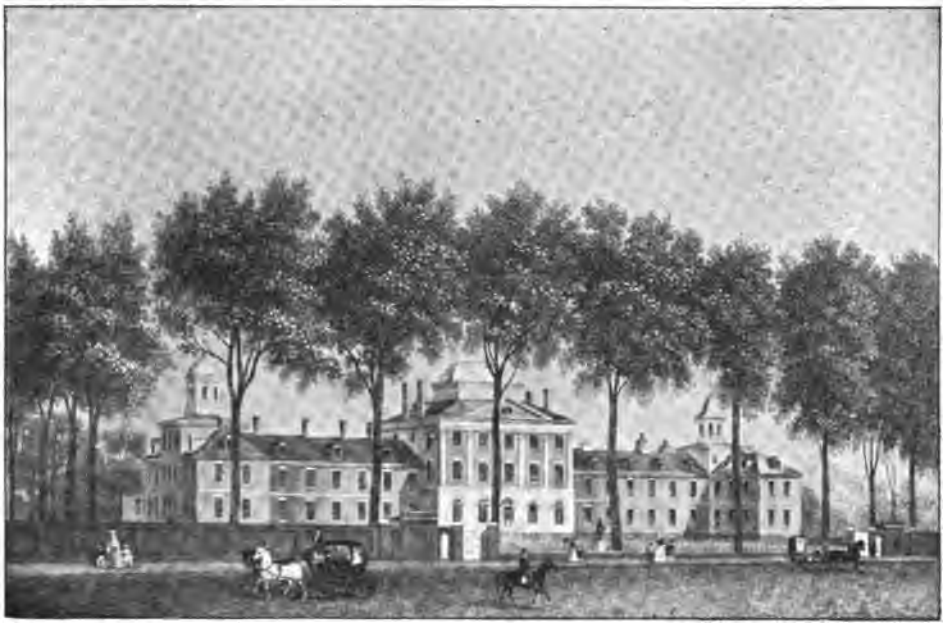
Sirius, 700 tons, which had left Cork on the 4th of April, and the *Great Western*, 1340 tons, which had left Bristol four days later, came into the harbor of New York on the 23d of that month, the former in the morning, the latter in the afternoon. Their successful passage across the ocean established regular service between this country and Europe, and the importance of the fact was at once perceived by every one interested in commerce. The report of the Philadelphia Board of Trade, January 28, 1839, signed by Thomas P. Cope, president, and C. G. Childs, secretary, referred to it in a paragraph. "Philadelphia," it said, "has not looked unconcernedly at the revolu-



PENNSYLVANIA HOSPITAL IN 1852.

tion which the last year has produced in the means of navigating the ocean," and it proceeded to suggest the advantage offered here for procuring supplies of coal. "Surely no port has greater advantages to offer to steamships from foreign ports, in whose expenditures the article of coal forms so large an item," it said.

Professor Morse had proved by the operation of his experimental line between Baltimore and Washington—May 27, 1844—the practicability of his electric telegraph. That line, after a few months, was abandoned, and the first one for general business was established between Philadelphia and New York. Its construction was begun in 1845; October 10 that year, it was announced that the work was rapidly progressing. The line followed the old stage-road from New York across New Jersey to New Hope, on the west bank of the Delaware, and came thence by way of Norristown, to this city. January

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2, 1846, the *Ledger* newspaper, whose proprietor, William M. Swain, was one of the directors of the telegraph company, received its first dispatch over the line, from Norristown. By the end of the month, communication had been established with New York, and though there was difficulty for some time in carrying the wires across the Hudson, the main problem was practically solved, and the complete success of telegraphs became simply a matter of intelligent development. June 3, (1845) the *North American* printed "nearly two columns" of foreign news received at New York by the steamship *Hibernia*, and the next day—lines to Baltimore and Washington being now completed—it printed proceedings of Congress up to two o'clock of the previous day.

By 1850 the railroads out of Philadelphia, the beginnings of which have been described, were greatly developed. The railroad to Norristown was opened August 14, 1835; that to Wilmington and Baltimore was completed in 1837. The Camden and Amboy road, from Camden to Bordentown, and thence to South Amboy, had been opened earlier. The railroad to Reading was opened February 10, 1842. The great route to the interior and west, considered complete in 1834—the combination of canal, railroad, and portage—did not long satisfy the demand. It was too slow, and too complicated, and the little canal along the Juniata was especially liable to injury by floods. In 1838 a break between Hollidaysburg and Huntingdon, in the latter part of June, substantially destroyed the year's traffic; the canal was not reopened till near the close of the season for navigation. "Not only was a delay in the transportation of goods the consequence of this misfortune, but the increased expense occasioned by the land carriage around the break drove large quantities of produce and merchandise into other channels."[1]

Movements to build an all-rail road to Pittsburg were vigorously begun in 1845. At a meeting, in December of that year, at Musical Fund Hall, Thomas P. Cope presided, and a railroad between Harrisburg and Pittsburg was earnestly advocated by William M. Meredith, Henry D. Gilpin, Isaac Hazelhurst, and other speakers. The

[1] Board of Trade Report, 1839.

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charter of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company was granted by the Legislature, April 13, 1846, and on the 27th of that month another meeting was held at the Chinese Museum, to encourage the work. The stock subscriptions were opened June 22, and committees went from house to house through the city to secure signatures. In the first annual report of the directors it was stated that out of some twenty-six hundred subscribers on the list, nearly eighteen hundred took five shares or less. In 1847, early in the year, John Edgar Thomson became chief-engineer of the road, and the grading of the first section of twenty miles, west of Harrisburg, was contracted for on the 16th of July, while seven days later, a section of fifteen miles eastward from Pittsburg was also put under contract. Other contracts were made later; September 1, 1849, the road was opened from Harrisburg to Lewistown, 61 miles; September 17, 1850, to Hollidaysburg, where connection was made with the old portage road. In August, 1851, all but twenty-eight miles between Johnstown and Pittsburg was completed, and this being finished the following year, the cars, on the 10th of December, 1853, ran from Philadelphia to Pittsburg. Practically, the period of development of this western line of Philadelphia trade had been half a century, beginning with the construction of the turnpike to Lancaster in 1792–97.

THE WILL OF STEPHEN GIRARD.

I, STEPHEN GIRARD, of the City of Philadelphia, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Mariner and Merchant, being of sound mind, memory and understanding, do make and publish this my last Will and Testament, in manner following: that is to say—

I. I give and bequeath unto "The Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital," of which Corporation I am a member, the sum of *Thirty Thousand Dollars*, upon the following conditions, namely, that the said sum shall be added to their Capital, and shall remain a part thereof forever, to be placed at interest, and the interest thereof to be applied, *in the first place*, to pay to my black woman Hannah (to whom I hereby give her freedom), the sum of two hundred dollars per year, in quarterly payments of fifty dollars each in advance, during all the term of her life; and, *in the second place*, the said interest to be applied to the use and accommodation of the sick in the said Hospital, and for providing, and at all times having competent matrons, and a sufficient number of nurses and assistant nurses, in order not only to promote the purposes of the said Hospital, but to increase this last class of useful persons, much wanted in our city.

II. I give and bequeath to "The Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb," the sum of *Twenty Thousand Dollars*, for the use of that Institution.

III. I give and bequeath to "The Orphan Asylum of Philadelphia," the sum of *Ten Thousand Dollars*, for the use of that Institution.

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IV. I give and bequeath to "The Comptrollers of the Public Schools for the City and County of Philadelphia," the sum of *Ten Thousand Dollars*, for the use of the Schools upon the Lancaster system, in the first section of the first school district of Pennsylvania.

V. I give and bequeath to "The Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of Philadelphia," the sum of *Ten Thousand Dollars*, in trust safely to invest the same in some productive fund, and with the interest and dividends arising therefrom to purchase fuel, between the months of March and August in every year forever, and in the month of January in every year forever, distribute the same amongst poor white house-keepers and room-keepers, of good character, residing in the City of Philadelphia.

VI. I give and bequeath to the Society for the relief of poor and distressed Masters of Ships, their Widows and Children, (of which Society I am a member) the sum of *Ten Thousand Dollars*, to be added to their Capital stock, for the uses and purposes of said Society.

VII. I give and bequeath to the gentlemen who shall be Trustees of the Masonic Loan, at the time of my decease, the sum of *Twenty Thousand Dollars*, including therein ten thousand and nine hundred dollars due to me, part of the Masonic Loan, and any interest that may be due thereon at the time of my decease, in trust for the use and benefit of "The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, and Masonic Jurisdiction thereto belonging," and to be paid over by the said Trustees to the said Grand Lodge, for the purpose of being invested in some safe stock or funds, or other good security, and the dividends and interest arising therefrom to be again so invested and added to the Capital, without applying any part thereof to any other purpose, until the whole capital shall amount to thirty thousand dollars, when the same shall forever after remain a permanent fund or Capital, of the said amount of thirty thousand dollars, the interest whereof shall be applied from time to time to the relief of poor and respectable brethren; and in order that the real and benevolent purposes of masonic institutions may be attained, I recommend to the several lodges not to admit to membership, or to receive members from other lodges, unless the applicants shall absolutely be men of sound and good morals.

VIII. I give and bequeath unto Philip Peltz, John Lentz, Francis Hesley, Jacob Baker and Adam Young, of Passyunk township, in the County of Philadelphia, the sum of *Six Thousand Dollars*, in trust, that they or the survivors or survivor of them shall purchase a suitable piece of ground, as near as may be in the centre of said township, and thereon erect a substantial brick building, sufficiently large for a school-house, and the residence of a school-master, one part thereof for poor male white children, and the other part for poor female white children of said township; and as soon as the said school-house shall have been built, that the said trustees or the survivors or survivor of them, shall convey the said piece of ground and house thereon erected, and shall pay over such balance of said sum as may remain unexpended to any board of directors and their successors, in trust, which may at the time exist or be by law constituted, consisting of at least twelve discreet inhabitants of the said township, and to be annually chosen by the inhabitants thereof; the said piece of ground and house to be carefully maintained by said directors and their successors solely for the purpose of a school as aforesaid, forever, and the said balance to be securely invested as a permanent fund, the interest thereof to be applied from time to time towards the education in the said school of any number of such poor white children of said township; and I do hereby recommend to the citizens of said township to make additions to the fund whereof I have laid the foundation.

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IX. I give and devise my house, and lot of ground thereto belonging, situate in rue Ramouet aux Chartrons, near the city of Bordeaux, in France, and the rents, issues, and profits thereof, to my brother, Etienne Girard, and my niece Victoire Fenellon, (daughter of my late sister Sophia Girard Capayron,) (both residing in France,) in equal moieties for the life of my said brother, and, on his decease, one moiety of the said house and lot to my said niece Victoire, and her heirs forever, and the other moiety to the six children of my said brother, namely, John Fabricius, Marguerite, Ann Henriette, Jean August, Marie, and Madelaine Henriette, share and share alike, (the issue of any deceased child, if more than one, to take amongst them the parent's share) and their heirs forever.

X. I give and bequeath to my said brother, Etienne Girard, the sum of *Five Thousand Dollars*, and the like sum of *Five Thousand Dollars* to each of his six children above named: if any of the said children shall die prior to the receipt of his or her legacy of five thousand dollars, the said sum shall be paid, and I give and bequeath the same to any issue of such deceased child, if more than one, share and share alike.

XI. I give and bequeath to my said niece, Victoire Fenellon, the sum of *Five Thousand Dollars*.

XII. I give and bequeath absolutely to my niece, Antoinetta, now married to Mr. Hemphill, the sum of *Ten Thousand Dollars*, and I also give and bequeath to her the sum of *Fifty Thousand Dollars*, to be paid over to a trustee or trustees to be appointed by my executors, which trustee or trustees shall place and continue the said sum of fifty thousand dollars upon good security, and pay the interest and dividends thereof as they shall from time to time accrue, to my said niece for her separate use, during the term of her life, and from and immediately after her decease, to pay and distribute the capital to and among such of her children and the issue of deceased children, and in such parts and shares as she, the said Antoinetta, by any instrument under her hand and seal, executed in the presence of at least two credible witnesses, shall direct and appoint, and for default of such appointment, then to and among the said children and issue of deceased children in equal shares, such issue of deceased children, if more than one, to take only the share which their deceased parent would have taken if living.

XIII. I give and bequeath unto my niece Carolina, now married to Mr. Haslam, the sum of *Ten Thousand Dollars;* to be paid over to a trustee or trustees to be appointed by my executors, which trustee or trustees shall place and continue the said money upon good security, and pay the interest and dividends thereof from time to time as they shall accrue, to my said niece, for her separate use, during the term of her life: and from and immediately after her decease, to pay and distribute the capital to and among such of her children, and issue of deceased children, and in such parts and shares, as she the said Carolina, by any instrument under her hand and seal, executed in the presence of at least two credible witnesses, shall direct and appoint, and for default of such appointment, then to and among the said children, and issue of deceased children, in equal shares, such issue of deceased children, if more than one, to take only the share which the deceased parent would have taken if living; but if my said niece Carolina, shall leave no issue, then the said trustee or trustees, on her decease, shall pay the said capital, and any interest accrued thereon, to and among Caroline Lallemand, (niece of the said Carolina,) and the children of the aforesaid Antoinetta Hemphill, share and share alike.

XIV. I give and bequeath to my niece Henrietta, now married to Dr. Clark, the sum of *Ten Thousand Dollars;* and I give and bequeath to her daughter Caroline, (in the last clause above named,) the sum of *Twenty Thousand Dollars*—

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the interest of the said sum of twenty thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to be applied to the maintenance and education of the said Caroline during her minority, and the principal, with any accumulated interest, to be paid to the said Caroline, on her arrival at the age of twenty-one years.

XV. Unto each of the Captains who shall be in my employment at the time of my decease, either in port, or at sea, having charge of one of my ships or vessels, and having performed at least two voyages in my service, I give and bequeath the sum of *Fifteen Hundred Dollars*—provided he shall have brought safely into the port of Philadelphia, or if at sea at the time of my decease, shall bring safely into that port, my ship or vessel last entrusted to him, and also that his conduct during the last voyage shall have been in every respect conformable to my instructions to him.

XVI. All persons, who, at the time of my decease, shall be bound to me by indenture, as apprentices or servants, and who shall then be under age, I direct my executors to assign to suitable masters immediately after my decease, for the remainder of their respective terms, on conditions as favorable as they can in regard to education, clothing and freedom dues; to each of the said persons in my service, and under age at the time of my decease, I give and bequeath the sum of *Five Hundred Dollars*, which sums respectively I direct my executors safely to invest in public stock, to apply the interest and dividends thereof, towards the education of the several apprentices or servants, for whom the capital is given respectively, and at the termination of the apprenticeship or service of each, to pay to him or her the said sum of five hundred dollars, and any interest accrued thereon, if any such interest shall remain unexpended; in assigning any indenture, preference shall be given to the mother, father, or next relation, as assignee, should such mother, father, or relative desire it, and be at the same time respectable and competent.

XVII. I give and bequeath to Francis Hesley (son of Mrs. S. Hesley, who is mother of Marianne Hesley,) the sum of *One Thousand Dollars*, over and above such sum as may be due to him at my decease.

XVIII. I charge my real estate in the State of Pennsylvania with the payment of the several annuities or sums following, (the said annuities to be paid by the Treasurer or other proper officers of the City of Philadelphia, appointed by the Corporation thereof for the purpose, out of the rents and profits of said real estate hereinafter directed to be kept constantly rented,) namely:—

1st. I give and bequeath to Mrs. Elizabeth Ingersoll, Widow of Jared Ingersoll, Esq., late of the City of Philadelphia, Counsellor at law, an annuity, or yearly sum of *One Thousand Dollars*, to be paid in half-yearly payments, in advance, of five hundred dollars each, during her life.

2d. I give and bequeath to Mrs. Catharine Girard, now widow of Mr. J. B. Hoskins, who died in the ilse of France, an annuity, or yearly sum of *Four Hundred Dollars*, to be paid in half-yearly payments, in advance, of two hundred dollars each, during her life.

3d. I give and bequeath to Mrs. Jane Taylor, my present house-keeper, (the widow of the late Captain Alexander Taylor, who was master of my ship Helvetius, and died in my employment,) an annuity, or yearly sum of *Five Hundred Dollars*, to be paid in half-yearly payments, in advance, of two hundred and fifty dollars each, during her life.

4th. I give and bequeath to Mrs. S. Hesley, my house-keeper at my place in Passyunk Township, an annuity, or yearly sum of *Five Hundred Dollars*, to be paid in half-yearly payments, in advance, of two hundred and fifty dollars each, during her life.

5th. I give and bequeath to Marianne Hesley, daughter of Mrs. S. Hesley, an annuity, or yearly sum of *Three Hundred Dollars*, to be paid to her mother, for her

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use, in half-yearly payments, in advance, of one hundred and fifty dollars each, until the said Marianne shall have attained the age of twenty-one years, when the said annuity shall cease, and the said Marianne will receive the five hundred dollars given to her and other indented persons, according to clause XVI. of this Will.

6th. I give and bequeath to my late house-keeper, Mary Kenton, an annuity, or yearly sum of *Three Hundred Dollars*, to be paid in half-yearly payments, in advance, of one hundred and fifty dollars each, during her life.

7th. I give and bequeath to Mrs. Deborah Scott, sister of Mary Kenton, and wife of Mr. Edwin T. Scott, an annuity, or yearly sum of *Three Hundred Dollars*, to be paid in half-yearly payments, in advance, of one hundred and fifty dollars each, during her life.

8th. I give and bequeath to Mrs. Catharine M'Laren, sister of Mary Kenton, and wife of Mr. M'Laren, an annuity, or yearly sum of *Three Hundred Dollars*, to be paid in half-yearly payments, in advance, of one hundred and fifty dollars each, during her life.

9th. I give and bequeath to Mrs. Amelia G. Taylor, wife of Mr. Richard M. Taylor, an annuity, or yearly sum of *Three Hundred Dollars*, to be paid in half-yearly payments, in advance, of one hundred and fifty dollars each, during her life.

XIX. All that part of my real and personal estate, near Washita, in the State of Louisiana, the said real estate consisting of upwards of two hundred and eight thousand arpens, or acres of land, and including therein the settlement hereinafter mentioned, I give, devise and bequeath, as follows, namely: 1. I give, devise and bequeath to the Corporation of the City of New Orleans, their successors and assigns, all that part of my real estate, constituting the settlement formed on my behalf by my particular friend, Judge Henry Bree, of Washita, consisting of upwards of one thousand arpens, or acres of land, with the appurtenances and improvements thereon, and also all the personal estate thereto belonging, and thereon remaining, including upwards of thirty slaves now on said settlement, and their increase, in trust, however, and subject to the following reservations:

I desire, that no part of the said estate or property, or the slaves thereon, or their increase, shall be disposed of or sold for the term of twenty years from and after my decease, should the said Judge Henry Bree survive me and live so long, but that the said settlement shall be kept up by the said Judge Henry Bree, for and during said term of twenty years, as if it was his own; that is, it shall remain under his sole care and control, he shall improve the same by raising such produce as he may deem most advisable, and, after paying taxes, and all expenses in keeping up the settlement, by clothing the slaves and otherwise, he shall have and enjoy for his own use, all the nett profits of said settlement. Provided, however, and I desire that the said Judge Henry Bree, shall render annually to the Corporation of the City of New Orleans, a report of the state of the settlement, the income and expenditure thereof, the number and increase of the slaves, and the nett result of the whole. I desire that, at the expiration of the said term of twenty years, or on the decease of the said Judge Henry Bree, should he not live so long, the land and improvements forming said settlement, the s'aves thereon, or thereto belonging, and all other appurtenant personal property, shall be sold, as soon as the said Corporation shall deem it advisable to do so, and the proceeds of the said sale or sales shall be applied by the said Corporation to such uses and purposes as they shall consider most likely to promote the health and general prosperity of the inhabitants of the City of New Orleans. But, until the said sale shall be made, the said Corporation shall pay all taxes, prevent waste or intrusion, and so manage the said settlement and the slaves, and their increase thereon, as to derive an income, and the said income shall be applied from time to time, to the same uses and purposes for the health and general prosperity of the said inhabitants.

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2. I give, devise, and bequeath to the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of Philadelphia, their successors and assigns, two undivided third parts of all the rest and residue of my said real estate, being the lands unimproved near Washita, in the said State of Louisiana, in trust, that, in common with the Corporation of the City of New Orleans, they shall pay the taxes on the said lands, and preserve them from waste or intrusion, for the term of ten years from and after my decease, and, at the end of the said term, when they shall deem it advisable to do so, shall sell and dispose of their interest in said lands gradually from time to time, and apply the proceeds of such sales to the same uses and purposes hereinafter declared and directed, of and concerning the residue of my personal estate.

3. And I give, devise, and bequeath to the Corporation of the City of New Orleans, their successors and assigns, the remaining one undivided third part of the said lands, in trust, in common with the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of Philadelphia, to pay the taxes on the said lands, and preserve them from waste and intrusion, for the term of ten years from and after my decease, and, at the end of the said term, when they shall deem it advisable to do so, to sell and dispose of their interest in said lands gradually from time to time, and to apply the proceeds of such sale to such uses and purposes as the said Corporation may consider most likely to promote the health and general prosperity of the inhabitants of the City of New Orleans.

XX. And, whereas, I have been for a long time impressed with the importance of educating the poor, and of placing them, by the early cultivation of their minds and the development of their moral principles, above the many temptations, to which, through poverty and ignorance, they are exposed; and I am particularly desirous to provide for such a number of poor male white orphan children, as can be trained in one institution, a better education, as well as a more comfortable maintenance, than they usually receive from the application of the public funds; and whereas, together with the object just adverted to, I have sincerely at heart the welfare of the city of Philadelphia, and, as a part of it, am desirous to improve the neighborhood of the river Delaware, so that the health of the citizens may be promoted and preserved, and that the eastern part of the city may be made to correspond better with the interior. Now, I do give, devise and bequeath *all the residue and remainder of my real and personal estate* of every sort and kind wheresoever situate, (the real estate in Pennsylvania charged as aforesaid) unto "the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of Philadelphia," their successors and assigns, in trust, to and for the several uses, intents and purposes hereinafter mentioned and declared of and concerning the same, that is to say; so far as regards my real estate in Pennsylvania, in trust, that no part thereof shall ever be sold or alienated by the said Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of Philadelphia, or their successors, but the same shall forever thereafter be let from time to time, to good tenants, at yearly or other rents, and upon leases in possession, not exceeding five years from the commencement thereof, and that the rents, issues and profits arising therefrom, shall be applied towards keeping that part of the said real estate situate in the city and liberties of Philadelphia constantly in good repair, (parts elsewhere situate to be kept in repair by the tenants thereof respectively) and towards improving the same, whenever necessary, by erecting new buildings; and that the nett residue (after paying the several annuities herein before provided for,) be applied to the same uses and purposes as are herein declared of and concerning the residue of my personal estate: and so far as regards my real estate in Kentucky, now under the care of Messrs. Triplett & Brumley, in trust, to sell and dispose of the same, whenever it may be expedient to do so, and to apply the proceeds of such sale to the same uses and purposes as are herein declared of and concerning the residue of my personal estate.

XXI. And so far as regards the residue of my personal estate, in trust, as to *two*

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millions of dollars, part thereof, to apply and expend so much of that sum as may be necessary, in erecting, as soon as practicably may be, in the centre of my square of ground between High and Chestnut streets, and Eleventh and Twelfth streets, in the city of Philadelphia, (which square of ground I hereby devote for the purposes hereinafter stated, and for no other, forever,) a permanent college, with suitable out-buildings, sufficiently spacious for the residence and accommodation of at least three hundred scholars, and the requisite teachers and other persons necessary in such an institution as I have directed to be established, and in supplying the said college and out-buildings with decent and suitable furniture, as well as books and all things needful to carry into effect my general design.

The said college shall be constructed with the most durable materials, and in the most permanent manner, avoiding needless ornament, and attending chiefly to the strength, convenience, and neatness of the whole: It shall be at least one hundred and ten feet east and west, and one hundred and sixty feet north and south, and shall be built on lines parallel with High and Chestnut streets, and Eleventh and Twelfth streets, provided those lines shall constitute at their junction right angles: It shall be three stories in height, each story at least fifteen feet high in the clear from the floor to the cornice: It shall be fire-proof inside and outside. The floors and the roof to be formed of solid materials, on arches turned on proper centres, so that no wood may be used, except for doors, windows and shutters: Cellars shall be made under the whole building, solely for the purposes of the institution; the doors to them from the outside shall be on the east and west of the building, and access to them from the inside shall be had by steps, descending to the cellar floor from each of the entries or halls hereinafter mentioned, and the inside cellar doors to open under the stairs on the north-east and north-west corners of the northern entry, and under the stairs on the south-east and south-west corners of the southern entry; there shall be a cellar window under and in a line with each window in the first story—they shall be built one half below, the other half above the surface of the ground, and the ground outside each window shall be supported by stout walls; the sashes should open inside, on hinges, like doors, and there should be strong iron bars outside each window; the windows inside and outside should not be less than four feet wide in the clear: There shall be in each story four rooms, each room not less than fifty feet square in the clear; the four rooms on each floor to occupy the whole space east and west on such floor or story, and the middle of the building north and south; so that in the north of the building, and in the south thereof, there may remain a space of equal dimensions, for an entry or hall in each for stairs and landings: In the north-east and north-west corners of the northern entry or hall on the first floor, stairs shall be made so as to form a double stair-case, which shall be carried up through the several stories; and, in like manner, in the south-east and south-west corners of the southern entry or hall, stairs shall be made, on the first floor, so as to form a double stair-case, to be carried up through the several stories; the steps of the stairs to be made of smooth white marble, with plain square edges, each step not to exceed nine inches in the rise, nor to be less than ten inches in the tread; the outside and inside foundation walls shall be at least ten feet high in the clear from the ground to the ceiling; the first floor shall be at least three feet above the level of the ground around the building, after that ground shall have been so regulated as that there shall be a gradual descent from the centre to the side of the square formed by High and Chestnut and Eleventh and Twelfth streets: all the outside foundation walls, forming the cellars, shall be three feet six inches thick up to the first floor, or as high as may be necessary to fix the centres for the first floor; and the inside foundation wall, running north and south, and the three inside foundation walls running east and west (intended to receive the interior walls for the four rooms, each not less than fifty feet square in the clear, above mentioned,) shall be three feet thick up to the first floor,

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or as high as may be necessary to fix the centres for the first floor; when carried so far up, the outside wall shall be reduced to two feet in thickness, leaving a recess outside of one foot, and inside of six inches—and when carried so far up, the inside foundation walls shall also be reduced, six inches on each side, to the thickness of two feet; centres shall then be fixed on the various recesses of six inches throughout, left for the purpose, the proper arches shall be turned, and the first floor laid; the outside and the inside walls shall then be carried up to the thickness of two feet throughout, as high as may be necessary to begin the recess intended to fix the centres of the second floor, that is, the floor of four rooms, each not less than fifty feet square in the clear, and for the landing in the north, and the landing in the south of the building, where the stairs are to go up—at this stage of the work, a chain, composed of bars of inch square iron, each bar about ten feet long, and linked together by hooks formed of the ends of the bars, shall be laid straightly and horizontally along the several walls, and shall be as tightly as possible worked into the centre of them throughout, and shall be secured wherever necessary, especially at all the angles, by iron clamps solidly fastened, so as to prevent cracking or swerving in any part; centres shall then be laid, the proper arches turned for the second floor and landings, and the second floor and landings shall be laid; the outside and the inside walls shall then be carried up of the same thickness of two feet throughout as high as may be necessary to begin in the recess intended to fix the centres for the third floor and landings, and, when so far carried up, another chain, similar in all respects to that used at the second story, shall be in a like manner worked into the walls throughout, as tightly as possible, and clamped in the same way with equal care; centers shall be formed, the proper arches turned, and the third floor and landings shall be laid; the outside and the inside walls shall then be carried up, of the same thickness of two feet throughout, as high as may be necessary to begin the recess intended to fix the centres for the roof; and, when so carried up, a third chain, in all respects like those used at the second and third stories, shall in the manner before described, be worked as tightly as possible into the walls throughout, and shall be clamped with equal care; centres shall now be fixed in the manner best adapted for the roof, which is to form the ceiling for the third story, the proper arches shall be turned, and the roof shall be laid as nearly horizontally as may be, consistently with the easy passage of water to the eaves: the outside walls, still of the thickness of two feet throughout, shall then be carried up about two feet above the level of the platform, and shall have marble capping, with a strong and neat iron railing thereon: The outside walls shall be faced with slabs or blocks of marble or granite, not less than two feet thick, and fastened together with clamps securely sunk therein,—they shall be carried up flush from the recess of one foot formed at the first floor where the foundation outside wall is reduced to two feet: The floors and landings, as well as the roof, shall be covered with marble slabs, securely laid in mortar; the slabs on the roof to be twice as thick as those on the floors. In constructing the walls, as well as in turning the arches, and laying the floors, landings, and roof, good and strong mortar and grout shall be used, so that no cavity whatever may anywhere remain. A furnace or furnaces for the generation of heated air shall be placed in the cellar, and the heated air shall be introduced in adequate quantity, wherever wanted, by means of pipes and flues inserted and made for the purpose in the walls, and as those walls shall be constructed. In case it shall be found expedient for the purposes of a library, or otherwise to increase the number of rooms, by dividing any of those directed to be not less than fifty square in the clear, into parts, the partition walls to be of solid materials. A room most suitable for the purpose shall be set apart for the reception and preservation of my books and papers, and I direct that they shall be placed there by my executors, and carefully preserved therein. There shall be two principal doors of entrance into the college, one into the entry or hall on the first floor, in the north of

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the building, and in the centre between the east and west walls, the other into the entry or hall in the south of the building, and in the centre between the east and west walls; the dimensions to be determined by a due regard to the size of the entire building, to that of the entry, and to the purpose of the doors. The necessity for, as well as the position and size of other doors, internal or external, and also the position and size of the windows, to be, in like manner, decided on by a consideration of the uses to which the building is to be applied, the size of the building itself, and of the several rooms, and of the advantages of light and air; there should in each instance be double doors, those opening into the rooms to be what are termed glass doors, so as to increase the quantity of light for each room, and those opening outward to be of substantial wood work well lined and secured; the windows of the second and third stories I recommend to be made in the style of those in the first and second stories of my present dwelling house, North Water Street, on the eastern front thereof; and outside each window I recommend that a substantial and neat iron balcony be placed, sufficiently wide to admit the opening of the shutters against the walls; the windows of the lower story to be in the same style, except that they are not to descend to the floor, but so far as the surbase, up to which the wall is to be carried, as is the case in the lower story of my house at my place in Passyunk Township. In minute particulars, not here noticed, utility and good taste should determine. There should be at least four out-buildings, detached from the main edifice and from each other, and in such positions as shall at once answer the purposes of the institution, and be consistent with the symmetry of the whole establishment: each building should be, as far as practicable, devoted to a distinct purpose; in that one or more of those buildings, in which they may be most useful, I direct my executors to place my plate and furniture of every sort.

The entire square, formed by High and Chestnut streets, and Eleventh and Twelfth streets, shall be enclosed with a solid wall, at least fourteen inches thick, and ten feet high, capped with marble and guarded with irons on the top, so as to prevent persons from getting over; there shall be two places of entrance into the square, one in the centre of the wall facing High street, and the other in the centre of the wall facing Chestnut street, at each place of entrance there shall be two gates, one opening inward, and the other outward; those opening inward to be of iron, and in the style of the gates north and south of my Banking house; and those opening outward to be of substantial wood work, well lined and secured on the faces thereof with sheet iron. The messuages now erected on the south-east corner of High and Twelfth streets, and on Twelfth street, to be taken down and removed as soon as the college and out-buildings shall have been erected, so that the establishment may be rendered secure and private.

When the college and appurtenances shall have been constructed, and supplied with plain and suitable furniture and books, philosophical and experimental instruments and apparatus, and all other matters needful to carry my general design into execution; the income, issues and profits of so much of the said sum of two millions of dollars as shall remain unexpended, shall be applied to maintain the said college according to my directions.

1. The institution shall be organized as soon as practicable, and to accomplish the purpose more effectually, due public notice of the intended opening of the college shall be given—so that there may be an opportunity to make selections of competent instructors, and other agents, and those who may have the charge of orphans, may be aware of the provisions intended for them.

2. A competent number of instructors, teachers, assistants, and other necessary agents shall be selected, and when needful, their places, from time to time, supplied: they shall receive adequate compensation for their services: but no person shall be employed, who shall not be of tried skill in his or her proper department, of estab-

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lished moral character, and in all cases persons shall be chosen on account of their merit, and not through favor or intrigue.

3. As many poor white male orphans, between the age of six and ten years, as the said income shall be adequate to maintain, shall be introduced into the college as soon as possible; and from time to time, as there may be vacancies, or as increased ability from income may warrant, others shall be introduced.

4. On the application for admission, an accurate statement should be taken in a book, prepared for the purpose, of the name, birth-place, age, health, condition as to relatives, and other particulars useful to be known of each orphan.

5. No orphan should be admitted until the guardians or directors of the poor, or a proper guardian or other competent authority, shall have given, by indenture, relinquishment, or otherwise, adequate power to the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of Philadelphia, or to directors, or others by them appointed, to enforce, in relation to each orphan, every proper restraint, and to prevent relatives or others from interfering with, or withdrawing such orphan from the institution.

6. Those orphans, for whose admission application shall first be made, shall be first introduced, all other things concurring—and at all future times, priority of application shall entitle the applicant to preference in admission, all other things concurring; but if there shall be, at any time, more applicants than vacancies, and the applying orphans shall have been born in different places, a preference shall be given —*first*, to orphans born in the city of Philadelphia; *secondly*, to those born in any other part of Pennsylvania; *thirdly*, to those born in the city of New York (that being the first port on the continent of North America at which I arrived:) and *lastly*, to those born in the city of New Orleans, being the first port on the said continent at which I first traded, in the first instance as first officer, and subsequently as master and part owner of a vessel and cargo.

7. The orphans admitted into the college shall be there fed with plain but wholesome food, clothed with plain but decent apparel, (no distinctive dress ever to be worn) and lodged in a plain but safe manner; Due regard shall be paid to their health, and to this end their persons and clothes shall be kept clean, and they shall have suitable and rational exercise and recreation: They shall be instructed in the various branches of a sound education, comprehending reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geography, navigation, surveying, practical mathematics, astronomy; natural, chemical, and experimental philosophy, the French and Spanish languages, (I do not forbid, but I do not recommend the Greek and Latin languages)—and such other learning and science as the capacities of the several scholars may merit or warrant: I would have them taught facts and things, rather than words or signs: and especially, I desire, that by every proper means a pure attachment to our republican institutions and to the sacred rights of conscience, as guaranteed by our happy constitution, shall be formed and fostered in the minds of the scholars.

8. Should it unfortunately happen, that any of the orphans admitted into the college, shall, from malconduct, have become unfit companions for the rest, and mild means of reformation prove abortive, they should no longer remain therein.

9. Those scholars, who shall merit it, shall remain in the college until they shall respectively arrive at between fourteen and eighteen years of age; they shall then be bound out by the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of Philadelphia, or under their direction, to suitable occupations, as those of agriculture, navigation, arts, mechanical trades, and manufactures, according to the capacities and acquirements of the scholars respectively, consulting, as far as prudence shall justify it, the inclinations of the several scholars, as to the occupation, art or trade, to be learned.

In relation to the organization of the college and its appendages, I leave, necessarily, many details to the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of Philadelphia, and their successors; and I do so, with the more confidence, as, from the nature of my bequests,

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and the benefit to result from them, I trust that my fellow-citizens of Philadelphia, will observe and evince especial care and anxiety in selecting members for their city Councils, and other agents.

There are, however, some restrictions, which I consider it my duty to prescribe, and to be, amongst others, conditions on which my bequest for said college is made, and to be enjoyed, namely; *first*, I enjoin and require, that if, at the close of any year, the income of the fund devoted to the purposes of the said College shall be more than sufficient for the maintenance of the institution during that year, then the balance of the said income, after defraying such maintenance, shall be forthwith invested in good securities, thereafter to be and remain a part of the capital; but, in no event, shall any part of the said capital be sold, disposed of, or pledged, to meet the current expenses of the said institution, to which I devote the interest, income, and the dividends thereof, exclusively: *Secondly*. I enjoin and require that *no ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister of any sect whatsoever, shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatever in the said college; nor shall any such person ever be admitted for any purpose, or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated to the purposes of the said college*:—In making this restriction, I do not mean to cast any reflection upon any sect or person whatsoever; but, as there is such a multitude of sects, and such diversity of opinion amongst them, I desire to keep the tender minds of the orphans, who are to derive advantage from this bequest, free from the excitement which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy are so apt to produce; my desire is, that all the instructors and teachers in the college, shall take pains to instil into the minds of the scholars, *the purest principles of morality*, so that, on their entrance into active life, they may *from inclination and habit*, evince *benevolence towards their fellow creatures*, and *a love of truth, sobriety, and industry*, adopting at the same time such religious tenets as their *matured reason* may enable them to prefer. If the income, arising from that part of the said sum of two millions of dollars, remaining after the construction and furnishing of the college and out-buildings, shall, owing to the increase of the number of orphans applying for admission, or other cause, be inadequate to the construction of new buildings, or the maintenance and education of as many orphans as may apply for admission, then such further sum as may be necessary for the construction of new buildings and the maintenance and education of such further number of orphans, as can be maintained and instructed within such buildings as the said square of ground shall be adequate to, shall be taken from the final residuary fund hereinafter expressly referred to for the purpose, comprehending the income of my real estate in the city and county of Philadelphia, and the dividends of my stock in the Schuylkill Navigation Company—my design and desire being, that the benefits of said institution, shall be extended to as great a number of orphans, as the limits of the said square and buildings therein can accommodate.

XXII. And as to the further sum of *Five Hundred Thousand Dollars*, part of the residue of my personal estate, in trust, to invest the same securely, and to keep the same so invested, and to apply the income thereof exclusively to the following purposes: that is to say—

1. To lay out, regulate, curb, light and pave a passage or street, on the east part of the city of Philadelphia, fronting the river Delaware, not less than twenty-one feet wide, and to be called *Delaware Avenue*, extending from Vine to Cedar street, all along the east part of Water street squares, and the west side of the logs, which form the heads of the docks, or thereabouts; and to this intent to obtain such Acts of Assembly, and to make such purchases or agreements, as will enable the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of Philadelphia, to remove or pull down all the buildings, fences and obstructions which may be in the way, and to prohibit all buildings, fences, or erections of any kind to the eastward of said Avenue; to fill up the heads of such of the docks as may not afford sufficient room for the said street; to compel

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the owners of wharves to keep them clean, and covered completely with gravel or other hard materials, and to be so levelled that water will not remain thereon after a shower of rain; to completely clean and keep clean all the docks within the limits of the city, fronting on the Delaware; and to pull down all platforms carried out, from the east part of the city over the river Delaware, on piles or pillars.

2. To pull down and remove all wooden buildings, as well those made of wood and other combustible materials, as those called brick-paned, or frame buildings filled in with bricks, that are erected within the limits of the city of Philadelphia, and also to prohibit the erection of any such building, within the said city's limits at any future time

3. To regulate, widen, pave and curb Water street, and to distribute the Schuylkill water therein upon the following plan, that is to say—that Water street be widened east and west from Vine street, all the way to South street, in like manner as it is from the front of my dwelling to the front of my stores on the west side of Water street, and the regulation of the curbstones continued at the same distance from one another as they are at present opposite to the said dwelling and stores, so that the regulation of the said street be not less than thirty-nine feet wide, and afford a large and convenient footway, clear of obstructions and incumbrances of every nature, and the cellar doors on which, if any shall be permitted, not to extend from the buildings on to the footway more than four feet; the said width to be increased gradually, as the fund shall permit, and as the capacity to remove impediments shall increase, until there shall be a correct and permanent regulation of Water street, on the principles above stated, so that it may run north and south as straight as possible. That the ten feet middle alley, belonging to the public, and running from the centre of the east squares to Front street, all the way down across Water street to the river Delaware, be kept open and cleansed as city property, all the way from Vine to South street; that such part of each centre or middle alley as runs from Front to Water street, be arched over with bricks or stone, in so strong a manner as to facilitate the building of plain and permanent stone steps and platforms, so that they may be washed and kept constantly clean; and that the continuance of the said alleys, from the east side of Water street, be curbed all the way to the river Delaware, and kept open forever. (I understand that those middle or centre alleys were left open in the first plan of the lots, on the east front of the city, which were granted from the east side of Front street to the river Delaware, and that each lot on said east front has contributed to make those alleys, by giving a part of their ground in proportion to the size of each lot; those alleys were in the first instance, and still are, considered public property, intended for the convenience of the inhabitants residing in Front street, to go down to the river for water and other purposes; but, owing to neglect or to some other cause, on the part of those who have had the care of the city property, several encroachments have been made on them by individuals, by wholly occupying, or building over them, or otherwise, and in that way the inhabitants, more particularly those who reside in the neighbourhood, are deprived of the benefit of that wholesome air, which their opening and cleansing throughout would afford.) That the iron pipes, in Water street, which, by being of smaller size than those in the other streets, and too near the surface of the ground, cause constant leaks, particularly in the winter season, which in many places render the street impassible, be taken up and replaced by pipes of the same size, quality and dimensions in every respect, and laid down as deeply from the surface of the ground, as the iron pipes, which are laid in the main streets of the city; and as it respects pumps for Schuylkill water and fire-plugs in Water street, that one of each be fixed at the south-west corner of Vine and Water streets, and so running southward, one of each near the steps of the centre alley, going up to Front street; one of each at the south-west corner of Sassafras and Water streets, one of each near the steps of the centre alley going up to Front

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street, and so on at every south-west corner of all the main streets and Water street, and of the centre alleys of every square, as far as South or Cedar street; and when the same shall have been completed, that all Water street shall be repaved by the best workmen, in the most complete manner, with the best paving water-stones, after the height of the curb-stones shall have been regulated throughout, as well as the ascent and descent of the street, in such manner as to conduct the water through the main streets and the centre alleys to the river Delaware, as far as practicable; and whenever any part of the street shall want to be raised, to use nothing but good paving gravel for that purpose, so as to make the paving as permanent as possible. By all which improvements, it is my intention to place and maintain the section of the city above referred to, in a condition which will correspond better with the general cleanliness and appearance of the whole city, and be more consistent with the safety, health, and comfort of the citizens. And my mind and will are, that all the income, interest, and dividends of the said capital sum of five hundred thousand dollars, shall be yearly, and every year, expended upon the said objects, in the order in which I have stated them, as closely as possible, and upon no other objects until those enumerated shall have been attained; and, when those objects shall have been accomplished, I authorize and direct the said, the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens, to apply such part of the income of the said capital sum of five hundred thousand dollars, as they may think proper, to the further improvement, from time to time, of the eastern or Delaware front of the city.

XXIII. I give and bequeath to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, the sum of *Three Hundred Thousand Dollars*, for the purpose of internal improvements by canal navigation, to be paid into the State treasury by my executors, as soon as such laws shall have been enacted by the constituted authorities of the said Commonwealth as shall be necessary, and amply sufficient to carry into effect, or to enable the constituted authorities of the city of Philadelphia to carry into effect the several improvements above specified; namely, 1. *Laws*, to cause Delaware Avenue, as above described, to be made, paved, curbed and lighted; to cause the buildings, fences, and other obstructions now existing, to be abated and removed; and to prohibit the creation of any such obstructions to the eastward of said Delaware Avenue; 2. *Laws*, to cause all wooden buildings, as above described, to be removed, and to prohibit their future erection within the limits of the city of Philadelphia; 3. *Laws*, providing for the gradual widening, regulating, paving and curbing Water street, as hereinbefore described, and also for the repairing the middle alleys, and introducing the Schuylkill water, and pumps, as before specified—all which objects may, I persuade myself, be accomplished on principles at once just in relation to individuals, and highly beneficial to the public: the said sum, however, not to be paid, unless said laws be passed within one year after my decease.

XXIV. And as it regards *the remainder of said residue* of my personal estate, in trust, to invest the same in good securities, and in like manner to invest the interest and income thereof, from time to time, so that the whole shall form a permanent fund; and to apply the income of the said fund,

1st. To the further improvement and maintenance of the aforesaid College, as directed in the last paragraph of the XXIst clause of this Will:

2d. To enable the Corporation of the city of Philadelphia to provide more effectually than they now do, for the security of the persons and property of the inhabitants of the said city, by a competent police, including a sufficient number of watchmen, really suited to the purpose: and to this end, I recommend a division of the city into watch districts, or four parts, each under a proper head, and that, at least two watchmen shall, in each round or station, patrole together.

3d. To enable the said Corporation to improve the city property, and the gene-

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ral appearance of the city itself, and, in effect, to diminish the burden of taxation now most oppressive, especially on those who are the least able to bear it:—

To all which objects, the prosperity of the city, and the health and comfort of its inhabitants, I devote the said fund as aforesaid, and direct the income thereof to be applied yearly, and every year forever, after providing for the College as hereinbefore directed, as my primary object. But, if the said City shall knowingly and willfully violate any of the conditions hereinbefore and hereinafter mentioned, then I give and bequeath the said remainder and accumulations to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, for the purpose of internal navigation; excepting, however, the rents, issues and profits of my real estate in the city and county of Philadelphia, which shall forever be reserved and applied to maintain the aforesaid College, in the manner specified in the last paragraph of the XXIst clause of this Will: And if the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania shall fail to apply this or the preceding bequest to the purposes before mentioned, or shall apply any part thereof to any other use, or shall, for the term of one year from the time of my decease, fail or omit to pass the laws hereinbefore specified for promoting the improvement of the city of Philadelphia, then I give, devise and bequeath the said remainder and accumulations (the rents aforesaid always excepted and reserved for the College as aforesaid) to the United States of America, for the purposes of internal navigation, and no other.

Provided, nevertheless, and I do hereby declare, that all the preceding bequests and devices of the residue of my estate to the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of Philadelphia, are made upon the following express conditions, that is to say:—*First*, That none of the monies, principal, interest, dividends or rents, arising from the said residuary devise and bequest, shall at any time be applied to any other purpose or purposes whatever, than those herein mentioned and appointed; *Second*, That separate accounts, distinct from the other accounts of the Corporation, shall be kept by the said Corporation, concerning the said devise, bequest, College, and funds, and of the investment and application thereof; and that a separate account or accounts of the same shall be kept in bank, not blended with any other account, so that it may at all times appear, on examination by a committee of the legislature, as hereinafter mentioned, that my intentions had been fully complied with: *Third*, That the said Corporation render a detailed account annually, in duplicate, to the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, at the commencement of the session, one copy for the Senate, and the other for the House of Representatives, concerning the said devised and bequeathed estate, and the investment and application of the same, and also a report in like manner of the state of the said college, and shall submit all their books, papers, and accounts touching the same, to a committee or committees of the Legislature for examination, when the same shall be required.

4th. The said Corporation shall also cause to be published in the month of January, annually, in two or more newspapers, printed in the city of Philadelphia, a concise but plain account of the state of the trusts, devises and bequests herein declared and made, comprehending the condition of the said college, the number of scholars, and other particulars needful to be publicly known, for the year next preceding the said month of January, annually.

XXV. And whereas, I have executed an assignment, in trust, of my banking establishment, to take effect the day before my decease, to the intent that all the concerns thereof may be closed by themselves, without being blended with the concerns of my general estate, and the balance remaining to be paid over to my executors: Now, I do hereby direct my executors, hereinafter mentioned, not to interfere with the said trust in any way except to see that the same is faithfully executed, and to aid the execution thereof by all such acts and deeds as may be necessary and expedient to effectuate the same, so that it may be speedily closed, and the balance paid over to my executors, to go, as in my Will, into the residue of my estate: And I do

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hereby authorize, direct, and empower the said trustees, from time to time, as the capital of the said bank shall be received, and shall not be wanted for the discharge of the debts due thereat, to invest the same in good securities, in the names of my executors, and to hand over the same to them, to be disposed of according to this my Will.

XXVI. Lastly, I do hereby nominate and appoint Timothy Paxson, Thomas P. Cope, Joseph Roberts, William J. Duane, and John A. Barclay, executors of this my last Will and Testament: I recommend to them to close the concerns of my estate as expeditiously as possible, and to see that my intentions in respect to the residue of my estate are and shall be strictly complied with: and I do hereby revoke all other Wills by me heretofore made.

In witness, I, the said Stephen Girard, have to this my last Will and Testament, contained in thirty-five pages, set my hand at the bottom of each page, and my hand and seal at the bottom of this page; the said Will executed, from motives of prudence, in duplicate, this sixteenth day of February, in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty.

STEPHEN GIRARD. [SEAL.]

Signed, sealed, published, and declared by the said Stephen Girard, as and for his last Will and Testament, in the presence of us, who have at his request hereunto subscribed our names as witnesses thereto, in the presence of the said Testator, and of each other, Feb. 16, 1830.

JOHN H. IRWIN,
SAMUEL ARTHUR,
S. H. CARPENTER.

WHEREAS, I, Stephen Girard, the Testator named in the foregoing Will and Testament, dated the sixteenth day of February, eighteen hundred and thirty, have, since the execution thereof, purchased several parcels and pieces of real estate, and have built sundry Messuages, all which, as well as any real estate that I may hereafter purchase, it is my wish and intention to pass by the said Will: Now, I do hereby republish the foregoing last Will and Testament, dated February 16, 1830, and do confirm the same in all particulars. In witness, I, the said Stephen Girard, set my hand and seal hereunto, the twenty-fifth day of December, eighteen hundred and thirty.

STEPHEN GIRARD. [SEAL.]

Signed, sealed, published, and declared by the said Stephen Girard, as and for a republication of his last Will and Testament, in the presence of us, who at his request, have hereunto subscribed our names as witnesses thereto, in the presence of the said Testator and of each other, December 25th, 1830.

JOHN H. IRWIN,
SAMUEL ARTHUR,
JNO. THOMSON.

WHEREAS, I, Stephen Girard, the Testator named in the foregoing Will and Testament, dated February 16, 1830, have, since the execution thereof, purchased several parcels and pieces of land and real estate, and have built sundry Messuages, all which, as well as any real estate that I may hereafter purchase, it is my intention to pass by said Will: And whereas, in particular, I have recently purchased from

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Mr. William Parker, the Mansion House, out-buildings, and forty-five acres and some perches of land, called Peel Hall, on the Ridge Road, in Penn Township; Now, I declare it to be my intention, and I direct, that the Orphan establishment, provided for in my said Will, instead of being built as therein directed upon my square of ground between High and Chestnut and Eleventh and Twelfth streets in the city of Philadelphia, shall be built upon the estate so purchased from Mr. W. Parker, and I hereby devote the said estate to that purpose, exclusively, in the same manner as I had devoted the said square, hereby directing that all the improvements and arrangements for the said Orphan establishment prescribed by my said Will as to said square, shall be made and executed upon the said estate, just as if I had in my Will devoted the said estate to said purpose—consequently, the said square of ground is to constitute, and I declare it to be a part of the residue and remainder of my real and personal estate, and given and devised for the same uses and purposes as are declared in section twenty of my Will, it being my intention that the said square of ground shall be built upon and improved in such a manner as to secure a safe and permanent income for the purposes stated in said twentieth section. In witness whereof, I, the said Stephen Girard, set my hand and seal hereunto, the twentieth day of June, eighteen hundred and thirty-one.

STEPHEN GIRARD. [SEAL.]

Signed, sealed, published and declared by the said Stephen Girard, as and for a republication of his last Will and Testament, and a further direction in relation to the real estate therein mentioned, in the presence of us, who, at his request, have hereunto subscribed our names as witnesses thereto, in the presence of the said Testator, and of each other, June 20, 1831.

S. H. CARPENTER,
L. BARDIN,
SAMUEL ARTHUR.

MAYORS OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1821–50.

1821–24.—ROBERT WHARTON.

He resigned the office of Mayor in April, 1824, having served in it a longer time than any other person. Joseph Watson was elected to succeed him.

1824–27.—JOSEPH WATSON.

He served four years, being chosen in 1824, and reëlected three times. His death is given as occurring April 9, 1841.

1828.—GEORGE M. DALLAS.

He was a son of Alexander James Dallas, secretary of the treasury under President Madison. He was born in Philadelphia, July 10, 1792, and died there December 31, 1864. Enjoying high distinction in national affairs, his service as Mayor of the City was but an episode in his public career. He was chosen in 1828, and resigned, after six months, upon his appointment as U. S. district attorney, Benjamin W. Richards being chosen to the vacancy. Mr. Dallas was U. S. Senator from Pennsylvania, 1831–33; was elected Vice-President of the United States, with Mr. Polk, in 1844; and was Minister to England, by appointment of President Pierce, from 1856 to 1861.

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For a number of years, preceding 1845, when Mr. Buchanan became Secretary of State under President Polk, and thus acquired a superior influence, the Democratic party in Pennsylvania was divided, as to leadership, between Mr. Dallas and Mr. Buchanan.

1829.—Benjamin W. Richards.

Born at Batsto Iron Works, N. J., November 12, 1797, and graduated at Princeton College. He came to Philadelphia in 1819, and engaged in business on Market street. He was elected a member of the City Councils, and of the Legislature; in 1829 he was appointed one of the Canal Commissioners of the State. In April of that year, upon the resignation of George M. Dallas, he was elected Mayor, serving until October, when he was succeeded by William Milnor. In October, 1830, he was again elected and rechosen, 1831. He subsequently held other places of honor and trust. He died July 12, 1851.

1829.—William Milnor.

Elected by City Councils in October, 1829, and served one year.

1830–31.—Benjamin W. Richards.

1832–7.—John Swift.

He was the son of John W. Swift, a prominent citizen and merchant of Philadelphia, (a common councilman, 1757–76, and collector of the port, 1762–72), and was born here June 27, 1790. He was admitted to the bar, 1811, and became an active and popular leader of the Whigs of the city. He was chosen Mayor by Councils in 1832, and was rechosen in the five following years. In 1839 he was one of the three candidates, (see below), who stood for popular choice, but no one having a majority, he was again chosen by the Councils. He was reëlected in 1840, and again in 1845, 1846, 1847, and 1848. He died June 9, 1873.

1838.—Isaac Roach.

Born in Philadelphia county, February 24, 1786. He served with distinction in the War of 1812, rising to the rank of Captain in the U. S. army, and receiving in 1823 the brevet of Major. He was chosen Mayor in 1838, and served one year. Subsequently he was appointed Treasurer of the Mint. He died December 29, 1848.

1839–40.—John Swift.

The first election of Mayor by popular vote took place, under the Act of June, 1839, in October of that year. There were three candidates: John Swift, who received 3343 votes; John C. Montgomery, 2670; John K. Kane, 3294. The law required a majority in order to elect, and in default of that left the selection to Councils, who thereupon chose Colonel Swift. In 1840 he was elected by the people, by 6355 votes to 4820 for Henry Horn.

1841–3.—John M. Scott.

Born in New York City, October 25, 1789. His father dying, his mother removed to Philadelphia, about 1807. He graduated at Princeton, and then read law with William Rawle. He was an officer in the Second City Troop, in the War of 1812. and was elected to the Legislature later. He served extendedly in Councils, and was some time president of Common Council. In 1837–8, he was a member of the State Constitutional Convention. In 1841 he was elected Mayor, and was reëlected the two years following. The elections were as follows: 1841, John M. Scott, 5658; Samuel Badger, 4693; William Thompson, 84; 1842, John M. Scott, 6145; Richard Vaux, 5137; 1843, John M. Scott, 6585; Samuel H. Perkins, 3976. Mr. Scott died April 3, 1858.

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1844.—PETER MCCALL.

He was a lawyer by profession, and was born at Trenton, N. J., August 31, 1809. He graduated at Princeton, and studied law with Joseph R. Ingersoll. He had served in the City Councils when he was elected Mayor in 1844. He was for many years a professor in the Law Department of the University, and a trustee of that institution from 1861 to his death, October 30, 1880.

1845–8.—JOHN SWIFT.

1849.—JOEL JONES.

He was born in Coventry, Conn., October 25, 1795, graduated at Yale, studied law, settled at Easton, Pa., and practiced his profession there for many years. He became associate judge, 1835, and afterward president judge, of the Philadelphia district court. He was the first president of Girard College, 1847–9, and was elected Mayor in 1849, for one year, having the support of the Democratic and Native American parties. He wrote extensively on legal and religious subjects. He died February 3, 1860.

1850.—CHARLES GILPIN.

He was the Whig candidate for Mayor against Joel Jones, in 1849, but was not elected. In 1850 he was again nominated, and this time received 7,400 votes, against 5,071 for Mayor Jones. In 1851 he was reëlected, receiving 9,275 votes, to 3,934 for ex-Mayor John Swift. In 1852 and 1853 he was again elected, practically without opposition. He was born in Wilmington, Del., November 18, 1809, and read law in this city with Hon. Joseph R. Ingersoll. He filled several municipal positions, was chosen member of Common Council in 1839, and Select Council in 1840. President Lincoln appointed him U. S. District Attorney, and he served in that position until removed by President Johnson in 1868. He died in 1891.

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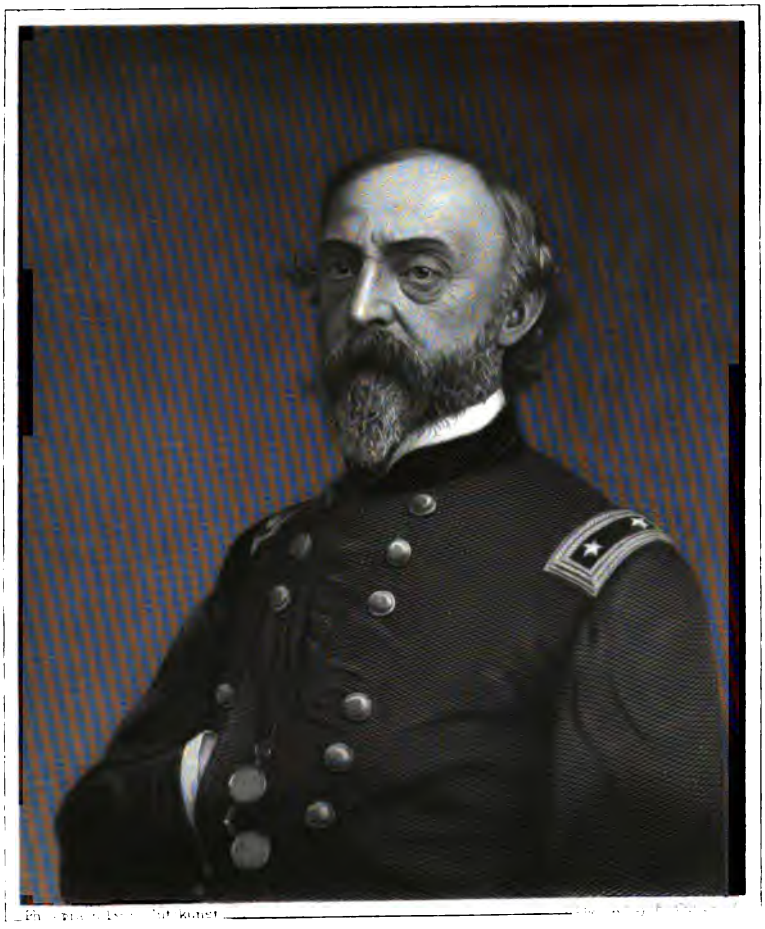

Geo. G. Meade

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CHAPTER XI

1850–1880

THE CONSOLIDATED CITY

THE population of Philadelphia, in 1810—including the Northern Liberties, Southwark, Moyamensing, Passyunk, and Penn Township—was 96,660. In 1820 this had increased to 114,410. In 1830 it reached 167,811, and in that year the whole county of Philadelphia had 188,797. In 1840 the population of the city and suburbs had become 220,523, and of the county, 258,037. In 1850 these figures had risen to 360,305 and 408,762. It appeared thus that in the forty years between 1810 and 1850 the urban population had nearly quadrupled. Evidently this was due to two great causes: the increase of manufacturing industries, by which employment was offered to a greater number of persons, and the improvement of transportation, by which the larger population easily and cheaply obtained subsistence.

In 1850 the territory which now composes the city, and which then, excepting the more distant rural portions, was practically united, by interest and intercourse, was divided into eight municipal corporations, six boroughs, and thirteen townships. There was first (1) the City, within the old limits of 1681, and as defined by the charters of 1701, and 1789—from Vine to South streets, and the Delaware to the Schuylkill. There were, then, these corporations, lying against the City and one another, built up, and really part of the urban system: (2) Southwark, grown up by various Acts since 1762, into an organized "district," but often united with other parts of the city for special elections, etc.; (3) the Northern Liberties, organized by Acts from 1791 down, and authorized, 1840, to elect a mayor; (4) Moyamensing, incorporated 1812, and given a large extension of powers in 1848; (5) Spring Garden, organized in 1813 and 1827; (6) Kensington, created 1820; (7) Penn, in 1844; (8) Richmond, 1847. (West Philadelphia (9) was organized 1851, and Belmont, (10), 1853. In 1854, therefore, these municipal corporations were ten in number.) The six boroughs were Germantown, Frankford, Manayunk, Bridesburg, White Hall, and Aramingo. The thirteen townships were Blockley, Bristol, Byberry, Lower Dublin, Oxford, Moreland, Germantown,

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Roxborough, Kingsessing, Northern Liberties, (the parts unincorporated), Penn, Delaware, and Passyunk.

The evils of such a complicated and dispersed responsibility of government were perceived long before 1850; by that time movements had begun to secure a remedy. A town meeting, November 16, 1849, called over the signatures of a large number of prominent citizens, appointed an executive committee to agitate the subject, and effect measures leading to the unity of the actual city. Prominent in this committee was Eli K. Price, who now took a prominent, and indeed a leading, part in the movement. The first result effected was an Act passed in May, 1850, for a consolidated police force. It provided that the city and districts should be made a police district, under a marshal, to be chosen for three years by the voters, and who should have all the police powers of the Mayor. Under this Act, in October (1850) John S. Keyser, of Spring Garden, was chosen marshal, and in 1853 John K. Murphy. The increased efficiency of the police was soon evident, and the defects of the old system in this department were measurably remedied. The evolution of the larger and more important plan took some time, but January 30, 1854, the Consolidation Act was passed by the Legislature, and Governor Bigler being at Erie, the bill was signed by him there, February 2. It provided that the city of Philadelphia, as limited by the charter of 1789, should be enlarged so as to include the territory forming the county of Philadelphia. All the franchises, rights, duties, property, assets, debts, and liabilities of the city, the nine districts, the six boroughs, and the thirteen townships—already named above—were transferred to the new corporation, the consolidated city of Philadelphia. At the same time, the county of Philadelphia remained in existence, and all county officers, except the commissioners, treasurer, and auditors, were continued, the county having always been the unit of the Pennsylvania system.

As the Act provided that the consolidated city should take over the debts of the several districts, etc., some of them made haste, while it was under consideration, its passage being regarded certain, to spend money on their local objects, and "within thirty days they added four and a half millions to the burden to be assumed by the new city," which started with a debt of $17,108,343.70. Nearly the whole of this debt had been incurred within a few years, and half of it by large subscriptions to the stock of railroad companies. The city had subscribed $6,100,000 on this account, the Northern Liberties, $1,000,000; Richmond, $500,000, and Spring Garden, $750,000, making $8,350,000 altogether. Five millions of the amount had been subscribed to the Pennsylvania Railroad, $1,400,000 to the North Pennsylvania Railroad, $1,200,000 to the Sunbury and Erie,

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with $600,000 to the Hempfield, and $150,000 to the Northwestern Railroad, both of which last-named subscriptions proved an entire loss. The investments in the Pennsylvania and North Pennsylvania, besides the trade advantage to the city, were additionally justified by the success of those railroads.

The Act of 1854 provided that the first election under the new system should be held on the first Tuesday of June. Candidates for mayor were named by the two chief parties, the Whigs and Democrats, and an earnest contest followed, resulting in a vote of 29,507 for Robert T. Conrad, and 21,011 for Richard Vaux. Judge Conrad had received, besides the ordinary support of the Whigs, help from the "Know Nothing" organization, which had now succeeded the earlier Native American party. By the new Act, the term of the mayor's service had been made two years. In 1862 it was extended to three years, and by the provisions of the Act of 1885, the present charter, which went into effect April 1, 1887, it was made four years. The mayors of the City, following Judge Conrad, were:

1856.—Richard Vaux. He was again nominated by the Democrats,[1] while the Opposition, the dissolved and as yet unreconstructed elements of the Whig and American parties, supported Henry D. Moore. A Republican ticket, with William B. Thomas for mayor, had a small vote. Mr. Vaux's vote was 29,534; that for Judge Conrad was 25,545.

1858.—Alexander Henry. He was nominated as a People's candidate, by a convention at Spring Garden Hall, and was supported by the Republican and American elements against Mr. Vaux, who was again the candidate of his party. Mr. Henry's vote was 33,772; Mr. Vaux's, 29,039.

1860.—Alexander Henry. Mr. Henry was renominated as a People's candidate. His Democratic opponent was John Robbins, Jr. The vote was very close: Henry, 36,658; Robbins, 35,776.

The foreign commerce of the city had relatively declined before 1850. In 1838, (September 30), the registered tonnage of New York—vessels in the foreign trade—was 169,921 tons, while that of Philadelphia was but 42,266. The contrast of coasting trade was even more unfavorable. In that New York's enrollment was 221,601 tons, while Philadelphia's was 42,640 tons.[2] This was the year that ocean steamships began their trips.[3] Philadelphia made, in 1839, some effort to establish a line of her own, but unsuccessfully. The construction of railroads, the development of the coal regions, and the growth of manufactures, absorbed her capital, and commanded the abilities of her energetic men. The transfer of the

[1] He had been their candidate in 1842, and 1846, as well as in 1854, unsuccessfully.
[2] Cf. Hazard's U. S. Register, I., 168.
[3] See ante, p. 481.

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foreign trade to New York had begun soon after the close of the war with England,[1] and the advantage brought to that city, ten years later, by the completion of the Erie Canal, was of high importance. Its value to New York was increased by the fact that the canal system of Ohio was connected with Lake Erie, and so drained the products of that State through the New York canals to the Hudson. The connection Philadelphia had made with Pittsburg drew trade from only a limited region north of the Ohio river.[2] The trade to China ceased about 1832. The *Globe*, a ship belonging to Eyre and Massey, cleared for Canton in August of that year, and arrived back in July following. In 1842, one other vessel, the *Osage*, cleared from here for Canton, but returned to New York. The exports of Philadelphia had risen as high as 11¼ millions of dollars, in 1825, but in 1850 were but 4½ millions. The imports of 1828 had been 33 millions, while those of 1850 were 12 millions.

Movements were made, in 1851, to secure a regular service of ocean steamships. An English line began that year to send vessels to Philadelphia, and the arrival of the *City of Glasgow*, on the 2d of January, was celebrated with enthusiasm. Three other vessels were assigned to the line, the *City of Manchester*, the *City of Pittsburg*, and the *City of Philadelphia*, but the last-named never arrived, being wrecked on Cape Race, on her voyage from Liverpool, September 17, 1854. A chapter of misfortunes attended the line. The *City of Glasgow* left Liverpool for Philadelphia, March 1, 1854, and was never heard of afterward. Her disappearance is one of the dark mysteries of the sea. She had on board over five hundred persons, and the ship and cargo were valued at $850,000. The *Pittsburg* was burned, in the harbor of Valparaiso, in 1862. The *Manchester* continued the service to Philadelphia, making monthly sailings, until in 1854 she was taken by the English government to transport troops to the Crimea, for the Russian war, and the operations of the line then ceased. It was not until after the War of the Rebellion that a successful movement was made—this time by Philadelphia merchants—to establish steamship lines across the Atlantic, from this port.

The railroads eastward to New York, southward to Wilmington and Baltimore, westward to the Susquehanna and the Ohio, and

[1] "New York was not our rival in those days [1810]. . . . In the fall of 1815, I saw the city and port. . . . I saw a funeral procession pass up the middle of Broadway, from below the Park, unlet of wagon, cart, or dray, or anything whatever beyond an occasional gig or pleasure wagon. New York did not begin to develop till about the year 1816, when several of our principal silk houses and others went there on account of her open harbor during the winter. . . . Amongst the first of our emigrants was the silk and ribbon house of Brugiere and Tessiere, from Market, above Sixth street." (Ritter, Philadelphia and Her Merchants, 23.)

[2] It was stated in 1830 that "so great is the facility of transportation from the interior of Ohio to the State of New York, that wheat now commands a higher price at Massillon, one hundred miles west of Pittsburg, than at the salt-works, fifty or sixty miles east of it." (Citation in Ringwalt's "Transportation Systems," p. 51.)

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northwestward to the Schuylkill region, had all been provided by 1852. There remained for construction a line which, running due north, should reach the Lehigh region. The movement for this was begun in that year, and the road, the North Pennsylvania, was built in the following five years, extending from Philadelphia to Bethlehem, about fifty-five miles. It was opened to Gwynedd, twenty miles out of the city, June 19, 1856, and to the Lehigh on the 1st of January following.

Leaving, now, the ordinary tranquil affairs of the city, we enter upon a decade in which, as more than once earlier in this narrative, external influences directed the chief current of its experience. From 1856, for ten years, concern for the nation exercised supreme control. The passage by Congress of the so-called "compromise measures," in the summer of 1850, it had been insisted by their author, Henry Clay, and by their chief advocate, Daniel Webster, would heal the sectional wounds which were bleeding. The plan was not that of President Taylor, the plain patriot, and practical man of affairs, nor was it that of his Cabinet, in which, as secretary of the treasury, sat William M. Meredith, of Philadelphia, but the sudden and untimely death of the President, in July, 1850, left the Whig leadership in other hands, and the "compromise" prevailed.

R. T. Conrad

The South had demanded, as part of the concessions which it required of the North, in order that the Union might continue, two distinct and definite things: (1) the suppression of anti-slavery agitation; (2) the effective enforcement of the fugitive-slave laws. Upon a city placed like Philadelphia, almost touching the line which Mason and Dixon had surveyed, and which had now become the boundary between freedom and slavery, these demands fell heavily. The tradition of Philadelphia was that of freedom. If Penn's plan and all the logic growing from it did not mean equality of rights, and benignancy of social organization, they were empty of meaning. Yet here, where the sections so nearly touched, where—

> "North and South are as one in the blended growth of the region,"

there were divided feelings. The old temper was strongly that of

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freedom; the removal of the national capital to the Potomac was in a degree due to the desire of the southern men to escape anti-slavery petitions, which were handed in to Congress, year after year, while it sat in Philadelphia. But the trade of the city was largely with the south and southwest. Cut off to the northward by the New York system of canals and railroads, and even—as has been said—from most of the country north of the Ohio, Philadelphia sold south of that river, and welcomed, spring and fall, a throng of merchants from the slave-holding States. Moreover, its medical schools, famous then and now, received every year hundreds of students, young, impetuous men, from the same section. It was some of them, who, as the abolitionists had intimated, had incited the burning of Pennsylvania Hall.

For years, then, these conflicting elements of feeling, conviction, and interest, came into continual collision. It was not practicable to silence the voices of opposition to slavery. Nor was it possible to promptly catch and return every fugitive slave that reached the city. The only thing possible was to contend over the policy which included these requirements, until it should come to a final issue. That issue was reached in April, 1861, when Fort Sumter was fired upon.

The old abolition societies, formed in many of the States, even as far south as North Carolina, before 1800, held frequent conventions, usually at Philadelphia, to promote the emancipation movement, down to about 1820, but by 1830 the rising tide of opposition submerged them. In December 1833, the American Anti-Slavery Society was formed at a meeting held in the Adelphi building, on Fifth street below Walnut, attended by "some sixty or seventy delegates," with others. John G. Whittier was one of the strangers; Philadelphians made up perhaps half of the gathering. Among the delegates was a young divinity student from Carlisle, in the Cumberland Valley, James Miller McKim, and he it was who in the period we now have in hand, just before the Civil War, was in charge of the "Anti-Slavery Office," in Philadelphia, the centre of the operations in behalf of those colored people whose claim to freedom was disputed.

The American Anti-Slavery Society held its annual meetings frequently in Philadelphia. In 1837 the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society was formed here; and there was also an organization of women, the Female Anti-Slavery Society. The activity of all these was untiring, and they had their influence, certainly, upon the public mind. Despite the extreme hostility exhibited toward them, exemplified by the riot of 1838, they yet made an impression which political events later deepened and emphasized.

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The enforcement of the new law of 1850 concerning the rendition of fugitive slaves was committed to the officers of the general government, the marshals, and judges, and to commissioners appointed for the particular purpose of hearing and deciding such cases. The operation of the law was naturally watched with interest. Cases arose in Philadelphia soon after it took effect. In December (1850), before Commissioner E. D. Ingraham, a man named Adam Gibson was brought. He had in fact been kidnapped by a slave-catcher named Alberti—afterward convicted of kidnapping, and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment—but he was claimed as the slave of a Mr. Knight, in Maryland. He was ably defended by David Paul Brown and William S. Pierce, the latter afterward, for many years, a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, but Ingraham decided him a slave, and he was sent to the railroad station, surrounded by a body of police. Arrived at Mr. Knight's, that gentleman declined to receive him, pronouncing him not his slave at all, and Gibson was therefore returned to Philadelphia. This was an untoward beginning. Henry Clay, in the Senate, speaking of the regard paid the new law, declared it had been "more than executed in Philadelphia." Other cases attracted attention. A negro woman, Hannah Dellam, *enceinte*, was taken by United States officers, in the spring of 1851. The Court sat late into the night, to decide her a slave, hastening the case, as the abolitionists charged, so that she might reach Maryland, where she was claimed, before the birth of her child, since under the slave law it would then follow the condition of the mother, while birth in Pennsylvania would give it freedom. Commissioner Ingraham had before him numerous other cases, in the first two or three years of the law, uniformly sending the fugitives back as slaves. But probably the most conspicuous case was that of Daniel Dangerfield, who, in April, 1859, was brought before another United States commissioner, J. Cooke Longstreth. This was earnestly contested. B. H. Brewster appeared for the claimants; for the man George H. Earle, Edward Hopper and William S. Pierce. The hearing, in a basement room of the building at Fifth and Chestnut streets, continued one day, then all of the second, and through the following night. At sunrise on the third day, Mr. Pierce concluded his speech for the prisoner. All night, Lucretia Mott, with others, had sat in the court-room, watching the case. The commissioner decided the proof of the man's slavery insufficient, and released him.

The feeling against the law no doubt increased. In the outset, Rev. William H. Furness had denounced it as "a fountain of deadly poison, blinding our understandings, hardening our hearts, searing our consciences." But strenuous efforts were made to show its necessity, as an act of good faith toward the South. A general plan of

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meetings in the large cities, to justify the law, was adopted late in the year 1850, and such a meeting was held here, over which John Sergeant presided. Mr. Buchanan wrote a letter to it, earnestly deprecating anti-slavery agitation, and George M. Dallas and other speakers pressed the same view.[1]

The number of escaping slaves was large. The border line into Pennsylvania was easily crossed by hundreds, and even thousands, in the twenty years preceding the war, and a considerable part of these fugitives passed through Philadelphia. Some were concealed on board vessels from southern ports; one, named from his mode of escape Henry Box Brown, was forwarded from Richmond, Va., by express, nailed up in a box,[2] and arrived at Philadelphia alive.[3] William and Ellen Craft, the latter very light-complexioned, came publicly by the railroad train from the south, she disguised as a white planter, and he as her colored servant.

Two cases in the courts caused intense feeling. The first, in the autumn of 1851, was known as the Castner Hanway trial. At Christiana, in Lancaster county, on the 11th of September, in the attempt to capture some fugitive slaves from Maryland, a fight occurred, and two men, Edward Gorsuch and his son, who claimed the slaves, were fatally shot by some of the resisting negroes. Two

[1] In the life of James and Lucretia Mott, their biographer speaks of the latter's acting upon impressions of duty, and proceeds: "An instance of this is her going to call upon the Hon. John Sergeant, at the time when he was announced to preside over the Union-Saving meeting, in the autumn of 1850. It was during the excitement that followed the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law. . . She knew Mr. Sergeant only by reputation, but she felt that she must speak with him. As Edward Hopper, her son-in-law, was going up Walnut street, on his way home from his office, he saw her walking rapidly on the other side of the street. It was then twilight. He crossed over, and asked where she was going so late. She replied, 'I am on my way to see John Sergeant. He is to preside at the Union Meeting this evening, and I wish to speak with him before he goes to it.' He asked, 'Shall I go with thee?' She answered with much feeling, 'O Yes! Is thee willing?' Mr. Sergeant received them kindly, knowing one visitor by reputation, and having had frequent professional intercourse with the other, who had been a student in his office.

"When they were seated, and after a short silence, Lucretia Mott said: 'I have felt constrained to request this interview for a few minutes, and yet I scarcely know in what language to deliver my message. Thou hast been chosen to preside at the public meeting called for this evening. When I read the announcement in the paper, I called to mind thy career as one of the most deservedly honored men of our city. To gifts allotted to few, thou hast added an earnest and enlightened advocacy of the cause of human liberty. In thy speech in Congress on the "Missouri question," made thirty years ago, thou gave no uncertain sound. How well I remember its effective argument, its eloquence, and the profound impression it made on the whole country, the slave-holding South, as well as the non-slave-holding North! Of thy reputation as a useful citizen, and a good man, we are justly proud; and my prayer has this day been that nothing may occur this evening inconsistent with the course pursued by thee in thy past life.'

"To this brief 'message,' spoken with evident effort, and in the most solemn manner, Mr. Sergeant listened with attention, and at its conclusion acknowledged with feeling his obligation for her kindness, and assured her that nothing should pass his lips at the proposed meeting at variance with the profession of his whole life."

[2] Samuel A. Smith, a shoe-dealer, in Richmond, who performed the service of nailing the man up in the box, was afterward detected in a similar act, and imprisoned eight years in the Virginia penitentiary. He came to Philadelphia in 1856.

[3] Cf., for many names and details, William Still's "Underground Railroad," 1871. He describes the passage of hundreds through Philadelphia, between 1850 and 1860; sixty "passengers," including a single party of twenty-eight, are mentioned (p. 97) "in one month." Thomas Garrett, of Wilmington, Del., well known for many years as a helper of the escaping slaves, kept a record of over two thousand whom he had aided. Letters from him, dated at Wilmington, from 1855 to 1859, addressed to William Still, at the Anti-Slavery Office (107 north Fifth street), will be found in the latter's book. In one he mentions a party of twenty-one fugitives, in another four, in another eight, etc. He describes, 1859, the forwarding of four women, on board a brig from Lewes, Del., to be taken to Red Bank, and thence by steamboat to Philadelphia.

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neighboring white men, Quakers, Castner Hanway and Elijah Lewis, interfered, for the purpose as they declared of preventing bloodshed. Warrants, however, were issued for them, with others, and the U. S. marshal, with a body of marines from the navy-yard, and a large number of deputy marshals, proceeded from Philadelphia to make the arrests. Hanway and Lewis surrendered themselves, and many others, white and colored, were taken, of whom some thirty, after a hearing at Lancaster, were committed for trial, and sent to the county jail, the "Moyamensing" prison, in Philadelphia. Indictments for treason were prepared, and found, upon the theory that the resistance, at the time of the riot, had amounted to an armed rebellion. Hanway was tried first, in November, in the U. S. district court, before Judge Kane.[1] A great array of counsel appeared—for the United States the district-attorney, John W. Ashmead; the attorney-general of Maryland, Robert G. Brent, and others; for the prisoner, John M. Read, Thaddeus Stevens, Joseph J. Lewis, and Theodore Cuyler. Three days were consumed in getting a jury. Beginning November 24, the trial extended into the following month. It ended with Hanway's acquittal, in ten minutes after Judge Kane had given the case to the jury. Ezekiel Thompson, a negro, was then tried, and in this case Thaddeus Stevens, David Paul Brown, William S. Pierce, and Robert P. Kane, son of the judge, appeared for the defense. Mr. Read's[2] argument in the Hanway case had so completely disposed of the treason theory that Thompson was acquitted, and the other prisoners discharged.

The other court proceeding was the Passmore Williamson case. In July, 1855, John H. Wheeler, of North Carolina, who had been appointed U. S. minister to Nicaragua, arrived from the south, with a colored woman, Jane Johnson, his slave, and her two boys. To bring them into Pennsylvania, where slavery did not exist, was to set them free, a fact with which Mr. Wheeler was of course acquainted. He was on his way to New York, and had gone on board the steamboat, at the wharf, when a young lawyer, Passmore Williamson, who had been hurriedly notified by some one, appeared and addressing the woman told her she had a right to her freedom if she chose to claim it. A colloquy followed; the bell of the boat rang for departure; the woman, irresolute and frightened, at the last moment went with Williamson ashore, the two boys following her, and the

[1] The prisoners, while in jail awaiting trial, were given a "Thanksgiving dinner," by Thomas L. Kane, son of the Judge, causing much comment and criticism. Thomas L. Kane was afterward colonel, (subsequently a brevet major-general), of the "Bucktails" regiment in the War of the Rebellion. He had before 1851 become interested in the Mormons, and in 1858 went to Salt Lake City to endeavor to compose the "Mormon War" difficulties. His brother, Dr. Elisha Kent Kane, of Philadelphia (b. 1820, d. 1857), was the distinguished Arctic explorer.

[2] Hon. John M. Read, (b. July 21, 1797, d. Nov. 29, 1874) one of the most distinguished jurists of the City and State, was elected a Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in 1858, and was Chief-justice from 1860 until his death.

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crowd around apparently sympathizing. They were put into a carriage and driven away. Mr. Wheeler then asked of Judge Kane a writ of habeas corpus, commanding Williamson to produce the woman and the boys, and this the Judge granted, pronouncing the affair "a criminal, wanton, and cruel outrage" on Wheeler, and ruling, in effect, that a holder of slaves had a right, under the laws of the United States, to take them through Pennsylvania without their becoming free.[1] Williamson made answer that the slaves claimed were not in his possession, and never had been, being free persons, but Judge Kane overruled the answer, and sent him (July 27) to jail for "contempt of court." He continued in confinement several months, being at last released by Judge Kane, on the 3d of November. The case attracted wide attention, and no doubt had the effect of increasing the anti-slavery feeling. Several colored men, among them William Still, who had been present on the boat when the woman left her master, were indicted in the county court, and tried before Judge William D. Kelley upon charges of riot, abduction, assault, etc., but the indictments practically all failed.[2]

THE REYNOLDS STATUE.

The American party movement, organized nationally, had its National Council, which practically directed its affairs, and in 1855 this important body met in Philadelphia, June 5. Its sessions were secret; they continued until the 13th, when at midnight resolutions were adopted by the vote of the members from the southern States and New York, against the opposition of those from the north generally. These resolutions were considered "pro-slavery"; they denied the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories or the District of Columbia, and demanded the maintenance and enforcement of existing laws. Their adoption split the American party, and on the morning of the 14th of June, a meeting of northern delegates to

[1] Cf. Henry Wilson's Rise and Fall of the Slave Power, II., 448.
[2] Still's Underground Railroad, 93, et seq.

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the council was held, at which an address was adopted, signed by fifty-three persons, demanding the reënactment of the "Missouri Compromise" of 1820, the admission of Kansas and Nebraska as free states, etc. The northern delegates who went into this movement mostly joined the Republican organization; among them were Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, and others.[1] The American national convention was held in Philadelphia the following year. It assembled February 22 (1856), and was distracted throughout by the question of the extension of slavery. It nominated Millard Fillmore for president, and Andrew J. Donelson, the adopted son of President Jackson, for vice-president. On the 12th of March, a ratification meeting at Concert Hall, John M. Scott presiding, approved the nominations.

The national convention of the Republican party, the same year, was also held in Philadelphia. It assembled at Musical Fund Hall, June 17. Henry S. Lane, of Indiana, presided. John C. Fremont was nominated for president, and William L. Dayton for vice-president. The Pennsylvania delegates mostly preferred Judge John McLean, of the U. S. Supreme Court, to Fremont, but the ballot stood 359 to 196 in his favor. Rev. Albert Barnes, the distinguished Presbyterian pastor and author, offered prayer at the opening of the convention, and the platform was reported by Judge David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania.

The "Panic of 1837" was reproduced in 1857 by another extended and destructive period of depression and bankruptcy. On the 25th of September the Bank of Pennsylvania failed, and other banks suspended specie payments. Failures of business men followed, and many working-people were thrown out of employment.. November 12, a great mass-meeting of the unemployed, estimated at ten thousand, assembled in Independence Square to represent their distressed condition. The City Councils passed ordinances to extend wharves, build culverts, and make other improvements, in order to provide work. The winter was a season of hardship and difficulty, and the experiences of this "Panic" period, thus briefly suggested, deserve a description more extended.

In the experience and development of the city down to 1860, a number of events must be noted. In the summer of 1850, the cholera, appearing in May, continued until September.[2] On the night of July 9, 1850, the worst fire in the experience of the city occurred. Beginning in a store at No. 39 North Water street, it spread on Front, New, Second, Vine and Callowhill streets. Three hundred and sixty-seven build-

[1] Cf. Wilson's Rise and Fall, II., 423, et seq.

[2] Numerous hospitals were established: of 344 cholera patients admitted to them, 111 died. The whole number of deaths from May 30 to September 8 is stated at 1012, and the cases at 2884.

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ings, of which about three hundred were dwellings, were destroyed, causing a loss estimated at a million dollars. In December, 1851, the visit of Kossuth occasioned numerous public demonstrations of sympathy. In 1852, Granville John Penn, the grandson of Thomas Penn, and great-grandson of the Founder, paid the city a visit, and was respectfully entertained.[1] The firemen had a great "triennial parade" in 1852, and marched with eighty-four companies, and 5,089 men, directed by two hundred marshals, and enlivened by the efforts of six hundred musicians. Sprung from the small beginnings of the one company of 1734, they had now grown to great importance and influence in the city, and the fights, at fires, between rival organizations, had many times, especially between 1844 and 1850, seriously disturbed the peace. A still greater parade than that of 1852 took place October 5, 1857, when over one hundred companies, including many from other cities, were in line, and the expense was stated at one hundred thousand dollars. A paid fire department was proposed by a public meeting in January, 1853, but the volunteer system continued until 1871. The construction of street railways was begun in 1857, with the line on Fifth and Sixth streets, between Frankford and Southwark; cars began to run regularly over it on the 20th of January, 1858. Several other lines were opened that year, the West Philadelphia, (Market street), the Tenth and Eleventh streets, and the Spruce and Pine.

The presidential contest of 1860, ending, November 6, with the election of Abraham Lincoln, began a train of events which, throughout the Republic, and therefore in Philadelphia, absorbed all else. From that date to the day of the President's death, April 15, 1865, is a single, compact epoch.

Between the election and the firing on Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861, there was a period of painful timidity and weakness. Impressed by the seriousness of the crisis, and anxious to call back the seceding movement, concessions were suggested and approved, the idea of which, a little time before, would have been scouted. Most conspicuous in this direction was the great meeting in Independence Square, called by Mayor Henry, by request of the City Councils, on the 13th of December. This meeting marked the lowest descent of public feeling in the history of the city of Philadelphia. To fully perceive its significance, we may recur to the public meeting of 1819, already mentioned more than once.

The meeting in 1819 was held in the Declaration hall of the state-house. The object stated in the call was "to consider an application to Congress to resist the extension of human slavery in the new

[1] He was again here in 1857.

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States that are about to be, or may be hereafter, added to this Confederation." Jared Ingersoll presided, with Robert Ralston secretary. Horace Binney spoke first. He "most ably and clearly developed the inhumanity, impolicy, and injustice of slavery,"[1] pointing out "its pernicious tendency in human society, and its incompatibility with republican institutions, with the spirit of our revolution and constitution, and with divine and human laws." He "also clearly demonstrated the power of and obligation on Congress to prohibit the extension of slavery in new States." Mr. Binney then offered a series of resolutions, which were "unanimously adopted." The preamble declared slavery "one of the greatest evils which exist in the United States—palpably inconsistent with the principles upon which the independence of this nation was asserted and justified before God and the world, as well as at variance with the indestructible doctrines of universal liberty and right on which our constitution is erected," and proceeded thus:

"*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this meeting it will be inconsistent in principle, unwise in policy, and ungenerous in power, to allow States, hereafter to be created members of the American Union, to establish or to create slavery within their jurisdiction, and that every lawful means should be employed to prevent so great a moral and political transgression."

A "Committee of Correspondence," twenty-five persons, to circulate the proceedings, and "to make such publications in support of the opinions of this meeting as it may deem proper" was appointed. It included Jared Ingersoll, William Rawle, Horace Binney, Robert Ralston, Thomas Leiper, Robert Walsh, Jr., Caleb North, Roberts Vaux, Dr. George Logan, General John Steele, Charles Chauncey, Peter S. Duponceau, William Sansom, Manuel Eyre, Joseph P. Norris, Moses Levy, James C. Fisher, Samuel Breck, James N. Barker, Benjamin R. Morgan, John Hallowell, John W. Thompson, George Latimer, John Connelly, and Timothy Paxson.

On the 13th of December, 1860, there was a vast concourse of people in Independence Square. The number was spoken of as fifty thousand. The Mayor was called to the chair. A list of vice-presidents and secretaries, about two hundred and fifty in number, and including a great part of the most prominent and influential citizens, was read. Bishop Potter offered prayer. Mayor Henry spoke. Resolutions read by John B. Myers were adopted. These resolutions, after declaring the attachment of Pennsylvania to the Union, proceeded, in the fourth of the series, to say that "the people of Philadelphia hereby pledge themselves . . . that the statute-books of Pennsylvania shall be carefully searched at the approaching session

[1] Report in the *Aurora*.

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of the Legislature, and that every statute, if any such there be, which in the slightest degree invades the constitutional rights of citizens of a sister State shall be at once repealed." The fifth resolution recognized the obligations of the fugitive slave law, pointed "with pride and satisfaction" to its effective execution in Philadelphia, and proposed the passage of a law giving to the owner of a rescued slave, compensation, to be paid by the county where the rescue should occur, "precisely as is now done by existing laws in case of destruction of property by violence of mobs." The sixth resolution declared "that as to the question of the recognition of slaves as property, and as to the question of the rights of slaveholders in the territories of the United States, the people of Philadelphia submit themselves obediently and cheerfully to the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States now made or hereafter to be made," etc.; while the seventh declared that "all denunciations of slavery, as existing in the United States . . . are inconsistent with the spirit of brotherhood and kindness."

The addresses at the meeting were mostly to the same effect. Mayor Henry averred that "the misplaced teachings of the pulpit, the unwise rhapsodies of the lecture-room, the exciting appeals of the press, on the subject of Slavery, must be frowned down by a just and law-abiding people." Joseph R. Ingersoll demanded the immediate, unconditional repeal, of a State law which was alleged to interfere with the fugitive-slave act. Charles E. Lex said: "Let the fugitive-slave law be executed in its full intent and spirit. It is the law of the land; let it be implicitly obeyed." Theodore Cuyler appealed to every one "to put an end to the violent and inflammatory discussion" of the "unhappy subject" of slavery. Justice George W. Woodward spoke at length; his address cannot be summarized in a line; it was a plea for the abandonment of opposition to slavery, as a means of satisfying the slave-holding States, put upon the ground that such was the contract of the constitution. "The passion for liberty," he lamented, "has burned out all memories of the compromise and the compact, in those northern communities which under the false name of 'Liberty bills' obstruct the execution of the bargain." Finally, one speaker, whose expression must have seemed out of tune with the chorus which had preceded, Isaac Hazelhurst, declared himself for the Union, unqualifiedly. "Pennsylvania," he exclaimed, "has been true to the constitution and the Union. She has always been loyal to it. She has nothing whatever to repent of."

On the evening of this remarkable meeting, George William Curtis was to have delivered a lecture before a literary organization, the "People's Literary Institute," at Concert Hall, on "The Policy of Honesty." But on the 10th Mayor Henry had written those in

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charge of the lecture that Mr. Curtis's "appearance . . . will be extremely unwise. If I possessed the lawful power I would not permit his presence on that occasion;" and the owner of Concert Hall, the next day, wrote declining to permit it to be used for the lecture. The year before, Mr. Curtis had come to Philadelphia, (December 15, 1859), to lecture at National Hall, on "The Present Aspect of the Slavery Question," and though a threatening demonstration against him had been made, and a mob in the streets had broken the windows of the hall, while he was speaking, the Mayor had effectively kept the peace with his police force.[1] The weakening of public feeling in the year's interval was thus made notable.

Three weeks later than the meeting in Independence Square, a meeting at the Board of Trade rooms, January 3, struck a more vigorous note. Though the object was stated in the call to be "to consider what measures should be adopted . . . to aid the constituted authorities of the State and general government . . . to remove all just ground of complaint against the northern States," yet the only resolution adopted, presented by Daniel Dougherty, approved the conduct of Major Anderson, "the gallant commander of the United States Fort Sumter, in Charleston Bay," and called upon "the Federal authorities to furnish him such reinforcements as will convince him and the enemies of the republic that the laws are to be enforced . . . and that resistance to these laws is treason." Other resolutions, to the effect that every measure of conciliation should be adopted, but these failing the Union must be maintained, were offered by Mr. Dougherty, and a series in the temper of the Independence Square meeting by Judge Lewis, but all were referred to a committee to report at a future time. As the meeting broke up, a dispatch

[1] Isaac H. Clothier, who was one of the two young men who had charge of this lecture of 1859, says: "On the day preceding the delivery of the lecture, notices appeared in the newspapers, and in posters on the walls, calling for a mass-meeting to be held in front of National Hall, one-half hour before the advertised time for the lecture, with the express determination of preventing its delivery. . . . The Anti-Slavery Fair, which was being held at Concert Hall, was closed by order of the Mayor. . . . Mayor Henry attended the lecture in person, and the Chief of Police, Ruggles, had a force of 600 armed policemen stationed at the hall. . . . At the appointed time Judge Kelley introduced Mr. Curtis. The hall was well filled. . . . For a time he proceeded with little interruption; then great uproar ensued, which the police were obliged to quell. Meantime attacks on the building outside were made, and were only repelled by the large and well-organized force of police. . . . Brickbats and bottles of oil-of-vitriol were thrown through the windows among the audience."

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announcing that Major Anderson was now closely besieged in Fort Sumter further roused those present, and a call for a meeting to sustain Anderson was at once prepared and signed. This assembled at National Hall, Market street below Thirteenth, on Saturday evening, January 5, and its character indicated the rise of patriotic feeling. The national colors were displayed, and mottoes: "The Union, now and forever, one and inseparable," from Webster's speech [1]; "Frown indignantly on the first dawning of an attempt to alienate one portion of the Union from another," Washington's admonition; and "The Union must and shall be preserved," Jackson's declaration; were placed on the walls. William D. Lewis presided; he said, among other things, he trusted "that for once this great city, with one voice and one heart, will send forth its hearty greetings to the brave defenders of their flag, and sustain the government in every act which it may deem necessary to take to support those noble soldiers who are now, in point of fact, the impersonation of the Union itself." Speeches and resolutions were in accord with this sentiment, and the list of officers proposed by Colonel J. W. Forney, was even longer than at the Independence Square meeting, and quite as representative of the city.

There were, however, other meetings, of quite a different character. One demands notice. A mass-meeting of "anti-coercionists" was held at National Hall on the evening of January 16, and a long list of resolutions was adopted. One of them will sufficiently indicate their tenor. It resolved—

"That, in the deliberate judgment of the Democracy of Philadelphia, and, so far as we know it, of Pennsylvania, the dissolution of the Union by the separation of the whole South—a result we shall most sincerely lament—may release this Commonwealth to a large extent from the bonds which now connect her with the Confederacy, except so far as for temporary convenience she chooses to submit to them, and would authorize and require her citizens, through a convention to be assembled for that purpose, to determine with whom her lot should be cast—whether with the North and East, whose fanaticism has precipitated this misery upon us, or with our brethren of the South, whose wrongs we feel as our own; or whether Pennsylvania shall stand by herself as a distinct community."

On Thursday the 21st of February, the President-elect, Abraham Lincoln, arrived in the city, from New York. He was escorted from the railroad station, at Kensington, by a procession organized by the city authorities, and rode to the Continental Hotel, at Ninth and Chestnut streets, in an open barouche, drawn by four white horses. Crowds filled the streets, and a number of buildings were decorated with flags, etc. In the evening, Mr. Lincoln appeared upon the

[1] Apparently with "Liberty" omitted!

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balcony of the hotel, which was surrounded by a dense throng of people, and Mayor Henry tendered him the hospitality of the city, to which he replied in a brief address. "You have expressed," he said, "the wish, in which I join, that it were convenient for me to remain long enough to consult, or rather to listen to, those breathings arising within the consecrated walls in which the Constitution of the United States, and, I will add, the Declaration of Independence, were originally passed and adopted. All my political warfare has been in favor of those teachings. May my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if ever I forget those teachings!"

The next morning, early, Lincoln repaired to Independence Hall, escorted by the Scott Legion, who displayed the flag they had carried in Mexico. Entering the revered old building, he spoke briefly in the hall of the Declaration. "That Declaration," he said, "gave liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but hope for the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance. . . . *If this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle—I was about to say I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it.*" Then, after a few more words, he solemnly added, as he stood erect: "*I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and, in the pleasure of Almighty God, to die by.*" Then he passed outside to hoist a new flag—one with thirty-four stars, for Kansas had at last been admitted—upon the flag-staff in front of the building. As he stood upon the platform, in front of the people, "his tall form arose Saul-like above the mass." With his overcoat laid aside, he grasped the halyards, and slowly drew up the standard of the Union. Cheers, music, and the discharge of cannon followed, and he was driven hurriedly away to take a special train which awaited him, to go to Harrisburg, and thence to the National capital.

That the attack upon Fort Sumter had begun—that the United States flag was fired upon, and its defenders assailed!—was known through the telegraph to some in the city on the day the assault began, but to the public generally only as they read the news on the morning of the next day, the 13th of April. On the 13th, President Lincoln issued his proclamation, calling for seventy-five thousand volunteers, and also a proclamation convening Congress in special session on the Fourth of July. The effect of these events in Philadelphia was that of an electric shock. The meeting on January 5 had indicated the course of many men's minds, but the announcement of the actual assault upon Sumter, and the call of the President for help to sustain the Union, roused the mass of the people in

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a manner, and to a degree, without example in the life of the city. The streets were thronged on Saturday, the 13th, and again next day, with eager and excited people, reading the dispatches, watching the newspaper bulletins, and discussing the situation. The Legislature, at Harrisburg, had appropriated $500,000 to organize, arm, and equip State troops. The recruiting of men was instantly begun on Saturday, and went on from that day for four years practically without cessation.

The feeling in the streets, as men conversed, was one of intense resentment at the attack upon the Nation. Persons bold enough to dissent were threatened, and in some instances mobbed. On Monday, April 15, a newspaper called the *Palmetto Flag*, which some miscalculating advocate of the secession movement had ventured to issue, at 337 Chestnut street, was mobbed, and its issue suppressed, and a great crowd went about the city demanding of persons whose loyalty was questioned that they display the flag. Never before, indeed, since the national emblem was adopted, had there been so general and eager a desire to see it unfurled. In the public estimation it could not be enough shown. "The Flag! the Flag!" was the common thought and cry. Francis S. Key's old song, composed while the bombardment of Fort McHenry was in progress, and but moderately cherished since 1814, was instantly revived and everywhere sung. The chorus expressed the feeling, intense and passionate, of the moment:

> "And the star spangled banner in triumph shall wave
> O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!"

We enter now upon the work of the city in support of the War for the Union. This naturally divided itself into three classes: (1) The enlistment of fighting men; (2) the organization of auxiliary movements to provide aid for them; (3) the maintenance, politically and socially, of a public opinion which would effectively support the Government in the suppression of the rebellion by force.

In the raising of troops, Philadelphia furnished eight regiments for the three months' service. They were the 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22d, 23d, and 24th Pennsylvania Volunteers, and were mostly mustered into the service of the United States within ten days after the appearance of the President's call. Colonel Robert E. Patterson commanded the 17th, a reorganization of the 1st Pennsylvania Artillery, whose origin dated from 1814. Colonel William D. Lewis, Jr., commanded the 18th, a reorganization of the 1st regiment, 1st brigade, 1st division of the Militia. Colonel Peter Lyle commanded the 19th, a reorganization of the "National Guards." Colonel William H. Gray commanded the 20th, representing the "Scott Legion."

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Colonel John F. Ballier led the 21st, formed in part out of several independent companies. Colonel Turner G. Morehead commanded the 22d, known as the "Philadelphia Light Guard." Colonel Charles P. Dare commanded the 23d, a reorganization of the 1st regiment, 3d brigade, 1st division of the Militia. The 24th regiment, commanded by Colonel Joshua T. Owen, represented the 2d regiment, 2d brigade, 1st division of the Militia. The First City Troop,

VIEW OF CHESTNUT STREET IN 1858, LOOKING EAST FROM FIFTH STREET TO THE DELAWARE RIVER. FROM WATER-COLOR BY MAX ROSENTHAL.

which offered its services in April, was accepted and mustered in, in May, and served its three months, under Captain T. C. James.

The service of these troops in the field belongs to national history. Their brief campaign had not terminated before it was seen that the war would not be "over" in a few weeks, but that men must be enlisted for a much longer time. "Three years or the war" became the word of the day. The summer of 1861, and the remainder of the year, were busy days of recruiting and organizing troops in Philadelphia. The simple enumeration of the regiments sent out makes a long list, but it must be—as briefly as possible—given here:

23d P. V., Col. David B. Birney, reorganization of Col. Dare's Three Months' regiment of the same number.[1]

[1] Col. Birney was promoted to major-general. He died in Philadelphia Oct. 18, 1864. The regiment was commanded, after his promotion, by Col. Thos. H. Neill, Col. John Ely, and Col. John F. Glenn.

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26th P. V., Col. W. F. Small. Many of the men in this were in the body, the "Washington Brigade," unarmed and without uniforms, who were attacked in Baltimore, April 19, with the Sixth Massachusetts. Col. B. C. Tilghman and Col. Robt. L. Bodine succeeded Col. Small.

27th P. V., Col. Max Einstein, later Col. Adolph Bushbeck. It also was made up, in part, of the Washington Brigade.

28th P. V., Col. John W. Geary, afterward Col. G. deKorponay, Col. Thomas J. Ahl, Col. John Flynn. It contained fifteen companies, six of which were raised in Philadelphia.

29th P. V., Col. John K. Murphy, afterward Col. William Rickards, Jr., and Col. S. M. Zulick. It was first known as the "Jackson Regiment."

31st P. V., Col. Wm. B. Mann, later Col. William McCandless. Second Regiment "Pennsylvania Reserves."

32d P. V., (Third Pa. Reserves), Col. Horatio G. Sickel. It contained two Philadelphia companies.

32d P. V., (Fourth Pa. Reserves), Col. Robert G. March, subsequently Col. A. L. Magilton, and Col. R. H. Woolworth.[1] It contained five Philadelphia companies.

36th P. V., (Seventh Pa. Reserves), Col. E. B. Harvey and Col. H. C. Bolinger. It contained three Philadelphia companies.

41st P. V., (Twelfth Pa. Reserves), Col. John H. Taggart, Col. Martin D. Hardin. It had one Philadelphia company.

43d P. V., (First Artillery), Col. Charles T. Campbell, Col. Robert M. West, Col. R. Bruce Ricketts. Batteries C, G, and H were recruited wholly, and Battery D partly, in Philadelphia.

56th P. V., Col. S. A. Meredith, Col. J. William Hofmann, Col. Henry A. Laycock. Parts of several companies were recruited in Philadelphia.

58th P. V., Col. J. Richter Jones.[2] Five companies were recruited in Philadelphia.

59th P. V., (Second Cavalry), Col. R. Butler Price. Six companies, and part of another were raised in Philadelphia.

60th P. V., (Third Cavalry), Col. W. W. Averill, Col. John B. McIntosh. Five companies and parts of two others were raised in Philadelphia.

61st P. V., Col. O. H. Rippey, Col. George C. Spear, Col. George F. Smith, Col. Robert L. Orr. It contained three Philadelphia companies.[3]

65th P. V., (Fifth Cavalry), Col. Max Friedman, Col. David Campbell, Col. Robert M. West. Ten companies of the twelve were raised in Philadelphia.

66th P. V., raised by Col. Alfred Chantry, later broken up, and assigned to other regiments.

67th P. V., Col. John F. Staunton, Col. John C. Carpenter. Two companies and part of a third belonged to Philadelphia.

68th P. V., Col. A. H. Tippen. Reorganization of the 20th Three Months' regiment, "Scott Legion."

69th P. V., Col. J. T. Owen, Col. Dennis O'Kane. Reorganization of the 24th Three Months' regiment.

70th P. V., (Sixth Cavalry, "Rush's Lancers"), Col. Richard H. Rush, Col. Charles R. Smith, Col. Charles L. Leiper. Raised in Philadelphia, except one company.

71st P. V., ("California Regiment"), Col. E. D. Baker, Col. Isaac J. Wistar, Col.

[1] Col. Woolworth was killed at Cloyd Mountain, W. Va., May 9, 1864.
[2] Col. Jones was killed at Bachelor's Creek Station, N. C., May 23, 1863.
[3] Col. Rippey was killed at Fair Oaks, May 31, 1862, and Col. Spear at Chancellorsville, May 3, 1863.

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R. Penn Smith. Except two companies raised in Chester county, this was wholly recruited in Philade phia.[1]

72d P. V., (" Fire Zouaves "), Col. D. W. C. Baxter.

73d P. V., (" Pennsylvania Legion ") Col John A. Koltes, Col. G. A. Mühleck, Col. William Moore.

75th P. V., Col. Henry Bohlen,[3] Col. Philip T. Schopp, Col. Francis Mahler.

81st P. V., Col. James Miller, Col. Charles F. Johnson, Col. H. Boyd McKeen, Col. William Wilson. Five companies and part of another were raised in Philadelphia.[4]

82d P. V., Col. David H. Williams, Col. I. C. Basset. All but one company was raised in Philadelphia.

88th P. V., Col. George P. McLean, Col. George W. Gile, Col. Louis Wagner. Seven companies were raised in Philadelphia.

89th P. V., (Eighth Cavalry), Col. E. G. Chorman, Col. D. McM. Gregg, Col. Pennock Huey.

90th P. V., Col. Peter Lyle. Reorganization of the 19th Three Months' regiment, " National Guards."

91st P. V., Col. Edgar M. Gregory.

95th P. V., Col. John M. Gosline, Col. Gustavus W. Town. Originally called the " Pennsylvania Zouaves."[5]

98th P. V., Col. John F. Ballier, Col. Adolph Mehler. This was mostly a reorganization of the 21st Three Months' regiment.

99th P. V., Col. Thomas W. Sweeney, Col. Peter Fritz, Col. Asher S. Leidy, Col. Edwin R. Biles. Many of the men had served in the 22d Three Months' regiment.

106th P. V., Col. Turner G. Morehead. Reorganization of the 22d Three Months' regiment, " Philadelphia Light Guard."

108th P. V., (Eleventh Cavalry), Col. Josiah Harlan, Col. Samuel P. Spear, Col. Frank A. Stratton. Seven companies of this regiment were raised in Philadelphia.

109th P. V., Col. Henry J. Stainrook, Col. Lewis W. Ralston. Except two companies, this regiment was recruited in Philadelphia.[6]

110th P..V., Col. William D. Lewis, Jr., Col. James Crowther. Four companies were raised in Philadelphia.[7]

112th P. V., (Second Heavy Artillery) Col. Charles Angeroth, Col. August A. Gibson, Col. W. M. McClure, Col. S. D. Strawbridge. This regiment was formed in Philadelphia, but part of the men were raised in Franklin, Allegheny and Monroe counties.

113th P. V., (Twelfth Cavalry), Col. William Frishmuth, Col. Lewis B. Pierce, Col. Marcus A. Reno. This regiment was formed in Philadelphia, but many of the men were drawn from other parts of the State. Perhaps one-fourth were from the city.

114th P. V., (Zouaves), Col. C. H. T. Collis.

[1] Col. Baker, U. S. Senator from the State of Oregon at the raising of this regiment, an eloquent and earnest man, was killed at the lamentable battle of Ball's Bluff, Va., Oct. 21, 1861. See Col. Forney's "Anecdotes of Public Men," p. 42, et seq., for a description of his speech in the Senate, August 1, 1861, when he "alternated between his seat in the Capital and his tent in the field," and "came in at the eastern door . . . in his blue coat and fatigue cap, riding-whip in hand."

[2] Col. Koltes was killed at Bull Run, Va., August 30, 1862.

[3] Col. Bohlen was killed at Freeman's Ford, Va., August 22, 1862.

[4] Col. Miller was killed at Fair Oaks, Va., May 31, 1862; Col. McKeen was killed at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, 1864.

[5] Col. Gosline was mortally wounded at Gaines' Mill, Va., June 27, 1862; Col. Town was killed at Salem Heights, Va., May 3, 1863. Lieut.-Col. Elisha Hall, of this regiment, was also killed at Salem Heights; and Lieut-Col. Edward Carroll, at the Wilderness, Va., May 5, 1864.

[6] Col. Stainrook was killed at Chancellorsville, Va., May 3, 1863.

[7] Col. Crowther was killed at Chancellorsville, May 3, 1863.

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Of the foregoing list of forty-two Three-Year regiments all were practically organized by the end of the year 1861, and all but a few were then actually in the field. Most of them were entirely raised in Philadelphia, and making allowance for those only partly raised here, they represent, no doubt, more than thirty-five thousand men, recruited and sent to the field after the middle of April. If to these we add the Three Months' men who did not reënlist, we shall have an army of forty thousand men.

The experiences of peace—happily—give us a scant idea of the occupations, mind and body, of a great city organizing to sustain a deadly and desperate contest of arms. Philadelphia, in 1861, as in the three years following, was absorbed in one thought and one effort. In the streets the sound of martial music, drum and fife, was seldom silent. Troops marching were common. Regiments passed through almost daily from the north and east. The navy-yard was crowded with workmen. At the arsenal men worked day and night. Everywhere women were organized to care for the soldiers—to provide hospital supplies, clothing, articles of use and comfort which the Government could not furnish. Everywhere the conversation was of the war, of battles expected, of conflicts past, of those fallen, of those escaped. Other news seemed of little consequence. The defeat at Bull Run was a stunning blow, the disaster at Ball's Bluff carried a thrill of horror. But this was war, and there seemed no light, except the glimmer straight ahead.

In the campaign in the Shenandoah Valley, in the summer of 1861, Philadelphia was nearly interested and concerned, since the commander there was one of her own citizens, major-general Robert Patterson. He was an old soldier when this rebellion broke out. The son of a farmer in County Tyrone, Ireland, he was born there in 1792, had come to Philadelphia when a boy, and had served in the War of 1812, and again, with distinction, in the War in Mexico. His campaign in 1861 ended after the battle at Bull Run, and the expiration of the three months regiments' tour of service. He died August 7, 1881. "Prominent on every great occasion, ready of speech and wit, hospitable in his own home, patriotic and public-spirited, . . . rising with the lark, working at his counting-house without eating a morsel until his dinner at five in the afternoon"—this is a picture of him on the verge of eighty.[1]

Two "Refreshment Saloons," where the regiments of troops, on their way to and from the war, could be entertained, were established early. These were the "Cooper Shop," on Otsego street, near Washington avenue, and the "Union Volunteer," at the corner of Dela-

[1] Forney's "Anecdotes of Public Men," 97.

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ware and Washington avenues. Both these were opened in May, 1861, which first has been a subject of local controversy. They continued their labors to the end of the war. Arriving regiments were welcomed and bountifully fed. The Cooper Shop recorded its service thus to over six hundred thousand men, in the course of the war, beginning with the 8th New York, going south, May 27, 1861, and ending with the 104th Pennsylvania, returning home August 28, 1865. The Union Saloon fed eight hundred thousand men. Twelve hundred could be supplied by it at once; as many as fifteen thousand were fed in a single day. Its expenditures of money were $98,204.35 and materials were furnished estimated at $30,000. In a free hospital, attached to the refreshment saloon, nearly eleven thousand sick and wounded were nursed, and nearly twice that number had their wounds dressed.[1]

Conspicuous among the agencies to maintain the courage of the city in support of the government was the Union League, whose organization was begun in November, 1862. There had been, then, a period of discouragement for the national cause. The successes of General Grant at Fort Henry, and Fort Donelson, and of the Burnside expedition in North Carolina, the destruction of the *Merrimac* by the *Monitor*, the capture of New Orleans by Farragut, and other national triumphs marked the beginning of the year, but the failure of the Peninsular campaign, the defeat of Pope on the ill-omened field of Bull Run, and the threatened invasion of Pennsylvania, though repelled at Antietam, with the result of the autumn elections, marking the faintness of the people at home, were all depressing. The Union League, at first composed of fifty gentlemen, and known as the Union Club, grew in a few weeks to a larger and more important organization, and in February, 1863, opened its club-house, in an old mansion, the Hartman Kuhn residence, at 1118 Chestnut street. Here the Union men rallied, and to the end of the war encouraging each other, imparted courage to the city. The first president was William M. Meredith, and among those early associated in the League were C. J. Stillé, Benjamin Gerhard, Daniel Dougherty, F. Carroll Brewster, John W. Forney, Judge J. I. C. Hare, Morton McMichael, Adolph E. Borie, afterward secretary of the navy under President Grant, George H. Boker, afterward minister to Russia, Frederick Fraley, James L. Claghorn, Abraham Barker, Charles Gibbons, J. Gillingham Fell, Horace Binney, Jr., and many others whose standing in the city gave influence to their words and acts. The Union League is now one of the great social organizations of Philadelphia, not without its political inclinations, but it has sprung up, in a little over thirty years, to its present position from the determination of a small number of gentlemen, in

[1] Scharf and Westcott's "Philadelphia," I., 832.

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the gloomy days of November, 1862, to put forth still further efforts in behalf of the imperilled Union.

The activities of the Union League, during the war, took an extensive range; they included every form of aid and stimulus to the national cause that its ardent friends could devise. The national anniversaries were celebrated, public meetings were held, similar clubs in other cities were promoted and aided to organize; patriotic documents were printed and circulated by hundreds of thousands, funds were raised for special public purposes; disabled soldiers, discharged from the service, were helped to procure employment; above all, the promotion of enlistments was stimulated and pressed on.[1] In 1863 the political contest in Pennsylvania assumed such form that the League considered it part of its necessary work to support openly and actively the reëlection of Governor Curtin, in opposition to Judge George W. Woodward, the Democratic candidate. This was the year of the

STATUE OF GENERAL GEORGE G. MEADE, FAIRMOUNT PARK.

[1] Cf, History of the Union League of Philadelphia, by George Parsons Lathrop, 1882. The League numbered, by the end of its first year, 968 members. The pamphlets and documents, circulated in 1863, numbered over a million copies; in 1864, 1,044 900. Its aid was specially extended to the recruiting of nine regiments—three for the Emergency service of 1863, one for three years, and five for one year, the expenditure in connection with this being $108,000. To the expense of raising regiments of colored troops the League contributed $33,388.

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fierce contest in Ohio, when Clement L. Vallandigham, expelled from that State, and then in Canada, was the Democratic candidate for Governor. The military trial which directed his expulsion was everywhere made a ground of vehement criticism by those opposed to the continuance of the war. A meeting in Philadelphia, on the 1st of June, of "Peace Democrats," called together a great gathering in Independence Square, "one of the largest ever seen within that enclosure." Ex-Judge Ellis Lewis presided, and resolutions and speeches denounced Vallandigham's arrest and conviction as unconstitutional, and a violation of popular rights.

This meeting was an expression of the dissent which now existed as to the policy of vigorously prosecuting the war. This dissent, in Philadelphia, as generally in the North, was the minor element of public opinion, but in 1862, 1863, and 1864, until the defeat of the Rebellion was plainly foreshadowed, it was an aggressive force, pressing upon the supporters of President Lincoln's administration at every point, yielding a passive obedience to the laws, and avoiding action openly dangerous, but objecting by speech and through the press, and often in the courts, to the course taken by the War party. The forces in Philadelphia which fell within this general description rallied behind the *Age* newspaper. Its first issue appeared March 25, 1863, and from the start it was an aggressive and vigorous journal. Colonel Charles J. Biddle, who had served in the Mexican War, had been the first commander of the 42d regiment, the Bucktails, in 1861, and then had served in Congress, was its chief writer, after his term expired, and subsequently one of its owners. The *Age* was always vigorous, usually able, and habitually caustic. Its attack upon the War party neglected no opportunity. Nevertheless its ground was untenable. In the contest then existing, the question was not one of constitutional law, but of comparative force. Either the Nation was stronger than the Rebellion, or it was weaker. If the former, the Union would be maintained; if the latter, the Confederacy could dictate—certainly could control—the re-arrangement of the States. There was no standing-ground between the two forces.

It is not impracticable, perhaps, to state calmly, at this distance, the division of feeling which thus existed. But we must not make the mistake of supposing that the temper of the time was calm. On the contrary, it was intense. In politics, the name "Copperhead" was commonly applied to the northern opponents of the war. The designation did not fall into disuse until after the war closed. The political contest in Pennsylvania, and in Philadelphia, in 1863, was fiercely waged. Judge Woodward, a man of vigorous character, and large ability, distinguished by his service upon the supreme bench of

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the State, had been, we may remember, the chief speaker at the Concessionist meeting in December, 1860. He was charged with saying, in 1861, "If the Union is to be divided, I want the line of separation run north of Pennsylvania." The convention, at Harrisburg, which put him in nomination for Governor, and which was in session at the moment that Lee was moving his advanced troops into Pennsylvania, in the Gettysburg campaign, adopted resolutions declaring the war a failure, and practically condemning its further prosecution.

Following on sharply from the recruiting done in 1861 and indeed never really ceasing, the organization of regiments for the war continued in 1862, 1863, and 1864. The first call of President Lincoln, for 75,000 men had been followed, May 3, 1861, by another call, and by subsequent legislation of Congress, in July of that year, which required 500,000 men. July 2, 1862, a call was made for 300,000 more. August 4, 1862, 300,000 militia, to serve nine months, were called for. October 17, 1863, and February 1, 1864, calls were made for 500,000 men, in the aggregate, to serve three years. Finally, on the 14th of March, 1864, 200,000 men were called for. Upon the chief city of the second State in the Union, these successive appeals —rising to demands, under the conscription acts—of necessity fell heavily. In the list of regiments already given, the 114th P. V., Colonel Collis, was last. Following it, there were raised, wholly or partly, in Philadelphia, the following:

115th P. V., Col. Robert E. Patterson, Col. Frank A. Lancaster. Excepting two companies, the men were mostly from Philadelphia.[1]

116th P. V., Col. Dennis Heenan, Col. St. Clair A. Mulholland. The regiment was mainly from Philadelphia, though recruits were obtained in Schuylkill, Montgomery, and Chester counties.

117th P. V., (Thirteenth Cavalry), Col. James A. Galligher, Col. Michael Kerwin. Seven companies were recruited in Philadelphia.

118th P. V., ("Corn Exchange Regiment"), Col. Charles M. Prevost, Col. James Gwyn.

119th P. V., ("Gray Reserves"), Col. Peter C. Ellmaker, Col. Gideon Clark.

121st P. V., Col. Chapman Biddle, Col. Alexander Biddle.

147th P. V., Col. Ario Pardee, Jr. This regiment was formed in part of the third battalion of the 28th P. V., two companies of which had come from Philadelphia, and a third company was also raised here.

150th P. V., ("Bucktail"), Col. Langhorne Wistar, Col. H. S. Huidekoper. Four companies were recruited in Philadelphia.

152d P. V., (Third Artillery), Col. Joseph Roberts. The men of this regiment were recruited generally in Pennsylvania, and rendezvoused at Philadelphia.

153d P. V. Not fully organized. Three companies were on provost duty in Philadelphia, in 1863, being mustered out in September and October.

157th P. V., Lieut.-Col. Edmund T. Tiers. This was a battalion of four com-

[1] Col. Lancaster was killed at Chancellorsville, Va., May 3, 1863.

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panies, raised in Philadelphia, and on duty at Fort Delaware, but afterward consolidated with the 191st P. V.

160th P. V., ("Anderson Cavalry"), Col. W. J. Palmer. This was partly recruited in Philadelphia.

161st P. V, (Sixteenth Cavalry), Col. J. Irvin Gregg. Partly recruited in Philadelphia.

163d P. V., (Eighteenth Cavalry), Col. T. M. Bryan, Jr., Col. T. F. Rodenbough. Partly recruited in Philadelphia.

180th P. V, (Nineteenth Cavalry), Col. Alexander Cummings. Raised in Philadelphia, except two companies.

181st P. V., (Twentieth Cavalry), Col. John E. Wynkoop. Six-months service, 1863–4; reorganized for three years. Partly raised in Philadelphia.

183d P. V., ("Fourth Union League"), Col. George P. McLean, Col. James C. Lynch, Col. George T. Egbert.

186th P. V., Col. Henry A. Frink. Recruited in Philadelphia, early in 1864, and assigned to duty as provost guard of the city. Mustered out August 15, 1865.

192d P. V., Col. William B. Thomas. One-hundred-days service.

196th P. V., ("Fifth Union League"), Col. Harmanus Neff. One-hundred-days service.

197th P. V., ("Third Coal Exchange"), Col. John R. Haslett. One-hundred-days service.

198th P. V, ("Sixth Union League"), Col. Horatio G. Sickel. One-year service.

199th P. V., Col. James C. Briscoe. One-year service.

203d P. V., Col. John W. Moore, Col. Oliver P. Harding, Col. Amos W. Buchanan. Partly from Philadelphia. One-year service.[1]

213th P. V., ("Seventh Union League"), Col. John A. Gorgas. One-year service.

214th P. V., ("Eighth Union League"), Col. David B. McKibbin. One-year service.

215th P. V., ("Ninth Union League"), Col. Francis Wister. One-year service.

The lists now given include all the regiments regularly numbered as of the Pennsylvania Line, which, so far as the State records disclose, had a considerable part of their original force raised in Philadelphia. But there were great numbers of men recruited in the city for the old regiments, to fill the places emptied by the losses of the service, and there were several single companies, independent batteries, etc., not included in the regimental numbering. All the regiments we have given, after the three months' list, were raised for three years, except those (the 153d, 192d, 196th, 197th, 198th, 199th, 203d, 213th, 214th, 215th), ten in number, which are here differently stated, six of which were for one year, the others for shorter time. The militia regiments of the "Emergency" service in 1862 and 1863, and organizations for home defense, are not included. The recruiting of colored regiments was begun in 1863, and at that time it was estimated that eleven hundred colored men from Pennsylvania, many of them from Philadelphia, had enlisted in organizations from other

[1] Col. Moore was killed at Fort Fisher, January 15, 1865.

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States. The colored regiments formed here were organized and equipped at Camp William Penn, in Montgomery county, near the city line. Here the 3d U. S. regiment of Colored Troops was filled by July 24, 1863, and later the 6th, 8th, 22d, 24th, 25th, 32d, 41st, 43d, 45th, and 127th regiments. October 3, 1863, the Sixth regiment, headed by its Colonel, John W. Ames, and the commandant of Camp William Penn, Colonel Louis Wagner, marched through the streets of the city, and was reviewed from the steps of the Union League house by General George Cadwalader.

The invasion of Pennsylvania, in the summer of 1863, carrying out the expressed determination of General Lee to carry the war into the North, produced in Philadelphia such emotion as made every previous experience of the city's life seem trivial by comparison. In June, the advance of the southern army northward excited concern. The President, on the 15th of June, asked for 100,000 volunteers, for six months, half of them from Pennsylvania. On the same day, Governor Curtin issued his proclamation, calling for the State's quota of fifty thousand. It was at the beginning of summer. In the country the crops were just ripening to the harvest. The outpour of fighting men had already been great, and the loss of life on the long list of battle-fields exhausting. But there was no time, now, to hesitate. New efforts must be made. The City Councils appropriated $500,000, to be used by the Mayor, with the Committee of Defense and Protection, to defend the State. At three in the afternoon of June 15, the bell of the state-house was rung, and the people gathered in front of the old building. From a table on the side-walk speakers explained the military situation, and urged the formation of Emergency organizations. Business was practically suspended. Troops from New York and New Jersey passed through the city, to concentrate at Harrisburg, where General D. N. Couch had been for several days organizing a defensive force.

Regiments recruited and organized for the special duty of defending the State were promptly sent forward; the 20th Militia, Col. William B. Thomas, the 31st, Col. John Newkumet, the 32d, Col. Charles S. Smith, the 33d, Col. William W. Taylor, the 59th, Col. George P. McLean, the 60th, Col. William F. Small, were among those which responded at this time. Independent battalions, companies of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, were also rapidly formed and sent forward.

Lee's movement into Pennsylvania, however, was at first obscure, and newspaper articles questioning his purpose of an invasion in force were published for several days after the alarm of June 15. On the 18th, Governor Curtin, urging the need for a general response, visited the camp at Harrisburg, Camp Curtin, where the volunteers had been

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hurriedly collecting, and gave them his assurance that while they must be mustered into the service of the United States, they would be discharged when the emergency was over. He telegraphed, the same day, to Colonel William B. Thomas, at Philadelphia, and again on the 20th to Hon. Henry D. Moore, to the same effect. Thousands of men had dropped their employment, at an hour's notice, ready to join the veteran armies already in the field for a brief campaign, but not prepared to enter the service for an extended period. The assurances of the governor were therefore important.

The 28th of June was Sunday. That day, at Frederick, Maryland, General Hooker resigned the command of the Army of the Potomac to General George G. Meade, commander of its Fifth Corps. General Meade was now a man of forty-eight. Born at Cadiz, in Spain, (December 31, 1815), where his father, Richard W. Meade, of Philadelphia, was then U. S. consul, he was identified with this city by many ties, and regarded it as his home. A graduate of West Point, trained in the engineer arm of the service, he had been presented, by citizens of Philadelphia, upon his return from the war in Mexico, with a sword for his gallantry. In the army he was known as a modest, reticent, methodical soldier, cool and brave, executing his orders as they came to him, esteemed, but not calling out special enthusiasm. His appointment, made at a critical moment of the decisive campaign of the war, changing the command of the army on which the nation's fortunes depended, was a step which nothing but subsequent success could justify. But the Army of the Potomac, without a pause in its march, responded to his direction, as it had to Hooker's, and went on to Gettysburg.

On Sunday, June 28, Lee's advanced troops menaced the Susquehanna. That day they struck at Harrisburg. But for the burning of the bridge connecting Wrightsville and Columbia, they might have crossed there to the east side of the river, to envelop the State capital more surely. In the actual advance northward of the Confederate troops, though not in the shock of conflict, this was the high tide of the Rebellion. In Philadelphia, the anxiety was intense. The Mayor, next day, issued his proclamation for all able-bodied men not

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already in the field to enrol themselves for home defense. Gen. N. J. T. Dana was appointed to organize the Home Guards, and to direct the erection of defensive works for the protection of the city.

Events, however, moved too rapidly now for these endeavors to be of much importance. The Army of the Potomac, marching in pursuit of Lee, menaced his extended column in twenty-four hours after the bold operations of Sunday, and compelled him to concentrate and fight. The encounter began at Gettysburg on the 1st of July,[1] Wednesday, and terminated on the 3d, in the complete repulse and essential defeat of Lee. News of the battle came slowly to the city. Not until the 5th, after Lee was actually in retreat, was the terrible suspense relieved. That day General Hancock, severely wounded in the third day's fighting, reached the city, and other wounded men, by hundreds, even thousands, now poured in—500 on Sunday, the 5th, 500 more Monday, the 6th, other numbers on the 7th and 8th, 2000 on the 9th, 800 on the 12th. Many of the Philadelphia regiments had been engaged in the great battle; many officers and men in them had fallen; and in the host of the wounded, now crowding the hospitals, there were many more. Thankfulness for the great victory of the national arms, and for the relief of the State from invasion, was mingled with sorrow over the blood these had cost. While the battle was yet the all-absorbing topic, came the news, on the 7th, of the capture of Vicksburg, by General Grant on the 4th. The new victory roused the city to fresh demonstration. Cannon were fired, the state-house bell was joyfully rung, and an immense crowd gathered in front of the building cheering and shouting. At five o'clock, a body of members of the Union League, five hundred strong, headed by Birgfeld's band, marched to Independence Square. A great meeting had gathered. Rev. Dr. Boardman offered prayer, Charles Gibbons made a patriotic address, the band, placed in the steeple of the old Hall, played the tune of the doxology—

"Praise God from whom all blessings flow,"

and the vast assembly joined in the singing.

The political struggle accompanied that in the field. We have already alluded to the nomination of Judge Woodward as the Demo-

[1] A Pennsylvania regiment, the Fifty-sixth, partly raised in Philadelphia (see list in text), began the battle at Gettysburg, on the morning of the "first day," July 1. General Cutler, who that morning commanded the First Division of the First Corps, in a letter to Governor Curtin, Nov. 5, 1863, states the facts. The 56th was commanded by Col. J. William Hofmann, of Philadelphia. "The atmosphere being a little thick," says Col. Cutler, "I took out my glass to examine the enemy. Being a few paces in the rear of Col. Hofmann, he turned to me and inquired: 'Is that the enemy?' My reply was, 'Yes.' Turning to his men, he commanded, 'Ready, right oblique, aim, fire!' and the Battle of Gettysburg was opened. The fire was followed by other regiments instantly; still that battle on the soil of Pennsylvania was opened by her own sons, and it is just that it should become a matter of history." (Bates's Pennsylvania Volunteers, II., 220.)

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cratic candidate for governor, and mentioned the support of the Union League openly given to Governor Curtin as the Union candidate. An address issued by the League defined its position, and throws light for us on the general situation. The Union League was formed, the address said, "for the purpose of aiding the government of the United States in suppressing the existing rebellion. . . At the last presidential election some of its members supported John C. Breckinridge, some Stephen A. Douglas, some John Bell, and others the present chief magistrate Abraham Lincoln. . . We cannot fail to see that the approaching gubernatorial election involves the question whether the government shall be sustained or overthrown. . . We are clearly of the opinion that opposition to the war is opposition to the Union." The contest was earnestly carried on. A curious feature was the circulation, in support of Judge Woodward, of an address, by Bishop Hopkins, of Vermont, issued in 1861, advocating the right of slavery. President Lincoln's emancipation proclamation had been issued on the 1st of January, (1863), and slavery was now rapidly approaching its formal and complete extinction. The pamphlet of Bishop Hopkins was replied to by Bishop Potter, of Pennsylvania, and a number of the clergymen of his diocese. The election resulted favorably to the Union party, but the majority in Pennsylvania, though sufficient, was but a little more than fifteen thousand in a total vote of over half a million.[1] The approval of General McClellan had been procured for Judge Woodward's candidacy, and this was of more service, no doubt, than Bishop Hopkins's pamphlet in behalf of slavery.

At the election, not only the governor, but a judge of the supreme court was chosen, and this, though less prominent in the contest, was of importance. The conscription act, passed by Congress, had been taken into the courts, by three drafted men, who asked an injunction against the provost marshal and draft commissioner to prevent them taking the applicants to the army. November 11—shortly after the election, in October—the supreme court, by its majority, Woodward, chief-justice, and justices Lowrie and Thompson, decided in favor of the men, and against the constitutionality of the law. Two judges held the contrary, Read and Strong. The election, however, changed the court. Judge Lowrie was a candidate for re-election, but was not successful, Daniel Agnew being chosen in his place, by a majority slightly less than that given Curtin. It resulted that in January following, Judge Agnew having taken his seat, a motion to dissolve the injunction of November was made, and after argument, the majority of the court, Read, Strong, and Agnew, granted it, jus-

[1] Curtin 269,496, Woodward 254,171.

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tices Woodward and Thompson dissenting. It had now come to the point where volunteering could not be depended on to supply the enormous drain of the war, and the decision of the court to sustain the conscription was therefore of high importance. Judge Agnew, who rendered the opinion, was clear, direct, and definite. "These United States," he said, "are a Nation, and sovereign in the powers granted them. They possess all the functions of a nation in the law-making, executing, and judging powers. A nation carries with it the inherent power to carry on war. The power to declare war necessarily carries with it the power to carry it on, and this implies the means. The right to the means carries all the means in the possession of the nation. But the power to carry on war, and to call the requisite force into service inherently carries with it the power to coerce or draft. A nation without the power to draw forces into the field, in fact, would not possess the power to carry on war. . . Voluntary enlistment is founded on a contract. A power to command differs essentially from a power to contract. . . It is clear, therefore, that the power to make war, without the power to command troops into the field, is impotent; in point of fact is no governmental power, because it lacks the authority to execute itself."

The first commander of the national Army of the Potomac, upon its reorganization after the first battle of Bull Run, was General George B. McClellan. He was the son of Dr. George McClellan, of Philadelphia, and was born here, (at the southwest corner of Seventh and Walnut streets), December 3, 1826. His service as commander, until, in 1862, after his withdrawal from the campaign on the Virginia peninsula, he was superseded by General Pope; and again, after the second battle of Bull Run, through the Antietam campaign, until he was superseded by General Burnside, are matters of national history. General McClellan had many friends in Philadelphia, and his removals from command, with the controversies which arose over his military career, contributed to the disturbance of feeling and judgment amongst those who, in the outset, had supported the war. His endorsement of Judge Woodward for governor has been mentioned; in 1864 he became the Democratic candidate for president, in opposition to Mr. Lincoln. The platform upon which he was nominated, adopted at the national convention of the party, at Chicago, in August, 1864, was drawn, it was said, by C. L. Vallandigham. It resolved "that this convention does explicitly declare . . . that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which . . . the Constitution has been disregarded in every part . . . justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate Convention of all the States,

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or other peaceable means, to the end that . . . peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States." As in 1863, the political contest was heated, and though the majority for Mr. Lincoln in Pennsylvania was decisive, the vote for General McClellan was large. In a total of nearly six hundred thousand votes, the majority for Lincoln was twenty thousand, more than fourteen thousand of which was furnished by the soldiers in the field.[1] Philadelphia, counting both home and army vote, gave 11,741 majority for Lincoln.

At a special election in July, 1861, in the Second Congressional district of the city, Colonel Charles J. Biddle, commanding a regiment in the field, was elected to the national House of Representatives, to fill a vacancy created by the resignation of Edward Joy Morris. In 1862, the mayoralty election recurred, and Mayor Henry, who was again nominated, as a National Union candidate, received 37,249 votes, to 32,161 for Daniel M. Fox, Democrat. The city also gave a majority for other candidates on the Union ticket. In 1864, besides the vote for president, already recorded, the city chose four Union members of Congress, Charles O'Neill, Leonard Myers, William D. Kelley, and M. Russell Thayer; one district, the First, elected Samuel J. Randall, the Democratic candidate, who had first been elected to this seat in 1862, and who continued to be chosen to it until his death, in 1890.

Proceeding, now, to the close of the war, in the spring of 1865, we may summarize some of the events and incidents which were connected with it in Philadelphia. The movement of troops, as has been said, was a daily occurrence. Regiments recruiting, regiments passing through to the war or homeward, regiments departing from the city, clean-dressed, with full ranks, or returning, in faded uniform, with bronzed faces and tattered flags, a remnant of the strong body that went away, became familiar. Military encampments were formed in different parts of the city, early in the war; one of the most important, later, was that in West Philadelphia, near Haddington, Camp Philadelphia, where regiments drafted for the nine months' service, in 1862, under the State law,[2] were rendezvoused, and subsequently numerous regiments of volunteers were organized and drilled. Military hospitals were fitted up by the Government, in 1861, at Moyamensing Hall, at the old depot of the Reading railroad, Broad and Cherry streets, at Dunlap's carriage factory, Fifth street and York avenue, and elsewhere. After the great battles, sick and wounded came by thousands to the city, many by trains on the railroads, many by hospital steamers from Fortress Monroe and other

[1] Vote of Pennsylvania, 1864, for President; Lincoln, home vote, 269,679; army, 26,712; total, 296,391; McClellan, home vote, 263,967; army, 12,349; total, 276,316. Lincoln's majority, on home vote, 5712; on army vote, 14,363; total, 20,075.

[2] None in this draft from Philadelphia. Drafts in the city began in 1863, under the national law. They were in part avoided, later, by energetic recruiting to fill the required quotas.

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places. At times, the city was literally crowded with these, the established army hospitals, others temporarily secured, the regular hospitals of the city, and even private accommodation, being unitedly inadequate. In 1862, after the battle in front of Washington—the second Bull Run—seventeen hundred came in one day, September 3, and eight days later nearly five hundred more, who for want of accommodations were sent on to New York. In the month of May, 1864, after the terrible battles in the movement of General Grant toward Richmond, nearly five thousand reached the city. Prisoners of war also came, passing through the city, sometimes by hundreds, on their way to Fort Delaware, where a large number were confined. June 9, 1863, "the longest train of passenger cars that ever entered the city" brought 2,400 of them, and five days later 766 more arrived. They were marched to the wharves, and taken by steam-boats down to the Fort—the structure which since 1814, when we last concerned ourselves about the defenses of the river, had been built on the Pea-Patch. Soldiers of distinction who had found death in the service were brought home, from time to time, and buried with honor. Many "lay in state," at Independence Hall. Lieutenant John T. Greble, who fell at Big Bethel, Va., in June, 1861; General Charles F. Smith, distinguished in the operations under General Grant in the west, and who led the assault on Fort Donelson, and died soon after, at Savannah, Tennessee; Colonel Charles Ellet, of the Mississippi "ram" fleet, one of Philadelphia's most bold and skillful engineers, designer of the famous bridge at Fairmount—"the first wire suspension bridge in the United States"—who died at Cairo, Ill., June 21, 1862; Colonel John A. Koltes, of the 73d Volunteers, killed at Bull Run, Va., August 30, 1862; General Frank E. Patterson, who died in camp at Fairfax Court-house, Va., November 21, 1862; Colonel Henry Bohlen, of the 75th Volunteers, killed at Freeman's Ford, Va., August 22, 1862; Colonel John Richter Jones, of the 52d Volunteers, killed May 22, 1863, in battle in North Carolina; were some of those whose military funerals occurred in the early half of the war. There were many later.

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In the navy yard work was carried on with the utmost energy. Captain (afterward Admiral) DuPont, taking leave of the workmen at the yard, upon his departure for service on the southern coast, in September, 1861, congratulated them on an achievement without precedent, the construction of a sloop-of-war in fifty-eight days. Vessels for the navy were built, altered, refitted, and equipped. Others were built at private yards. Notable among these was the *New Ironsides*, an iron-clad of a new type, launched May 10, 1862, at the Cramp ship-yards, and christened by the venerable Commodore Charles Stewart, who had gained fame in the Navy in the War of 1812, and earlier, and who from his command of the *Constitution*, in which he had captured, in 1815, the British ships *Cyane* and *Levant*, bore the cognomen of "Old Ironsides," from his association with the staunch old frigate.[1] Another vessel built by the Cramps was the *Chattanooga*, a steam sloop-of-war, launched October 13, 1864, the largest vessel built at Philadelphia up to that time. To provide clothing for the army thousands of women were continuously employed. Wagon factories were busy providing wagons for the army movements. Cannon were cast at the foundries. Hundreds of hands were employed at the arsenal. The industries of the city were in large part directed to the operations of the war.

Two great voluntary organizations auxiliary to the military efforts of the government, and of great value in sustaining them, were the Christian Commission, and the Sanitary Commission. The head of the former, whose efforts were directed to labors of religion and humanity in the army, was George H. Stuart, of Philadelphia, and its other officers were largely Philadelphians, Joseph Patterson being chosen treasurer in September, 1862. This organization accounted for a total of money and value, received and disbursed during the war, of over six and a quarter millions of dollars. The Sanitary Commission, of which Rev. Dr. H. W. Bellows, of New York, was president, was more nearly official in its character, having been established in June, 1861, by approval of the secretary of war. Its work was to support the medical department, to provide hospital supplies, to aid the sick and wounded, etc.[2] Funds for its use were gathered in various ways, but about 1864 largely through great exhibitions and "fairs," to which gifts were freely made by the mass of the people. In the summer of 1864 a great Sanitary Fair, in Philadelphia, representing the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, made an interesting and striking feature of the war-time, and indeed sug-

[1] Commodore Stewart was much in Philadelphia during the war. He died at his home at Bordentown, N. J., November 7, 1869. He was born in Philadelphia, July 18, 1778, just a month after the British evacuation of the city.

[2] Cf. History U. S. Sanitary Commission, by Charles J. Stillé, 1866. A good analysis of the work of the Sanitary Commission will be found in the Comte de Paris' Civil War in America, Vol. III., 432, et seq.

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gested in many particulars the Exposition held twelve years later. It was established in a vast temporary structure, or series of connected structures, on Logan Square, these covering a large part of the ground in the square. The Fair was opened on the 7th of June, with appropriate ceremonies, the governors of the three States, Curtin, of Pennsylvania, Parker, of New Jersey, and Cannon, of Delaware, attending, with other officials. President Lincoln and his wife visited it for a few hours on June 17, and the latter passed through the buildings, escorted by the City Troop. The Fair closed June 28; the aggregate proceeds raised for the Commission were about one million one hundred thousand dollars.[1]

The news of the capture of Richmond reached the city shortly before noon on the 3d of April (1865). At nine in the morning of the following Sunday, the 9th, a dispatch announced the surrender of General Lee and his army. The cumulative tidings of triumph awoke demonstrations of rejoicing that outran all known before, and on the 12th Mayor Henry proclaimed a general celebration to take place on the 17th—the Monday following. But a terrible stroke lay behind. On the morning of the 15th the city woke to learn that President Lincoln had been shot the evening before, and now lay dying, or dead. The events of the ten days thus merged in one overwhelming experience; the emotion of joy had not spent itself before it changed to stupefied distress. It will be attested by all who remember the morning when the news of the assassination spread that no such shock had ever fallen upon the nation. Within four years there had been many messages of great import delivered to anxious ears and beating hearts—some, like that of Sumter, startling and rousing; some, like that of the defeat at Bull Run, stunning and incensing; some, like the word from Gettysburg and Vicksburg, giving cause for profound gladness and restored assurance—but the news of the President's tragic death, at the moment when the long struggle of arms was ended, produced a sensation without example. All effort to express the feeling it caused seemed inadequate to the point of mockery. Speeches, resolutions, the most eloquent expression of tongue and pen, were but a feeble effort to encompass the significance of the event. The depth of gloom was signified best of all by the pall with which the city at once covered itself. By common impulse, black was put up everywhere, on public buildings and private, on stores, hotels, factories, dwellings, street after street, until in the dark drapery it seemed as if some enormous raven enveloped all beneath its wing.

[1] The main building of the Fair was 540 feet long by 60 wide. The aggregate length of all the buildings, which covered mostly the graveled avenues and walks of the Square, was 6,500 feet. They were all erected within forty working days.

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On Saturday, the 22d of April, on its way to its burial-place in Illinois, the President's body reached this city, and was laid in state in Independence Hall, where, a little more than four years before, the living man had pledged his patriotic faith. A vast procession followed the hearse through the streets. At the hall, from ten in the morning until midnight, and again, next day, from six in the morning until a quarter before three, when the funeral moved on its way, a continuous stream of people passed through the Hall, to look upon the still face of the President. Eighty-five thousand persons, it was estimated, were in this vast throng. All felt as if a beloved brother had lost his life in their cause. In the emotions of the hour, all else was submerged; all the differences of judgment which but a little time before had divided men in their estimate of Lincoln disappeared. From the day of his death his relation to his country took on an ideal character.

And now, passing out of the period of war, through this darkened portal, the story of the city becomes altogether one of peace and peaceful development.

In 1865, Mayor Henry, who had been three times chosen by the vote of the people, and who had acted in his high office with dignity, industry, and good judgment, declined to serve further,[1] and Morton McMichael was elected his successor. The vote for McMichael was 47,065, and for Daniel M. Fox, the Democratic candidate, 41,196. Three years later, Mr. Fox, again the candidate of his party—for the third time—was elected over Hector Tyndale, by a majority which upon a contest in the courts was declared to be but 68. The reported vote stood: for Fox, 61,517; for Tyndale, 59,679. General Tyndale had been one of the city's soldiers in defense of the Union. Going out as lieutenant-colonel of Geary's regiment, the 28th of the line, he had been severely—it was supposed mortally—wounded in a charge at Antietam, but had recovered, and had received promotion as brigadier-general.

The Fire Department continued to grow. By ordinances of Council, especially in 1855, following authority granted by the Legislature in the Consolidation Act of 1854, it had been much improved in discipline and efficiency. The lawless encounters of the period before the war were now rare. On the 16th of October, 1865, its grand parade had in line 102 hose carriages, 57 steam fire-engines, 11 hand engines, 12 hook-and-ladder trucks, and 26 ambulances—thirty companies, however, joining in the demonstration from other cities. The volunteer system was now drawing near its end. By ordinance

[1] Alexander Henry was born in Philadelphia, April 14, 1823, graduated at Princeton, and studied law, being admitted to the bar in 1844. His several elections as Mayor are stated in the text. He died December 6, 1883.

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of December 29, 1870, the management of fires and of the apparatus for extinguishing them was made a city department, with men regularly employed and paid. The voluntary organization had many times shown great courage and devotion; the new one corresponded to the development of the times, and to the demand for the most orderly, systematic, and trustworthy service. The new system went into operation in January, 1871.

National politics were brought within the city's horizon in 1866, by the national convention of the supporters of President Johnson's administration, and other conventions opposed to it, and in 1872 by the national convention of the Republican party. That representing the Johnson policy, called as a "National Union" convention, assembled August 14, (1866), in a temporary structure, a "wigwam," on Girard Avenue between Nineteenth and Twentieth streets. Prominent men were in attendance from all over the country. General John A. Dix, of New York, was temporary chairman, and Senator James R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, was the permanent president. It sat three days. It became known as the "arm-in-arm convention," because, on the first day, General D. N. Couch, representing Massachusetts, and ex-governor James L. Orr, of South Carolina, in order to show the reconciliation of the sections, entered the convention, and walked to their seats, with arms enlocked. The convention was held mainly for purposes of discussion, and its importance, in the midst of the exciting "Reconstruction" period, was not permanently great. To offset it, a convention of Southern Loyalists was held in Philadelphia a few weeks later, meeting at National Hall, September 3, while a meeting of Northern Unionists convened at the same time at the Union League house. The former had for temporary chairman, Thomas J. Durant, of Louisiana, and for president, James Speed, of Kentucky, attorney-general in the Cabinet of President Lincoln; a conspicuous figure in it was "Parson" William G. Brownlow, of Tennessee. Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania presided over the convention at the League house.

The Republican national convention of 1872 was held in the Academy of Music. It met on the 5th of June, and chose Morton McMichael as temporary chairman, and Thomas Settle of North Carolina as permanent president. On the following day, President Grant was renominated for a second term, with Henry Wilson of Massachusetts—who twenty-one years before had been prominent in the disruption, here, of the American party—for vice-president.

A century had now passed since the events of the Revolution. With the Union maintained, and the tradition of the struggle for Independence become more and more precious by the passage of time, the common thought turned to an appropriate celebration of the

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centenary period. There was, obviously, no city in which so much of historic interest centered as in Philadelphia. The plan of a great Exhibition here, to illustrate by its display the progress of the Nation in a century after it had declared itself free, was suggested, and soon was earnestly advocated. In 1869, the Franklin Institute and the Academy of the Fine Arts memorialized Congress in behalf of the project. A committee of city councils was appointed in 1870, with John L. Shoemaker as chairman, upon the subject of duly celebrating the centennial anniversaries, and it then enthusiastically urged on the scheme. March 3, 1871, Congress passed a bill authorizing the creation of a Centennial Commission, composed of representatives from all the States and Territories. This met at Independence Hall,

SOUTHWEST CORNER OF BROAD AND SANSOM STREETS IN 1863. PRESENT SITE OF UNION LEAGUE.

March 4, 1872, and later gave its official approval that the proposed Exhibition be held at Philadelphia, in 1876, opening April 19, and closing October 19.[1] The preparations earnestly began. Meantime, in the autumn of 1874, the Franklin Institute, availing itself of the disuse of the old railroad depot of the Pennsylvania lines, at Market and Thirteenth Streets—now covered by John Wanamaker's "Grand Depot"—held in it an extensive and impressive exhibition of the mechanic arts, etc., visited by nearly three hundred thousand people in the time it remained open, between October 6 and November 12. The experience gained in this was useful; but, besides, some of those who joined in the tremendous effort required for the Centennial Exhibition had been connected with the great Sanitary Fair of 1864, and had learned by it how much may be accomplished by coöperative effort,

[1] These dates were subsequently made May 10, and November 10.

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when once the popular interest is fully enlisted. Among these was John Welsh, who was made president, in 1872, of the Centennial Board of Finance, an organization authorized by Act of Congress, June 1 that year, to provide the funds for the great enterprise, and to direct their disbursement. Mr. Welsh was a merchant, bearing the highest character, and enjoying universal respect and confidence. At the head of the Board of Finance, he successfully performed, with his colleagues, in the next four years, an enormous work.[1]

It must be remembered that the holding of such an Exhibition had no precedent in America. Not only was the Centennial demonstration in 1876 without equal, on this side of the Atlantic; it was without example. The cost of the undertaking was appalling, and all the more so after the Panic, begun in Philadelphia, by the failure of the banking-house of Jay Cooke and Company, on the 18th of September. Subsequently to that disaster, through all the period of preparation for the Exhibition, the business of the country was disordered, and "hard times" prevailed. Nevertheless, the difficulties of the undertaking were surmounted. The Board of Finance was authorized to receive subscriptions to a capital stock not exceeding ten millions of dollars, divided into shares of not more than ten dollars each, and raised a large part of this capital. The State of Pennsylvania appropriated one million dollars, for the purpose of erecting Memorial Hall, to remain as a permanent building in the Park. The City of Philadelphia gave $1,500,000 for the erection of two important buildings, Machinery Hall, and Horticultural Hall. The national government gave nothing, (except to provide for its own exhibits), but lent, by Act of February 14, 1876, $1,500,000, which was afterward returned in full to the national treasury, out of the receipts of the Exhibition.

The buildings were placed in Fairmount Park. On the 4th of July, 1873, the site for them, 236 acres, was formally transferred by the Park Commissioners to the Centennial Commission, and Centennial Board of Finance, and the transfer was made the occasion of a formal ceremony, in the presence of a great gathering of distinguished officials and others, including members of President Grant's Cabinet. Ground was broken, in the erection of the buildings, a year later. There were in all one hundred and ninety-four buildings, devoted to the purposes of the Exhibition. Memorial Hall, already mentioned, and now standing in the Park, devoted chiefly to purposes of a Museum of Art, is constructed of granite; its principal dimensions are 365 by 210 feet. The other large buildings were chiefly constructed of iron and glass. The Main Building covered 21.27 acres

[1] Hon. John Welsh, born in Philadelphia November 9, 1805; died there April 10, 1886. He was appointed minister to England, by President Hayes, in 1878, and remained abroad nearly two years.

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of ground; it was 1876 feet long by 464 feet wide, and had two annexes. Its cost was $1,600,000. Machinery Hall covered nearly thirteen acres, and had several annexes; its cost was $792,000. Horticultural Hall covered 1.05 acres, and cost $251,937. Agricultural Hall, of wood and glass, covered 7.25 acres, and cost $197,000. A second group of buildings was composed of those erected by the United States, and the several States of the Union; a third, of those erected by foreign nations; a fourth, of restaurants and houses of entertainment; and a fifth of miscellaneous buildings, many of them containing special exhibits—shoes and leather, carriages, dairy products, etc.

The opening of the Exhibition, on the 10th of May, was marked by a dignified ceremonial. One hundred and fifty thousand people, it was estimated, were present. A march by Richard Wagner was performed by Theodore Thomas's orchestra, Bishop Matthew Simpson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, offered prayer, and a chorus of a thousand voices sang the Centennial Hymn, which John G. Whittier had written for the occasion. John Welsh, representing the Centennial Board of Finance, then formally transferred the buildings to the Centennial Commission, and a hymn by Sidney Lanier was sung. General Joseph R. Hawley, president of the Centennial Commission, responded to Mr. Welsh, accepting the transfer of the buildings, and then delivered an address, and President Grant, following him, declared the Exhibition open, proceeding then to set in motion the great Corliss engine which furnished power to Machinery Hall.

During the six months in which the Exhibition remained open, there was a continuous succession of interesting events, and special attractions, but the unusual heat of the summer interfered for a time with the complete success of the great undertaking. During the first three months the attendance averaged but twenty-five thousand a day, but as cooler weather came it rapidly rose. On September 28, "Pennsylvania Day," 275,000 people were admitted. The total number of visitors, of all classes, was very nearly ten millions, and of these eight millions paid for admission, making the receipts from this source $3,813,693. With this sum, the gifts specified, and the money subscribed in stock, the Exhibition met all its great expenses, repaid the million and a half to the national treasury, and made a partial return of their investment to the subscribers to the stock. Its success was complete, and the credit won by Philadelphia was second only to the honor conferred on the nation.

The dull times, the slack employment, the fall in wages, which, as we have noted, began after September, 1873, and whose influence continued through the Centennial period, were, in part at least, the occasion of the destructive and bloody disturbances of the peace that

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began at Pittsburg in July, 1877, and which threatened the peace of Philadelphia as well. The volunteer militia of the State, which since the close of the war had been placed under a strict military system, as the National Guard of the State, was called out by Governor Hartranft. The First Division, sent promptly from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, was engaged there with the mobs, and lost several killed and wounded. In Philadelphia, however, order was strictly maintained by the city authorities, with Mayor Stokley directing. The hard times had produced a large number of idle people, and these, with their numbers enlarged from the vicious and criminal classes, had formed in 1877 that body which then took the name of "Tramps," and which has since been substantially a permanent one, dwindling in prosperous periods, and gathering again in times of depression. These persons, including many who under slack police conditions would become dangerous, gathered in large numbers at Philadelphia, as elsewhere in the towns and cities. From July 19 to the beginning of August, the city was in manifest danger of disturbances such as Pittsburg had suffered. July 22 the Mayor issued a proclamation announcing his determined purpose to maintain order. An attack upon the cars and other property of the Pennsylvania Railroad—which had been the first object of the rioters' attacks in Pittsburg—was particularly threatened, but the firm and energetic action of the police, directed by the Mayor, effectually held in check the mob spirit. A body of U. S. marines, sent from Baltimore, and a detachment of U. S. regular troops, under General Hancock, reached the city on July 24, and further assured the good order which the civil power had maintained. The police force had been brought, by this time, into increased discipline and efficiency. It was not as large as the city needed, and it was not yet placed under sound rules of non-partisanship and merit, but some progress in these directions had been made. As to number, an ordinance in 1854 fixed it at 820 men, exclusive of officers, but the next year this was cut down to 650. Under Mayor Vaux, a "reserve corps" was established. In 1877, at the time of the threatened riots, the number of police was about 1200, exclusive of a small body of harbor police. In 1884, the executive force, exclusive of officers, was 1250 men, who received $2.38 a day, and an allowance of $40 a year for uniform.

Mayor William S. Stokley, whom we have named above, had been elected in October, 1871, to succeed Mayor Daniel M. Fox. He served nine years—a longer period than any other mayor except John Swift, since Robert Wharton's time—being re-elected in 1874, over Colonel A. K. McClure, who was an Independent candidate, with Democratic support, and in 1877, over Joseph L. Caven, similarly supported. Mayor Stokley's third term expired April 1, 1881,

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and he was then succeeded by Samuel G. King, who had been chosen as a Democrat, with the endorsement of the "Committee of One Hundred," at the municipal election in February of that year. Mayor King served one term, three years; at the municipal election in February, 1884, he was defeated by William B. Smith, Republican. Mayor Smith served three years, to April 1, 1887, and was succeeded then by Edwin H. Fitler, the first mayor under the reformed charter of 1885. This we shall speak of particularly in the next chapter.

The constitution of the State of Pennsylvania was again revised in 1872–3. In 1871 the Legislature submitted to the people the question whether a revision was desired, and at the election in October of that year, the affirmative vote was 316,097, and negative 69,715. At the next election, members of the constitutional convention were chosen, and the convention met at Harrisburg, November 12, 1872, when William M. Meredith, of Philadelphia, was chosen president.[1] On the 27th of that month, at the invitation of the city councils, the convention adjourned to Philadelphia, and its further sessions were held here, in the Sixth Presbyterian church, Spruce street, below Sixth, beginning on January 7, 1873, and adjourning finally December 27, that year. The new constitution was completed, and signed by the members of the convention, (121 signing), on the 3d of November, and was submitted to the people, at a special election, December 9, when it was approved by a vote of 253,744 to 108,594, and went into effect January 1, 1874.

In Philadelphia the vote was heavily in favor of the revised constitution, the yeas being 59,114, and the nays 24,994. The need was strongly felt here, for a change in the municipal system. Petitions and memorials, presented to the convention during its sittings, urgently represented the need for reform. These especially complained of fraudulent elections. One declared that the "municipal government of Philadelphia is a failure," alleged "intolerable taxation," charged that "immense sums" were spent on the streets and paving, "with slender returns;" complained that the city was governed by the Legislature, which at its own pleasure delegated and recalled powers, and declared that "self-government is necessary," the only other remedy being "the paternal care of Cæsarism." The aldermen, by whom petty cases were heard, the memorial denounced, declaring there was "no greater blot upon our civilization"—an allegation doubtless lacking perspective—and charging them with "brutal and venal tyranny;" while election frauds, it asserted, were reduced to a science. The memorial proposed to abolish the fee system for city offices, to abolish the grand jury, to have magistrates

[1] Mr. Meredith died August 17, 1873, and Morton McMichael was chosen to succeed him as a member of the convention, John H. Walker being made president of the body.

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appointed by the governor, to inhibit special acts of the Legislature regulating the city's affairs, and in substance to grant a fuller power of self-government. Its representations were no doubt vigorous and emphatic to the limits of accuracy, yet they were in a large measure justified by the actual conditions. The outcome of an earnest discussion of the municipal problem in the convention—in which, besides Mr. Meredith, there were other distinguished citizens of Philadelphia, Morton McMichael, Henry C. Carey, Lewis C. Cassidy, George M. Dallas, Theodore Cuyler, Edward C. Knight, and others—was found in the adoption of many important provisions concerning Philadelphia, which have since affected in a material degree the conditions of its life.

MAYORS OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1851-1881.

1851-52-53.—Charles Gilpin.

1854.—Robert T. Conrad.

1856.—Richard Vaux.

1858-60-62.—Alexander Henry.

1865.—Morton McMichael.

1868.—Daniel M. Fox.

1871-74-77.—William S. Stokley.

1881.—Samuel G. King.

*** In the lists of Mayors, at the close of preceding chapters, the dates given uniformly represented the time of election, which was also the time of taking office, but in the list above the date must be taken as only that of election, the time of taking office being changed under varying laws.

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CHAPTER XII

1880–1895.

THE NEW CITY

TO secure real and practical administrative reform through the popular vote is a work requiring not only great wisdom of plan, but great energy, and equal perseverance, in execution. To this task, however, a number of earnest reformers addressed themselves as early as 1877, and very vigorously in 1880 and the four years following. A contest over the proposed repeal of the Building Commission Act, in 1871,[1] led to the formation of the "Citizens' Municipal Reform Association," in October, 1871, and this organization was influential in promoting the election, in 1877, of Robert E. Pattison as city controller. It also vigorously attacked the fee system of the city and county officers. These, it stated in a report, preceding the adoption of the new constitution, amounted annually to enormous sums: the yearly income of the recorder of deeds, to $80,000; receiver of taxes, $85,000; clerk of the court of quarter sessions, $35,000; prothonotary of the district court, $15,000; city commissioner, $8,000. All these were swept away by the new constitution.

The significance of Mr. Pattison's election in 1877 lay in the fact that he was chosen to the important place of controller, and given through it the scrutiny and audit of the city's accounts, although he held connection with the minority political party. In 1880, his term of three years having expired, he was again elected, and by a very extraordinary vote. General Garfield, the Republican candidate for President, had a majority of 20,890, while Mr. Pattison, the Democratic candidate for controller, had 13,603. There was thus a shift of independent voters to the number of seventeen thousand. Upon the foundation thus indicated, it was resolved to establish a more systematic effort at reform than had yet been made. Immediately after the election, steps were taken to form a committee, which should undertake to organize the independent element at the elections. A committee of Republican citizens resulted, originally one hundred and seven in number, and this, well known thereafter as the "Committee of One Hundred," took an influential, and at times controlling, part in the city's politics. It was organized in Novem-

[1] See *post*, for details concerning the Building Commission.

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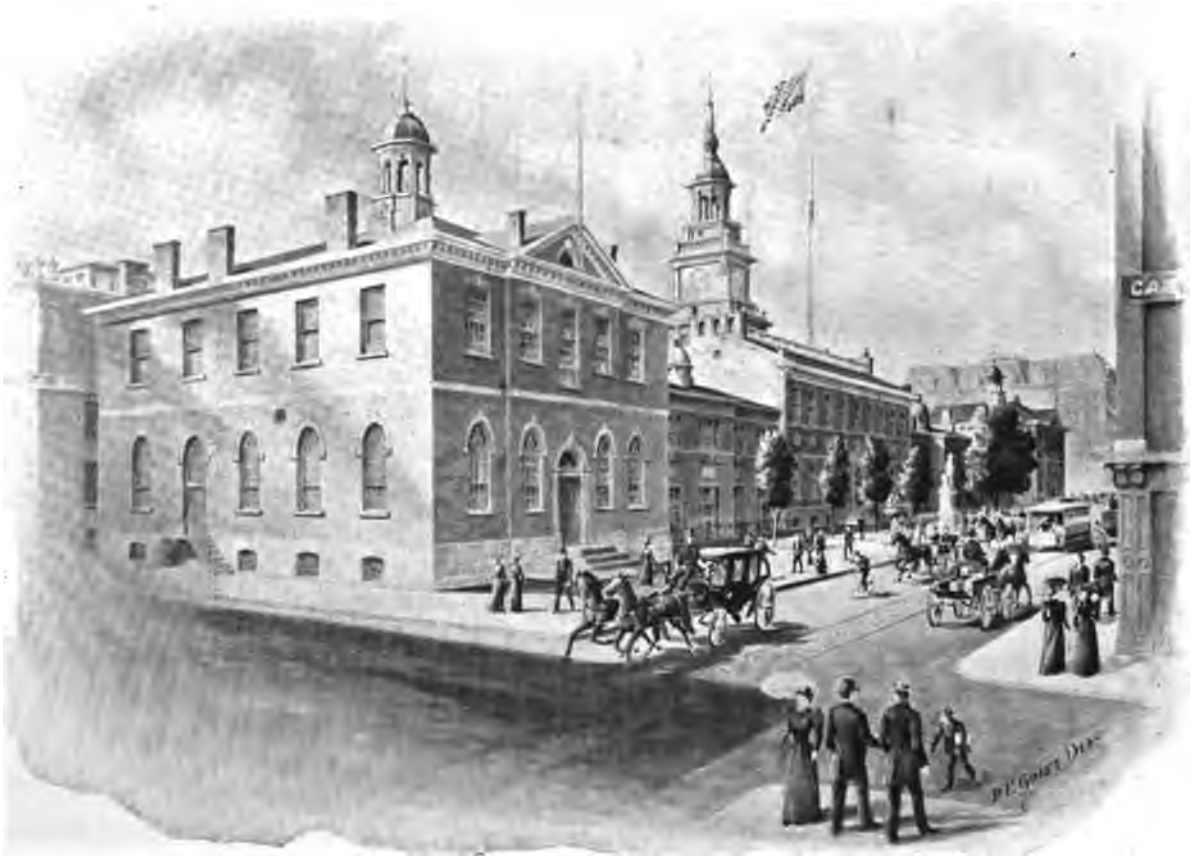

INDEPENDENCE HALL IN 1895. FROM ORIGINAL DRAWING. OLD CITY HALL IN LEFT FOREGROUND.

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